



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

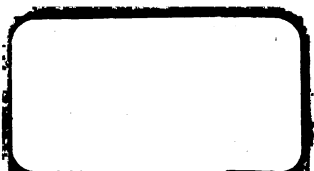
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

3 3433 08166141 9



THE
SOUTHERN QUARTERLY
R E V I E W .

Jove judicat æquo.—*Hor.*
Eo ego ingenio natus sum, amicitiam
Atque inimicitiam in fronte promptam gero.—*Ennius.*

VOL. X.

SEVEN
FIVE
LIBRARY

CHARLESTON.
PUBLISHED BY THE PROPRIETOR.

1846.

NOV 17 1964
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

INDEX

TO THE

TENTH VOLUME

OF THE

SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A

- Allowan*, notice of it, 514.
American system discussed, 174—227;
 Mr. Clay its father, 175; the same
 as the British colonial system, 177;
 Mr. Clay's account of its operation
 on the North and West, 189;
 So. Carolina ever consistent in her
 opposition to it, 193; injurious effects
 of the restrictive system in
 Russia, 196; in France, 197; duty
 on wool, 201; protection in favor
 of sugar, 203; tariff of 1816, how
 passed, 209; independence of other
 nations a futile idea, 219;
Animal Magnetism, by T. Leger, noticed,
 255;
Argentine republic, King's Twenty-four
 years in, noticed, 255.
Arnold, Dr. Thomas his introductory
 lecture on modern history reviewed,
 128—148.

B

- Barrow, Sir John*, his account of Arctic
 voyages of discovery, noticed,
 247.
Behr, Dr. C. F. his History of Roman
 Literature, reviewed 362—376.
Boarding out, a tale, noticed, 250.

C

- Calhoun, J. C.*, his report on the memorial
 of the Memphis Convention, reviewed,
 377, the power of Congress to appropriate
 money, early discussed, 379; Mr. C's views
 on this question, 381; taxes a gain to the
 manufactures, 386; presidential veto
 cannot arrest the internal improvement
 policy, 390; Mr. C's measures to defeat it,
 394; the power of regulating commerce
 examined, 395; Mr. C's argument against
 appropriations for harbors, 404; his
 views of river improvements, 407; their
 views examined, 408; his argument for the
 Mississippi, 413; the effect of his construction,
 414; his report on the Memphis memorial
 further reviewed, 451; his declarations at
 that convention variously received in So.
 Carolina, *ib*; remarks of the correspondent
 of the Mercury, 442; examination of his
 argument in favor of the Mississippi, 445;
 his argument from the power of Congress
 to regulate commerce, 458; 10th sect of the
 constitution, 479; the States competent in
 themselves to improve the Mississippi,
 489; loose constructions of

the constitution, 496; Mr C's former opinions, 500; partial legislation of Congress, 504; editor's note on this subject, 515.
Carlyle, Thomas, his letters and speeches of Cromwell reviewed, 258, Carlyle's style, 253; his purpose in writing this book, 260; his opinion of other biographers, 264; his description of the assassination of Buckingham, 278; of Hampden's trial, 360.
Crichton, by Ainsworth, noticed, 249.
Clay, Mr., his speeches on the American system reviewed, 174—227.
Clay, Mr., his speeches on the American system reviewed, 174—227.
Confessions of a Pretty Woman, by Miss Pardoe, noticed, 249.
Cromwell, his picture drawn always by his enemies, 267; his boyhood, 271; his youth, 273; enters at Lincoln's Inn, 275; goes to Parliament, 277.

E

Ecclesiastes Anglicanus, reviewed, 46—74.
Elements of military art and science, noticed, 256.
Everett's Essays reviewed, 329—351; opposition to periodical writings, 331; Everett's review of M. Droz, 333; his Essay on the Sabbath, 336; his poems, 350.
Everett's Inaugural Address, noticed, 243.

F

Farmer's Library, noticed, 253.
Fichte, Memoir of him, noticed, 253.
Fuller, Miss S. Margaret, her Woman in the Nineteenth Century, 148.

G

German Literature, its powerful influence, 352.
Greek and Latin Languages compared, 376.
Gresley, Rev. W., his Treatise on Preaching, reviewed, 46—74; outline of the work, 63.

H

Hallek's Elements of Military Art and Science, noticed, 256; another review of it, 419—440. See *War*.
Heidelberg, by James, notice of it, 513.
Hewitt's Few Thoughts, concerning the theories of High Churchmen and Tractarians, noticed, 248.
History, Study of, 128; the proper mode of studying it, 130; sources from which information is to be derived, *ib*; a particular portion only to be studied, 132; modern history, *ib*; influence of the reformation on it, 134; external history, 135; character of ancient and modern history, 138; internal history, 139; philosophy of English history, 140.
Homer's Iliad. See *Munford*.

I

Imaginative Excitement, necessary to society, 75; and hence the popularity of works of imagination, 78.
Italy, 85; its various governments, 94; Piedmont, *ib*; Genoa, 96; Lombardy, *ib*; Venice, 98; Naples, 101; Tuscany, 105; Rome, 109; the Roman religion, its operation on the people, 116; literature of Italy, 120; the Italian ladies, 124; tendency of Italy is towards free institutions, 126.

L

Luther's Life, by Michelet, noticed, 254.

M

Madonna and Child, Barton's Poem of the, 118.
Memphis Convention, see *Calhoun, J. C.*
Mississippi river, Mr. Calhoun's doctrine of the, 413, 445.
Munford, William, his translation of the Iliad, reviewed, 145; sketch of his life, 2; circumstances under which the original was com-

posed, 8; condition of the early Ionians, *ib.*; aid given to their poetry by their religion, 11; description of a Pagan sacrifice, 13; the question of Homer's personality, 16; character of his poetry, 16; comparison of the translations of Pope, Cowper and Munford, 21; Pope's translation too high colored, Cowper's faithful but rude, Munford's a medium between the two and surpassing both, *ib.*; illustrations of the excellence of Munford's version, 23; his annotations worthless, 37; quotations from the translation, 40; typographical execution of the work, 45.

N.

Nebular Hypothesis, account of it as a system of cosmogony, 227-242; the theory stated, 228; facts connected with our solar system, which illustrate it, 232; Mosaic account of the creation adapted to it, 241.

Nichol, Dr. J. P., his views of the architecture of the heavens, reviewed, 227-242.

O.

Onslow, reviewed, 75-85.

Oregon Territory, Twiss' history and discovery of, noticed, 250.

P.

Pictorial History of England, noticed, 253.

Pope's Homer, remarks on, 21.

Preachers, their character and conduct in the primitive church, 51; their ignorance, 55; sketches of English preachers, 57; Wiclif, *ib.*; Latimer, 59; books on the art of preaching, 62.

Pulpit, etymology of the word, 46; an impediment in the way of the christian orator, 48; qualities of pulpit eloquence, 72.

R.

Roman Literature, history of, 352; elements of the Latin language, 356; five periods of Roman litera-

ture, *ib.*; first, *ib.*; second, 357; third, 358; fourth, 363; the causes of its decline, 365; fifth, period, 370; its total decline, 373.

S.

Sabbath, history of its institution, 345; *Sermons*, their qualities and constituents, 69; different kinds, 70; the argumentative, *ib.*; historical, 71; expository, *ib.*; hortatory, *ib.*

Silvio Pellico, Miss Sedgewick's account of him, 95.

Southern Journal of Medicine and Pharmacy, noticed, 351.

Spider, natural history of, 291; its anatomy, 295; maternal affection, 296; timidity of the male, 297; construction of the web, 300; flying spiders, a vulgar error, 302; construction of dwellings by the mygale and atypus, 303; of the argyroneta, 304; foresight of the sphex, 305.

Stearns, Rev. Sam. H., his life, noticed, 255.

Svedenborg, Emanuel, life of, reviewed, 305-329; his intellectual powers, 307; his birth, 308; his early piety, 309; his education, 310; his travels, 311; his appointment, 313; the period of his illumination, 318; lights in which his disclosures may be viewed, 320; extraordinary circumstances in his life, 323; his interview with the Queen of Sweden, *ib.*; with a merchant of Elberfeld, 324; his announcement of the death of Peter III, 326; predicts the result of his voyage to Stockholm, *ib.*; and the hour of his death, 327; testimony of Kant, 328.

V—W.

Veto of the Harbor Bill, Mr. Polk's, 510.

War, its justifiableness, 420; should be prepared for, in time of peace, 423; a military profession necessary for this, 424; political appointments to the army injurious and unjust, 426; militia, valuable, 430; war not now conducted as formerly, 431; strategy, 433; an

- error in the military department of government, 434; fortifications, 436.
- Ware, Rev. Henry*, his works, noticed, 513.
- Woman*, the condition of, in different states of society, 147; her position exerts a reflective influence on the state of the society in which he lives, and the state of society on her condition, 149; her position among the Australians, 150; among savage tribes, 151; North American Indians, 153; Ancient Germans, 154; Chinese, 156; Greeks, 158; Romans, 160; influence of Christianity on her condition, 162; of the feudal system, 163; her present position, 167; examination of her temperament, 167; the power of her mind, 169; her true position, 170.

ERRATA.

The reader is requested to correct the following typographical errors, which notwithstanding great care, escaped attention in reading the proofs.

Page	85,	line	2	from bottom	for	<i>alone</i>	read	<i>at home.</i>
"	87,	"	5	"	"	<i>excitement</i>	"	<i>excitant.</i>
"	89,	"	7	"	"	<i>ages</i>	"	<i>eyes.</i>
"	91,	"	8	"	top	<i>wandered</i>	"	<i>wander.</i>
"	98,	"	6	"	bottom	<i>natural</i>	"	<i>national.</i>
"	107,	"	9	"	top	<i>pyramids</i>	"	<i>pasquinades.</i>
"	108,	"	26	"	"	<i>only</i>	"	<i>early.</i>
"	121,	"	13	"	bottom	<i>purchase</i>	"	<i>publish.</i>
"	130,	lines	3 & 9	"	"	<i>Rapier</i>	"	<i>Rapin.</i>

The note on page 104, should be appended to the table on page 113.

SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XIX.

JULY, 1846.

ART. I.—*Homer's Iliad*. Translated by WILLIAM MUNFORD. In 2 volumes. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1846. Svo.

FOR more than twenty-five centuries the poems of Homer have continued to afford delight and instruction to the whole civilized world. To them the enlightened of all ages and countries—poets, statesmen, and philosophers—have turned with admiring regard. And during that long period scarcely a single voice—none but that of a Zoilus or a Perrault—has been raised in disparagement of him, who has been recognized by universal consent as the Father of Poetry and the Prince of Poets.* Many have endeavored to display their ability and to earn renown by the attempt to render them familiar to their countrymen by clothing them with that country's language. Even distinguished poets—such as Ennius and Pope—have thought to do themselves honor by thus employing their talents. All have acquired reputation by the attempt, though very various success has attended their labors. There have already been more than half a dozen translators into the English language alone; still the

* Plato calls Homer ὁ ἀρίστος καὶ θεότατος τῶν ποιητῶν. Ion. 'Hic omnes sine dubio et in omni genere eloquentiæ procul a se reliquit; epicōs tamen præcipue,' says Quintilian. Inst. Or. x. i. 51, who elsewhere remarks 'propterea quod eminere inter ceteros videtur, ut Homerus poeta, urbs Roma. The same habit of calling Homer 'the poet,' is commemorated by Justinian and illustrated by the practice of Longinus.

rich field is by no means exhausted, and an abundant harvest remains to be gathered by the new reaper. It is with sincere pleasure that we introduce a new candidate for the public honors in the present posthumous publication of an eminent Virginia gentleman. In doing so, we rejoice, for the sake of Virginia and America, that the translation is of such excellence as to ensure reputation to its author, and at the same time to reflect credit on the literature of the country

William Munford,* the author of the present version of the *Iliad*, was the son of Col. Robert Munford. His mother was a daughter of Robert Beverley of Blandford. He was born in the County of Mecklenburg, Virginia, on the 15th of August, 1775, and died at his residence in the City of Richmond, on the 21st of July, 1825, in the 50th year of his age. His ancestors on either side were among the most respectable families of the State. Some of them had signalized themselves during the War of the Revolution. Young Munford, when only eight years old, had the misfortune to lose his father, who is represented as having been a gentleman of considerable attainments, fond of letters, and noted for his warm and active patriotism. The management and education of the family devolved by this untimely event upon Mrs. Munford, who was a lady of amiable disposition and elegant manners, endowed with a vigorous and cultivated intellect, and familiar with the polite world. The charge thus imposed upon her was accompanied with much difficulty and anxiety. The death of Col. Munford had left his estate, formerly sufficient for the ample support of his family, considerably embarrassed. Mrs. Munford had occasion for all her prudence in the discharge of her arduous duties; but the honorable success which attended her efforts is evidence of the ability with which she performed her task.

At an early age, William Munford was placed at the Petersburg Academy, then ably conducted by the Rev. Mr. Cameron. Here he was remarkable for his love of reading and his aptitude in learning. From Petersburg he was transferred, when only twelve years old, to the ancient halls of William and Mary College, where he afterwards took his

* This notice of Mr. Munford has been drawn from materials furnished by two distinguished gentlemen who were intimately acquainted with him. We have frequently employed their language.

degrees with honor. Shortly after his removal, he formed the acquaintance of the venerable Chancellor Wythe: this gradually ripened into that fatherly regard and solicitude on the one side, and that grateful and devoted friendship on the other, which terminated only with the death of his benefactor in 1806. On this occasion he was appointed, as the most intimate friend of the deceased, to deliver his Funeral Eulogy in the Capitol of Virginia. This he did with ability and much feeling.

At the time of his entrance into College, his health seems to have been very bad; for, in a letter written from Williamsburg to his sister, he alludes to a recent sickness, and thus balances, as he terms it, the good and evil of his life. "I received from nature a weakly constitution and sickly body, and poverty to boot—I have the unhappiness to know that my dear mother is in want—I am absent from her and you, and my dear sister ——'s agreeable society—now put this on the scale of evil. I possess the rare and almost inestimable blessing of a friend in Mr. Wythe and John Randolph. I have a mother in whose heart I have a large share. I possess two sisters, whose affections, I flatter myself, are fixed upon me. I have fair prospects before me, provided I can complete my education, and I am not destitute of the necessities of life. Put these in the scale of good. Now which of these overbalances?" This letter was written as early as September, 1787. It gives strong indication of a healthy moral tone, tender affections, fine natural sensibilities, and considerable sprightliness of mind for one so young. His taste for poetry seems to have been already formed, for in this letter he speaks with delight of a copy of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* which he has just procured. In the cultivation of his taste, as well as in the pursuit of his other studies, he derived great benefit from the friendly advice of Chancellor Wythe, no less eminent as a scholar than a lawyer, and of St. George Tucker, who at that time held a Professorship in the College of William and Mary. He frequently and freely expresses his grateful sense of the valuable services rendered him by each of these gentlemen. To the influence of Chancellor Wythe may perhaps be traced his early, strong, and lasting partiality for Homer, which was heightened as years advanced into a feeling of deep reverence and affection.

In the year 1790, the involved condition of his paternal

estate, and the limited resources of his mother, would have rendered it impossible for him to remain longer in the College, had not Mr. Wythe received him into his house as a member of his family. Under the superintendence of that profound lawyer and excellent man, he now commenced the study of the law, without, however, neglecting his Collegiate studies. In a letter written during the next year, he gives some account of the employment of his time. He first pays a merited tribute of respect to Mr. Wythe, in these terms, "Every day my admiration increases; every day my love is heightened; whether I contemplate him as a companion, or as a man of learning: but his character, in whatever direction it is viewed, is remarkable for benevolence and humility. Though learned, he is not arrogant, but seems rather to search for truth, than an opportunity to display his abilities. Though a true philosopher himself, he beholds the faults and errors of others with compassion. His mind is enlarged, his opinions liberal, and though not bound by vulgar prejudices, he is far from being obstinate in his opinions. In his treatment of all around him, he is a second Socrates. In short, I am not able to express my esteem for his character." He then proceeds to speak of his studies. "I rise in the morning with the sun, and read first on one subject and then on another till breakfast, which we have by seven o'clock. After breakfast the law requires my attention for three or four hours (for Mr. Wythe advises me to devote no more of my time to it,) and then either philosophy, mathematics, or the languages fill up the time to dinner. In the evening I read till an hour by sun, when I walk out for exercise and recreation, and am in bed by nine. Thus," says he, "unincumbered by care, I can pursue my studies with the greatest advantage and satisfaction."

William Munford, though so young, had already paid his court to the Muses, for he sends directions very solicitously respecting certain juvenile verses, which he had left at home, but was anxious to copy into his "Miscellany Book." And in the August of the same year, he acknowledges the judicious kindness of Mr. Tucker in criticising his productions, and pointing out their faults.

On his appointment in 1792 to the Chancellorship of the State of Virginia, Mr. Wythe removed from Williamsburg to Richmond, the seat of the State Government, and

brought young Munford along with him, who still continued to be a member of his family. William Munford afterwards returned to William and Mary College to receive the benefit of the law lectures of his friend, Mr. Tucker, who was then the Professor of that department. Having finished his collegiate course with much credit to himself, he returned to his native county, and was admitted to the bar in the 20th year of his age. His industry, his attention to business, and his reputation for ability, soon secured for him a practice comparatively large for one just entering upon the duties of his profession. A frank, ingenuous, and conciliatory deportment, united with a bold, manly, and unflinching spirit, increased his success, and rendered him exceedingly popular among all classes of his fellow-citizens. So great and rapid was his popularity, that in the year of 1797, he was elected a Representative from the County of Mecklenburg to the House of Delegates, and continued in that appointment until 1802, when he was chosen Senator, by the large and intelligent District in which he resided. His Senatorial career lasted only four years: as he was appointed one of the Privy Council in 1806, of which he was an active member until 1811. He was then elected Clerk of the House of Delegates, in the room of James Pleasants who had just been made Governor of the State. This office he filled with undiminished favor and popularity till his death in 1825, when he was succeeded in it by his eldest son George Wythe Munford, who still holds the appointment to the entire satisfaction of all parties.

After Mr. Munford's entrance into the Council in 1806, he removed to the city of Richmond, and resided there for the rest of his life. Here he continued the practice of the law, and was for some years the Reporter of the Supreme Court of Appeals for the State. He first published four volumes of Reports in connection with Mr. Herring, and afterwards six volumes more in his own name. He was also one of the chosen associates of Benjamin Watkins Leigh in the revision of the Statute Law of Virginia—a lasting monument of the learning, diligence, and accuracy of those who were employed upon it.

"Amidst all these multifarious and responsible occupations, Mr. Munford was ever active in the cause of religion and philanthropy. There was no association within his reach, having for its object the good of his fellow men,

which did not enlist his zealous and active support—and most truly may it be said of him in the language of the British Bard, 'He had a tear for pity, and a hand open as day to melting charity.'"

We shall conclude this short notice of Mr. Munford by quoting the language in which his character has been ably summed up by the other of the two gentlemen to whose kindness we have been indebted for our information respecting him. "At the bar and in the Legislature he always ranked as a sound and able debater. He was not, in the common and modern acceptance, an orator. When he first embarked in the discussion of a subject, his manner was rather cold and heavy, and without the graces of oratory. The merit of his public speaking lay in the facility with which he could bring the facts to bear upon his argument, and the soundness, clearness, and comprehensiveness of his views. He was always strong; and yet, such was the kindness and tolerance of his manner that no one even seemed to dread his power. He convinced, or he silenced; but rarely, if ever, irritated or offended his adversary. There was a gentleness and benignity of soul about him, which kept him from indulging in personal sarcasm, and, both in public and in private life, he seldom uttered an ill-natured word, because never influenced by any unkind or ill-natured feeling. Few were better calculated to conciliate men. This is not the occasion to speak of him as a politician; but it may with truth be said that throughout his public career he proved himself always the consistent advocate of enlarged and liberal views of social government, and an undoubted champion of civil and religious liberty. Amidst all the bitterness of political and party animosity, his integrity and character were unsullied by a breath of suspicion. His uniform candor and sincerity, his decision of character, the principles of independence and integrity, uncompromising with the least approach to vice or immorality, formed an elevation of virtues, not often to be met with in public men. * * * But it was in the private and domestic circle that he shone with the brightest honor. His wise counsels, the mildness of his temper, the firmness of his opinions, the affectionate and simple tone of his manners, the kindness of his heart towards every one, gave dignity and elevation to his virtues. It was said by Dr. Johnson that he liked a good hater. I can say of William Munford

that he was one of the poorest haters I ever knew. A deep sense of religion formed one of the ingredients in his character. There was scarcely a religious or charitable institution which he did not actively encourage and patronize. He maintained religious worship in his family, and was a regular attendant on divine service. Public education and morals were dear to his heart, and always found in him a ready and able advocate. There probably never lived a more devoted husband and parent. With such a man it were almost treason to find fault!"

This is indeed a most pleasing picture of the quiet and unobtrusive virtues of a good man. It will thus be seen that Mr. Munford pursued the even tenor of his life in a course of usefulness to his country, service to his fellow men, and in the faithful discharge of all his social and domestic duties. His public life and multifarious employments required the most laborious application, which he never failed to bestow upon them. But from them he could spare, by the methodical arrangement of his time, enough to engage in acts of general service to his fellow-citizens; and could even obtain an occasional hour for the relaxation of his mind by the culture of his favorite pursuits. These were literature and the composition of poetry. He had never from his earliest years renounced his partiality for the muses: and he published during his life-time a volume of juvenile poems which the translator of the Iliad would have had no cause to desire to rescue from oblivion. The translation of Homer was commenced by Mr. Munford many long years since, perhaps even at the time when his love of Homer during his college days was kindled by Chancellor Wythe, and his ear and his taste informed and directed by the profitable councils of Professor Tucker. One gentleman speaks of having examined a considerable portion of it about the year 1811, and the tradition of its completion and its excellence has been floating about for more than thirty years in his native State.

From the time of the commencement of the translation until Mr. Munford's death in 1825, it received his sedulous attention, and was submitted to continual revisals and improved by an unsparing and ungrudging application of the "*multus limæ labor.*" The Horatian precept "*nonumque prematur in annum Membranis intus positis*" was more than observed even by the translator himself, and since his

decease more than twenty years have been suffered to elapse before its publication. It appears, however, in a favorable season though after long delay ; the literature of the country is daily acquiring strength, grace and vigor, and we trust that in future times this translation of the Iliad by a son of the old dominion may be quoted as one of the early classics of America.

A new version of the Iliad naturally tempts us to cast our thoughts back to that antique age and peculiar people which witnessed the production of the original. This retrospect is in some measure requisite to show the reason and the nature of those peculiarities, which ought to be sedulously preserved by an accurate translator, and the presence or want of which will stamp his work with the impress of fidelity or negligence. Before engaging, therefore, in our contemplated examination of Mr. Munford's translation, we will not forego so favorable an opportunity of making a few remarks upon the circumstances under which was composed a poem, whose fame is universal, and upon some of its most characteristic excellences.

Long ages before Athens had attained to that eminence of glory which has rendered her own name and the name of Greece imperishable, the highest honors of genius and cultivation were claimed by the Ionian Colonies, which had been planted beneath a still more bright and genial clime, beyond the blue Egean. Four centuries at least before the glorious days of Marathon and Salamis, which were the birth throes of Athenian greatness, Achæan or Ionian emigrants from Peloponnesus and from Attica—the purest blood of Greece,—driven from their native seats by the incursions of the Doric tribes, had founded many fair cities along the winding shores and enchanting bays of Asia Minor. There, beneath a sky brighter and still more gorgeous than even the rich purple heavens of their mother country, they built themselves new homes in a strange land ; there, they were ever encircled with a soft balmy atmosphere, sweetly tempered with cooling sea breezes ; blessed with a fertile, varied and beautiful landscape, and having in sight the ever dimpling, ever laughing waters of the blue and sparkling sea ;*

* Ποντίων τε κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα. *Æsch. Prom. Vinct. v. 91-2.*, and such phrases as οἶνοπα ποντον, αἰδοπα ποντον, ἰοῖδεα ποντον, ποντου κυανέοιο, continually in Homer.

having their landscape further adorned by all the beauty that could be derived from the glassy sheen of broad and sinuous rivers, from the dark mountains, and from the shifting hues of the forest. Thus favored in their new abode, the young colonies enjoyed at the bountiful hand of nature every thing that was necessary to a happy and prosperous existence, or could lead them to the blandishments of polished life, or tempt them to the cultivation of the graces of intellect.

 Theirs was the land of the cedar and vine,
 Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine;
 Where the light wings of zephyr oppressed with perfume,
 Wax feint o'er the gardens of Gull in her bloom:
 Where the tints of the earth and the hues of the sky,
 In color though varied, in beauty may vie,
 And the purple of Ocean is deepest in dye.

In crossing the sea, the Ionians had forgotten neither the genius of their mother-country, nor the amusements of home; but their capacity for the one and their taste for the other were sensibly heightened and refined by the change. They still retained their national attachment to poetry, together with the kindred accompaniments of music and the dance. Thus at their feasts and their solemn festivals, in private and in public, they cultivated the same graceful arts with their forefathers, and derived their principal enjoyment from the practice and presence of those accomplishments which were to confer immortality upon them and a higher immortality upon Athens. How deeply the Greeks were imbued with the choicest spirit of poesy may be gathered from their language, their legends, their mythology, and all their most ancient monuments as well as from their literature. Poetry had imprinted itself upon the heart of the nation at its birth; the muses were native to the soil; and the feelings of the people gushed forth spontaneously in a sweet lyric flow, even in the ordinary affairs of life. Theirs was the genius of song. With the favoring influence of a pure descent from the purest of Grecian blood, a rich and abundant country, a glorious climate, a growing and lucrative commerce, and a highly poetic genius, there was no degree of attainment or renown which those Ionian cities might not reasonably expect to reach. As yet they were too young in their newly-adopted land to have become enervated by the blessings they enjoyed and the luxuries it was in their

power to acquire. Their longing aspirations after the beautiful were only heightened, and their sensibilities trained and cultivated by the numberless advantages of their position. Hence they far outstripped Athens in early times, in the race of glory. It was a later age and the ascendancy of the Persian power and the more pernicious Persian gold, which witnessed their rapid corruption and their melancholy decline.

The active life of a new country tends to give vigor and elasticity to the mind, and to excite every faculty to its most energetic exercise. And the constant familiarity with nature enjoyed by an infant people, who, by their habits, their amusements, and their wants are continually brought face to face with her in all her changing moods and phases, is alone sufficient to awaken and develop the poetic feeling among any race in whom the germs of it exist. Hence the ballad poetry of a nation, which is the common property of the whole people, and not the literary triumph of individuals, ever belongs to the earlier periods of its history. The ready wonder then prevalent,—the amazement at all things strange, (and every thing is then strange,)—feeds the imagination with constant fancies, and renders the conversation of every day life itself poetic.* At such a time, the heart is as tenderly susceptible as that of a little child, to all impressions, although the intellectual vigor of manhood itself be present. By the union of these two qualities strength and nerve are acquired without any diminution of youthful freshness and raciness of thought and expression: and these are accompanied with a graceful simplicity and transparency of language, which are soon lost amid the fixed modes and systematized restraints of a later and more artificial age. As yet the language, which is to be the vehicle of their feelings, is not adequate to their wants; they must coin new phrases themselves for the communication of new ideas. Imagination, the faculty then most stimulated, is called to their aid in preference to any analytical reasoning; and

* The same thing, in a less degree, may be noticed even in our day in the new States of the West. There may be more wild fancy than true poetry displayed there. But this is owing to peculiar circumstances. The Western men are a young people in a young country surrounded by all that belongs to complete civilization. Their occupations are those of fixed society. They have however reproduced many genuine Homeric phrases, *βοῶν ἀγῶδες*, for example is 'a raal screamer,' 'a ring-tailed roarer.'

instead of inventing fresh words and new grammatical inflections, they seek utterance in tropes and figures, and striking metaphors.* But the poet does not altogether refuse to exercise authority over his native tongue; it is yet incomplete, and waits to receive its symmetrical form from his magic touch; and in its turn the flexibility of a language which has not yet arrived at its finished state lends itself readily to his requirements. Hence the bard at such a period, has language for his willing minister, and an atmosphere of poetic images as the familiar air that he breathes. He has only, therefore, to arrange his thoughts in some sort of order, and to subject his words to some species of rhythm, in order to become a poet, almost without effort, and certainly without a full consciousness of the enduring importance of his vocation. The thoughts, the feelings, the expressions, which are the common property of the whole people, are themselves poetic; he takes what he will from the public store; he separates the pure gold from the dross; he vivifies what he has taken with the inspiration of his own genius; and that which before had been unnoticed on account of its familiarity, becomes poetry, by an almost insensible transmutation, in his hands.

This was the condition of the early Ionians; and to a people possessed of such native genius as they, cradled in such a beautiful land as theirs, and nursed by such favoring circumstances of their age, ample materials for poetic embellishment were afforded in the varied legends of their mythology, and in the romantic traditions connected with the fair regions they had left, and the fairer regions to which they had come. These were offered as a *subjecta materies* to be worked up into beautiful shapes by the susceptible genius of a sensitive people. Mingled too, as they were, with their religion and history, they would appeal to the noblest feelings of their nature, would give a passionate ardor to their admiration, and their language, flowing almost spontaneously in hexameters, would stimulate them to the lyrical expression of their feelings.

The worship of the gods of Olympus, but recently introduced into the Greek mythology, had been the first step towards that lovely but anthropomorphical creed, which adds such a charm to the religious fancies of the Greeks,

* See Vico. Phil. de l'Hist. B. i. c. ii. Trad. de Michelet.

and ministered so energetically to the requirements of art, whether manifested in poetry or in sculpture. Enough, however, of the imaginations of previous systems had been wafted to the ears of the people,* and entered into the popular knowledge of the day, to prevent any rigid creed, and to render their faith still a plastic subject for the decorations of the poet. But the deities of the old Pelasgians had been brought down from their gloomy abode in the invisible; they were no longer regarded as the vague powers of the elements, and conceived to dwell beyond the regions of the thunder and the storm; they had been clothed with personal existence; they had been made denizens of earth and dwellers in Olympus;† and the bards of that day might have said, as a later poet has done,‡ that the race of man and of gods was the same. The new deities of their passionate idolatry were conceived to be all around their path, and were ever present to their thoughts. Every place was robed in divinity in the belief of the Greeks of those times: the mountain and the valley, the river and the fountain, the forest and the sea had their legion of fair nymphs and their presiding deities: and thus the language of poetry became in all instances a religious hymn. This gave enthusiasm to the bard, and ensured faith and honor from his admiring hearers.

In addition to all this, the circumstances of their departure from Greece, rendered the Ionians an independent and free people: and had given them that glowing zeal and daring intellectual energy, which liberty alone can give. Long before the mother country had attained to the untrammelled freedom of speech (*παρρησία*), or the perfect equality of rights and privileges (*ισονομία*), these favored colonies enjoyed both in a very large degree. All noble thoughts and lofty aspirations were familiar to them: their language,

* The story of Briareus was of this kind. Hom. Il. i. 403, as we remarked on another occasion. S. Q. R. No. iv. Art. x. p. 486. See Heyne's Homer, Vol. iv, p. 106. R. Payne Knight, Symb. Lang. Auc. Art. and Myth. §. 192. These legends extended to later times, as is seen from the legend of Prometheus, Æsch. P. V. and the singular remark of Proclus in his Comm. on the Timæus. Knight refers also to Typhæus. Pind. Pyth. i, 31, viii, 20, and mentions also the Ephesian Diana.

† 'Ολυμψια δώματ' ἔχοντες Ἀθάνατοι. Il. ii. 13, and i. 18.

‡ Pind. Nem. I. i. cf. Hesiod. Op. et Dier. i. v. 108. Orphic. ap. Clem. Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gent. c. viii. Schol. ad Il. i. 222. Yet Homer himself says the opposite. Il. V. 441.

soft, flexible, and sonorous, yet impressive and strong, was yielding as wax in their hands ; their very life was poetry, and the taste that regulated and chastened all was an instinctive perception of refined art.

Could we cast our view back, through the busy vista of intervening time, to those remote, but bright ages in the youth of civilization, and be present at one of those religious festivals, in which the spirit of the Greeks was most fully exhibited, we should witness a scene well calculated to attract our regards by the mingled grace and splendor of the ceremony. Suppose that the dark veil of the past were rent in twain, and that we were admitted among the throng of votaries engaged in the celebration of the customary rites to the Ionian Apollo.* Observe the solemn procession winding its way to the temple of the god, through streets gorgeous with the trophies of Ionic art—note the clustering colonnades with their fluted pillars on either side—the just proportions of the classic fane—the altar decorated for the sacrifice—the victim garlanded with flowers, and with gilded horns—the venerable priests with their sacred sceptres twined with wool, the symbols of their holy office†—the long train of noble youths moulded in the chiselled symmetry of the Grecian form—the attendant band of the fairest virgins, faultless in figure, perfect in feature, their rich, warm skin flushed with the glow of health, their full voluptuous bosoms heaving with the strong passions of their country's blood—each of them robed in white, crowned with chaplets, and bearing along with them in golden baskets the brightest flowers of that sunny clime—listen to the soft and melting music of the Lydian mood—mark the commanding image of the god, his lip “smiling beautiful disdain”—consider the solemn veneration of the whole ceremony—and cast your eye over the proud pomp of that glorious assemblage. Is it not a sight worth witnessing? Does not the heart beat high, and the pulse throb at the graceful but imposing spectacle? This

* Vide Aristoph. Nub. v. 586.

† This is what is referred to by Homer when he represents Chryses, as

στέμματα' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπὸλλωνος
χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ στήθεσσι.
IL. I. 14.

So in Soph. Œd. Tyr. v. 913. Eurip. Suppl. v. 36. Æsch. Suppl. v. 22. See Stanley ad loc.

is the land of Ionia, these are the full-bosomed (*βαθύζωνοι, βαθύκολποι, εὐζωνοι*;) Ionian maidens, that the Ionian god.

The sacrifice is over. Now arises the melodious chaunt of praise in majestic Pæan or varied Dithyrambic; the Lydian and Hypolydian strains float upon the air, with now and then a wild dash of the Phrygian mood.* But these hymns are ended, yet the sacred rites are not closed. Now come forward the bards rivalling each other's excellence, as in later days in Arabia, and sing the deeds of prowess done by mighty men in the olden time.

Μῦθος' ἄρ' αἰοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν δευδόμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν,
'Οἴμης, ᾗς τότ' ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκανε.†

The public herald leads in by the hand an aged man gorgeously arrayed,‡ and reverently conducts him to the throne prepared for the bard. Poor he may be, but he is now clad in splendid raiment; destitute of all else, he has his lyre and the sacred gift of song received direct from the inspiration of the Muse.§ He is a stranger in that illustrious assemblage: none knew whence he came, though some vague fame had preceded his appearance. A tremulous whisper runs through the crowd like an electric stroke: and clustering under the inner colonnades of that hypæthral temple the multitudinous throng is listening with strained and greedy ear to the full and sounding hexameters of no familiar poet. Every voice is hushed—not a breath is

* The Dorian mood was usually employed in honor of Apollo—but that was the Dorian Apollo. We may have been guilty of an anachronism in introducing the Pæan and Dithyramb, at a time when probably hexameter was the only metre,—and the songs to the gods were such as the hymns of the Homeridæ. There may be equal error in speaking of temples and statues. The temples were nothing more originally than enclosed spaces, and the statues blocks of stone or wood—but Dædalus must have lived about this time.

† Hom. Od. viii. 73. We adopt Hookham Frere's views. See Mus. Crit. vol. 2, p. 243.

‡ We transfer this custom from a later age. See Plat. Ion.

§ We have applied to Homer his own account of Demodocus. This allusion to his blindness is almost as touching as Milton's Sams. Agon. v. 80. We give Homer's description of Demodocus. Od. viii. 62.

Κήρυξ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθεν, ἄγων ἐρίηρον αἰοιδόν,
Τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δαγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε
'Οφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν αἰοιδήν.
Τῷ δ' ἄρα Ποντόνοος θῆκε θρόνον ἀργυρέηλον

Tyrwhitt ad Aristot. Poet. p. 95, considers that hexameters were sung without music,—but this is opposed to the testimony of Homer.

heard in that assembly of Ionia's choicest children—nothing is audible save those deep, rich tones of the bard, and the accompanying notes of the lyre, played with a master's skill. How the hearts of that vast multitude beat in unison with the melody! Their breath is held in with compressed lips,—their limbs quiver under them—the blood tingles in their veins—the color comes and goes upon their cheeks—and their eyes blaze with unwonted fire! No such strain had ever yet been drunk in, even by Ionian ears! After a few preluding verses, the bard bends again over his lyre; his long white beard floats upon the chords; his upturned but sightless eyes are directed to that empurpled heaven whence came his inspiration; with bold fingers he sweeps the strings; and thus proceeds,

Μῆνιν ἄειδς, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

To that spell-bound audience he had been before a stranger; but his name and his song have been familiar to all succeeding times. We recognize at once "the blind old man of Scio; rocky Isle:"

Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd,
Whose poem Phæbus challenged for his own.

This sketch is not a mere fancy piece. The form of it may, indeed, be fiction; but it is nevertheless significant of undoubted historical truth. It was among the Ionians that the Homeric Poems were originally produced*—and it was on occasions similar to the one described that his Rhapsodies were recited to the public.† The genius of the Poet had been inspired, moulded, and invigorated by such circumstances of time, place, and national condition as we have mentioned, and to these they owed much of their peculiar character.

We have not concerned ourselves with deciding upon the personality of Homer, although we have introduced him into the picture, and represented him as an Ionian.

* The West wind which at Athens would have been a gentle breeze is always a squall in the Iliad. Of the seven cities claiming to be the birthplace of Homer, all, excepting Athens, are in Asia Minor, if we remember rightly. There was a foolish legend indeed which brought Homer from Egyptian Thebes. Apoll. Sidon: Anthol. Græc. vii. 7. And see Heyne, Hom. II. vol. viii. p. 826.

† See Plat. Ion. and Schol. also Heyne. Excurs. ii. Sect. iii. Hom. II. xxiv. vol. viii. p. 792. et seqq. Consider also the story of Onomacritus.

The question of his existence is at once too intricate and too long to be introduced episodically. If, as we ourselves believe, the *Iliad* was the achievement of a race of poets and successive generations, the general fidelity of our delineation is not affected thereby. The series must have had some commencement and some individual author in its inception, who would be portrayed in the vague Homer of our narration. Of him what we have said would be true, and it would also be true, in a similar measure, of the vague *Homeridæ*, who succeeded him, imitated under the influences of a like age his general air and language, and completed the epic cycle. For this reason we have made no distinction between the author of the *Iliad* and the author of the *Odyssey*, though whoever could now refer both poems to the same man, might believe that *Hudibras* was written by Milton as a sequel to *Paradise Lost*.

The various Rhapsodies of the *Iliad* were undoubtedly composed for public recitation at the solemn festivals of Greece and Ionia: and were probably offered in competition for a public prize. To this, at least, the story of the contest between Homer and Hesiod points us; not indeed that this is to be credited, but it indicates a well-known custom.* The poems of Homer bear the impress of an early time and a young people upon them; and were greatly influenced and aided by the facilities of an informed creed, and a language not yet rigidly fixed. These circumstances will readily explain the supposed harmony of the rhapsodies of the *Iliad*, even if these were composed by different persons and at different times. This harmony, we may remark by the way, has been very much exaggerated. Formed, as these poems were, by the genius of the time and people, out of the mass of common materials floating about in the popular mouth, expressing themselves in a rich and exuberant tongue, which readily moulded itself into verse of a particular structure, though untaught as yet to speak fluently in any metre but hexameter,† it

* In further confirmation of this, see Hesiod. *Op. et Dier.* L. ii. v. 272. Ed. Winterton. *Homerid. Hymn.* V. 19.

Χαῖρ' ἐλικοβλέφαρσ', γλυκυμέλιχέ οὖος δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι

Νίκην τῷδ' ἐφέσσθαι, ἐμὴν δ' ἐντυνον αἰοδῆν.

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σέιο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοδῆς

† The open or resolved Ionic forms run naturally in hexameters—the contracted Attic in iambics. Of the latter, Archilochus is the reputed inven-

was perfectly natural that a considerable similarity of language, sentiment, and rhythm should be exhibited even by different bards. And as for that further unity, which springs from consonance of details and the keeping of the characters, this would be sufficiently ensured by the religious veneration with which the poet and the people alike received all the incidents of the legends, and the lineaments of the heroes recorded by tradition. Hence arose that scrupulous fidelity, with which the Tragedians—Euripides, the infidel, excepted—handled the mythic tales, which furnished them with their plots. The very epithets and other expressions, so frequently occurring, were themselves part and parcel of these traditions; and, as such, were stereotyped upon the heart of the nation. The same thing may sometimes be observed in the earlier books of the Scriptures. In fact it may be illustrated to some extent by the antiquities of every people. "The swift-footed Achilles," and the "much-scheming Ulysses," or in the Odyssey, "much-enduring," were as familiar in their Homeric forms—nay more so, to Ionian ears than the William Rufus, Richard Cœur de Lion, Louis le Débonnaire, Philippe le Bel, and Frederick Barbarossa, of the Middle Ages, are to those of modern times. The epithets had become a part of the proper names. To alter these materially, and to have substituted any thing entirely different for the *πύδας ὤκως* 'Αχιλλεύς, and the *πολύμητις* 'Οδυσσεύς, or other equally recognized epithets, would have appeared as uncouth to a Grecian auditor, as if any one were now to talk of red-haired William, long-legged Edward, or poor John, in place of William Rufus, Edward Longshanks, and John Lackland. For this reason, we conceive Mr. Munford to have committed an error in point of costume, when he rejects such repetitions "as disagreeable clogs impeding the main design and object of the poem."*

From what has been said, it will be perceived that much, which to a modern may appear peculiar, and much in-

tor. Frere has, however, discovered a metre different from the hexameter in the Iliad itself. Mus. Crit. sup. cit. It is possible that various kinds did exist. The Dithyramb, which came from Phrygia must, on account of the proximity of Ionia, have been known in the latter country long before it reached Greece. Still the hexameter was the prevalent metre; so much so, that an old oracle was rejected as spurious because written in Iambics. Schol. ad Aristoph. Eq.

* Pref. p. ix.

deed which may constitute high excellence, in the poetry of Homer, is already explained by the usages of his times. At any rate we have detected the tendencies of his age, which are such as to leave no occasion for surprise, whatever there may be for admiration, when we find the results that are consonant with them. From a knowledge of the period in which Homer lived, (or the Homeric poems were written;) of the people to whom he belonged—the influences by which he was surrounded,—and the language which he employed; we should expect to find in his poems the evidences of a rich and fertile imagination, rejoicing in metaphors, and conversant with nature in all her changes. We should anticipate a healthy and vigorous freshness of thought and expression; an easy and flowing narration; minute fidelity in his descriptions; simplicity and perspicacity in his language; and a daring originality of fancy. We might look, moreover, for sound moral feeling, exuberant cheerfulness and elasticity of feeling, a deep veneration and regard for the tales and manners of olden time, and a firm faith in the gods, accompanied with great freedom, however, in their portraiture. To the situation of those Ionian cities may also be referred that fondness for the sea in all its moods, and that familiarity with it, which have inspired so many of the most beautiful and sublime of the Homeric similes.

These things may be essential to the highest order of poetry, but in themselves they are not poetry. They furnish general characteristics which there is room to vary infinitely according to the genius and the idiosyncracies of the poet. National habits may explain much that is characteristic of an author, especially in an early age, but they will not explain all. More still remains behind which must be referred to individual genius; and it is no less important to note the latter than to detect the former. There is a general resemblance between the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Theogony* of Hesiod, (slight it may be, for they are the productions of different ages and different regions)—but the dissimilarity is stronger than the likeness. It is, therefore, no disparagement to the poet to refer much which is characteristic of him to the intelligible causes of his time and position. There will still be enough remaining behind, after all such deductions, to merit special criticism, and, in Homer's case, special admiration.

Mr. Munford remarks that "the distinguishing traits of Homer's poetry are majestic simplicity of style, incomparable energy and fire of fancy and sentiment, with peculiar variety and harmony of modulation." Simplicity of style is incidental to the period, in which he wrote. Herodotus, who lived at least four centuries after him, is perfectly simple. All ballads, moreover, are simple, and the rhapsodies of Homer are the ballads of Greece, as the hexameter verse is its true ballad metre. But Homer's style is more than simple; it is clear as the moonshine, and transparent as crystal; and it is withal as graceful and natural as the leaves upon the tree or the petals upon the flower. The language is distinct, yet strong; the metaphors, however bold, never obscure; and the figures have a chiselled precision about them, which leaves no possibility of misapprehension. The descriptions are not merely accurate outlines, but they are perfect pictures; and hence they have furnished the hint and the subject for some of the highest works of art. They have exercised the genius of a Phidias and a Flaxman.

The simplicity of the Iliad is, as Mr. Munford has well remarked, relieved by its majesty, its energy, its fire, and its imagination. Its simplicity is due to strength, and comprehension. Clearness may arise from the shallowness of the brook, or the tenuity of the material: but may also spring from the depth of the waters, whose very volume keeps them pure. The latter is the case with Homer: his Iliad is perfectly simple and translucent, but it is also as full and flowing as his own ocean-stream:

ποταμῷο ῥέεθρα
'Ωκεανῷ, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.*

There is no stagnation in it; all is fresh and moving. You are borne on by the current of Homer's song easily and without effort, like a ship over the bounding waves. He never flags or tires; when he seems to be weary,

It is not Homer sleeps, but we that dream.

Sure, indeed, are we that all the passages of the Iliad in which any drowsiness appears, and which may seem to au-

* Hom. Il. xiv. 245. Henry Nelson Coleridge has made the same reference and application: but he was preceded by Quintilian. Inst. Or. lib. x. c. I. § 46. and he in turn by Dionysius Halicarnassensis.

thorize the remark of Horace "*quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*" might be confidently rejected as the interpolations of a later and less skilful hand.

The genius of Homer is as profound as the depths of the sea, as limitless as the expanse of ocean—now it rises up in angry billows to the clouds, now yawns in dark chasms beneath us, which reach to the caverns of the earth. Like his own fabled ocean-stream it embraces and comprehends all things—there is no passion which it does not portray, no character which it does not illustrate. It is as varied as the aspect of the great deep—now lashed into surges by the storm, now smooth and glassy like the summer sea sleeping in the sunshine, now rippling beneath the breath of the light-blowing breeze. Throughout all these changes there is neither straining nor apparent effort; but everywhere they are accompanied with an ease that is ignorant of its labor, and the quiet majesty which springs from conscious strength.*

But it is not our purpose to sing the praises of Homer. The Commentary of Longinus is his noblest eulogy, the universal admiration of mankind his highest honor. After such celebration there is no room for the weak music of our slender reed. It would be hopeless, it would be unnecessary, to amplify the commendation which none refuse to bestow upon him. Where there are no gainsayers, there is no occasion to laud and magnify acknowledged excellences. No one thinks of praising Hercules! But so far as Homer's characteristics spring from his clime and period, these it was well to note, but to enlarge upon his excellences were the work of foolish and unreasonable supererogation. We have said enough of his peculiarities to enable us to perceive what ought to be expected in a translator of the *Iliad*. Our remarks therefore have not been irrelevant; but if we were to dwell upon these topics, and to decorate with fancy phrases the honor which we would proffer, we should then be wandering from our subject in the pursuit of a profitless aim.

* The criticism of Quintilian is so concise that we are tempted to cite it. "*Hunc nemo in magnis rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superaverit. Idem lætus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis.*" * * Affectus quidem, vel illos mites, vel nos concitados, nemo erit tam indoctus, qui non in sua protestate hunc auctorem habuisse fateatur. * * Quid? In verbis, sentiis, figuris, dispositione totius operis, nonne humani ingenii modum excedit? ut magni sit viri virtutes ejus non æmulatione, quod fieri non potest, sed intellectu sequi. Inst. Or. x. c. l. §§ 46-50.

It will appear from our observations that the first requisites of a translator of the Iliad are fidelity, simplicity, perspicuity and energy. The first is an essential in all translation which is worth any thing as such, the other three qualities exist so strikingly in Homer that the absence of any of them will turn any version of his poems, that may want them into a mere travesty. A highly involved or artificial style is as far from Homer or the resemblance of Homer, as Rubens is from the Cartoons of Raphael or Michael Angelo. Pope ought not to be compared to Rubens, but may be likened to Titian or Tintoretto, so far did his love of coloring remove him from the simplicity of the original. With Cowper we have but little patience; he is faithful but paints with harsh, rude colors, and in his version of Homer has given us a satyr in place of Hyperion.

To hit the mean between these two celebrated translators was the aim of Mr. Munford. "Pope," says he, "has equipped Homer in the fashionable style of a modern fine gentleman; Cowper displays him, like his own Ulysses, 'in rags unseemly,' or in the uncouth garb of a savage. Surely then there is room for an effort to introduce him to the acquaintance of my countrymen in the simple yet graceful and venerable costume of his own heroic times." Pope glides smoothly on with the pretty mincing air of a court-belle in a minuet, or at times with the more solemn stiffness of a courtier in the pavon, dancing with trim queue and starched ruffles; while Cowper comes in like a clown and remains a clown to the close. In neither was any thing of the manly grace, simplicity and ease of the ancient dance. In reading Pope's version of battles, you might fancy that Achilles and Hector in that last terrible struggle beneath the walls of Troy tilted at each other with well-balanced rapiers and a careful observance of the *passato* and *staccado*: and in Cowper you might suppose that they laid about them with long quarter-staves after the fashion of Friar Tuck and Little John. Neither of these presented Homer. A new translation was wanted, which might possess the accuracy of Cowper's rendering, and yet be simple and graceful: and such a translation Mr. Munford has labored successfully to produce.

Mr. Munford's version of the Iliad is simple in its diction, and as perspicuous in language as Homer himself. There are no intricacies of expression, and but few involutions.

At the same time it is smooth and flowing, never presenting the roughness of Cowper. It is written in blank verse : and the tedious monotony of that species of composition is very dexterously evaded by the varying modulations of his lines, and the changes of the pauses—or in technical language of *cæsuras*. Speaking of the measure employed, Mr. Munford says, "I have not imitated Milton or any other writer. With a boldness which some may consider presumptuous, I have made an attempt to adopt a style of my own, sedulously avoiding that inverted and perplexing arrangement which too often prevails in the structure of this species of metre ; for, in my opinion, it is not impossible to combine in blank verse, ease and smoothness, with strength and variety." In the first book, indeed, Mr. Munford seems to have been scarcely at ease in his harness ; in his endeavor to avoid monotony of one kind he falls into monotony of another. In the attempt to avoid the regular completion of the sense at the termination of the line, he produces a recurrence of pause in the middle of the verse which is even more offensive to the ear. This defect, however, was soon overcome, for after leaving the first book, nearly the whole of the remainder of this version is remarkably smooth and easy. It does not pretend to the graces of Pope. Any one indifferent to an acquaintance with Homer and anxious only for the perusal of a beautiful poem will still continue to read Pope's Translation : but in so doing, let him remember that he reads Pope in contradistinction to Homer.

The great merit, however, of the work under review consists in its exceeding fidelity. A great deal of nonsense has been written and said respecting the Horatian precept "*non fidus interpret, &c.*" Horace knew what he was about when he penned the maxim, which is very far from having been the case with many who have borrowed it from him. He never designed it to be of general application to the translation of an author from one language into another, for the purpose of giving us an exact counterpart of his original. He was giving instructions for converting into a Roman drama, the plays of the Greeks, or some episode from their epic poetry. There the policy and good sense of the rule were obvious ; but when it comes to be applied to a version of a work it is as pernicious a direction as it is foolish. In the latter case fidelity is the first great thing to be aimed at ; and the utmost fidelity is desirable. The trans-

lator should render faithfully the sentiments, the language, and, where the genius of his own tongue will permit it, even the separate words of his original. The extreme fidelity of Mr. Munford's version of the *Iliad*, accordingly, confers upon it its highest value. It is much more faithful than even Cowper, and that was Cowper's sole merit. The captious and small critic of small things may perhaps note that there are more lines in Mr. Munford's books than in Cowper's. Mr. Munford may be more loose in his language than his predecessor, but this arises principally from the curtailment into short phrases of expressions which Mr. Munford has endeavored to render fully. At any rate, we have no doubt that any one who will carefully compare the version of the latter with Homer, himself will agree with us in the belief that it is the most faithful of all translations of any work into the English language.

In nerve and energy of expression Mr. Munford has usually surpassed both Pope and Cowper—there may be instances in which the native poetic genius of the former may have given a fulness and vigor to a passage which none else might hope to equal. But ordinarily it will be found that wherever Mr. Munford's translation may seem not to do full justice—and what translation can?—to the richness, strength and simple majesty of Homer, that the defect is to be found in the nature of the material which he had to use, and not in him.

All these points we shall illustrate directly by citation—but before doing so, we would remark that we have not noticed Sotheby or other translators, because Pope and Cowper are those which have been recognized as standards in our tongue. Pope will always, and ought always, to occupy his position as an English classic: there are none to displace him; his version is a beautiful and independent poem, which will always prevent any, that may seek currency by the employment of his arts, from being generally received. The other translations are either obsolete like Chapman's, or mere affectations like Macpherson's or the recent one of Shadwell.

We shall now proceed to our task of illustrating the excellence of Mr. Munford's present translation of Homer by quotations from the work. We shall select principally such short passages as can be separated from the context without much dislocation, on account of the room that will necessa-

rily be taken up by the array of the parallel versions. The first specimen which we shall cite is one of no peculiar beauty, being merely a list of names from the catalogue of the ships; but it is one of the most difficult to translate faithfully, and will accordingly be convenient to illustrate the fidelity of each translator respectively. We shall print in italics those words which have no counterpart to the original, so far as this may be practicable. The passage in in Homer is Il. ii. 449-510. And first let us listen to Pope.

The *hardy* warriors whom Bœotia bred,
 Penelîus, Leitus, Prothœnor led :
 With these Arcesilaus and Clonius stand,
 Equal in arms, and equal in command.
These head the troops that rocky Aulis yields
 And Eteon's hills, and Hyrie's *wat'ry fields*,
 And Schœnos, Scholos, Græa *near the main*,
 And Mycalessia's ample *piny* plain.
 Those who in Peteon or Ilesion dwell,
 Or Harma, *where Apollo's prophet fell* ;
 Heleon and Hylé, *which the springs o'erflow* ;
 And Medeon *lofty*, and Ocalea *low* ;
 Or in the meads of Haliartus stray,
 Or Thespia *sacred to the god of day*.
 Onchestus, Neptune's celebrated groves ;
 Cossa and Thisbé famed for *silver doves*,
 For *flocks* Erythræ, Glissa *for the vine* ;
 Platea *green*, and Nisa the divine.
 And they whom Thebè's well-built walls inclose,
 Where Mydé, Eutresia, Coronè rose ;
 And Arné rich with purple harvests crown'd :
 And Anthedon, Bœotia's utmost bound.
 Full fifty ships they send and each conveys
 Twice sixty warriors through the foaming seas.
 Pope's Iliad, ii. 586-609.

Considering the difficulty of embracing all these names in rhyming verse, the translation is very fairly done. But it will be observed that one-third of it is Pope's own additions, and the epithets which he has chosen are not always very appropriate. "Græa near the main" may be defended on the authority of Aristotle, Strabo, and Stephanus Byzantius, who consider it to have been identical with Oropus—a sea-port town. But whence "Hyrie's watery fields" were discovered we know not, for Hyrie was near Tanagra and was the furthest city of Bœotia from the swamp country. The "ample *piny* plain of Mycalessia"—which should be Myca-

lessus—is both bad in sound and bad in respect of truth—for piny would have been no term of commendation for the soil, as is sufficiently well known in South-Carolina. The order of the names, too, has been wofully dislocated by Pope, but we may readily forgive that.

Cowper's version runs thus :

Bæotia's *sturdy* sons Peneleus led,
And Leitus, *whose partners in command*
Arcesilaüs, and Prothoenor *came,*
And Clonius. Them the dwellers on the rock
Of Aulis follow'd, *with the hardy clans*
Of Hyrie, Schænos, Scholos, and the hills
Of Eteon; Thespia, Græa, and the plains
Of Mycalessus them, and Harma serv'd,
Eleon, Erythra, Peteon; Hyle them,
Ilesius and Ocalea, and *the strength*
Of Medeon; Cossæ *also in their train*
March'd with Eutresia, and *the mighty men*
Of Thisbe fam'd for doves: *nor pass unnam'd*
Whom Coronæa, and the grassy land
Of Haliartus *added to the war,*
Nor whom Plataæ, nor whom Glissa bred,
And Hypothelæ, and thy sacred groves
To Neptune, *dark* Onchestus. *Arne claims*
A record next for her illustrious sons,
Vine-bearing Arne. *Thou wast also there*
Mideia, and thou Nissa; *nor be thine*
Though last, Anthedon, a forgotten name,
These in Bæotia's *fair and gallant fleet*
Of fifty ships, *each bearing o'er the waves*
Thrice forty warriors, *had arrived at Troy.* ii. 558-82.

Cowper's interpolations here equal those of Pope. The verse is as rough as a bear; and there is not as much music in the rhythm as in a cracked hurdy-gurdy. Yet the translation is undoubtedly more faithful than Pope's. The same liberties are not taken either with the epithets or the names of the towns. But the grammatical constructions are very awkward; and we can not acknowledge "thy sacred groves to Neptune" to be even English. Many of the additions are in exceedingly bad taste. Homer had declared his inability to remember or record the names of the cities which had sent troops to the Trojan War, and therefore invokes the assistance of the Muses :

"Ἐσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
Ἵμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐσμε, πάρεστέ τε ἴσate τε πάντα. ii. 484.

Yet after having introduced them as omniscient, Cowper,

represents them as liable to obliviousness. No such blunder has been committed by Mr. Munford, who thus renders the lines :

Bœotia's warriors *five commanders led* ;
 Peneleus, Leitus, Arcesilaus,
 Clonius and Prothoenor. *Theirs the troops*
 Who dwelt in Hyrie's *fields, or on the coast*
 Of rocky Arilis, or on Eteon's hills ;
 Who, Schoenos, Scholos, Thespia, Græa held,
 And Mycalessus' wide-spread plain ; whose home
 Was Harma or Ilesion ; who possess'd
 Erythræ's *flocks, or in the marshy grounds*
 Of Eleon, or Hyle, made abode ;
 The men who Peteon and Ocalea own'd,
 And Medeon's well-built city ; Copæ too ;
 Eutresis ; Thisbe, fam'd for flocks of doves ;
 The men of Coronea ; those who dwelt
 In *flowery* Haliartus' verdant *land*,
 Or in Plateæ ; or who Glissa held,
 Or Hypothebæ's *strong and well-built town*
 Onchestus' beauteous grove, to Neptune's *shrine*
 Devoted ; those who pressed the plenteous grapes
 Of Arne, *rich* ; or in Mideia liv'd.
 Or sacred Nissa, or *(the furthest bound*
Of all Bœotia,) distant Anthedon.
 Of these full fifty vessels *plough'd the deep*,
 And six-score warriors every ship contained. ii. 652-75.

A mere inspection will show how much more faithful and exact Mr. Munford is in this passage than either of his predecessors. The ear will also tell how infinitely he surpasses Cowper in the easy flow and rhythm of his verse. There is no epithet omitted which occurs in the original. This cannot be said either of Pope or Cowper. Liberties have been taken with the pronunciation of two of the proper names, Arcesilaüs and Prothœnor, but this may have been unavoidable. Cowper has taken the same liberty with the latter of the two, and Pope with the former, Leitus, and several others. It may be, however, remarked in passing that Mr. Munford frequently commits errors in the quantities and pronunciation of proper names which is to be accounted for by the slovenly and inaccurate manner in which they are habitually pronounced in our American schools and colleges, and that utter negligence of all the laws of quantity, rhythm, and metre prevalent in them.

The passage upon which we have been commenting was selected for the purpose of manifesting the comparative fi-

delity of the translations of Pope, Cowper, and Munford. This of course will be further done in such other quotations as we shall make, but we will now proceed to illustrate other points more especially. And first let us take that beautiful simile of the bees in the Second Book, which has been imitated by both Virgil and Milton.* We shall mark interpolations as before in italics.

*The following host,
Pour'd forth by thousands, darkens all the coast.
As from some rocky cliff the shepherd sees
Clustering in heaps on heaps the driving bees,
Rolling, and blackening, swarms succeeding swarms,
With deeper murmurs, and more hoarse alarms;
Dusky they spread, a close embodied crowd,
And o'er the vale descends the living cloud.
So from the tents and ships, a lengthening train
Spreads all the beach, and wide o'er shades the plain:
Along the region runs a deafening sound:
Beneath their footsteps groans the trembling ground:
Fame flies before, the messenger of Jove,
And shining soars and claps her wings above.*

Pope. ii. 109-122.

This passage is all Pope,—at every line we may cry out with Æschylus in the comedy—*ληκυθιον ἀπώλεσεν*.† There is not a single idea belonging to Homer in the whole of it. Even Milton's imitation gives a truer notion of the original. The first three lines are Pope's entire; . Homer says nothing about a shepherd, or a rocky cliff, though it is possible that Pope who had "small Greek", may have blundered over the phrase *πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς*, and made that into a rocky cliff. There is no appearance of translation in the whole passage, and the termination in which Fame is represented as clapping her wings above, is most lame, impotent, and ridiculous.

* Virgil's imitation is at *Æn.* vi. 707. Milton's *Par. Lost.* i. 768.

As bees,
In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive
In clusters: they among fresh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed plank,
The suburb of their straw-built citadel,
New rubb'd with balm, expatiate and confer
Their state affairs &c.

† Aristoph. *Ran.* v. 1206. The reference is enough for the classical scholar, to whom alone it could be rendered intelligible.

Cowper fails in his version, but his failure is not so signal as Pope's. The latter has, however, the merit of beautiful poetry to break and redeem his fall, which the latter has no pretensions to. Cowper thus renders the lines :

As from the hollow rock bees stream abroad,
And in succession endless seek the fields,
 Now clustering, and now scattered far and near,
 In spring-time, among *all the new-blown* flowers,
 So they a various throng, from camp and fleet
O'er the green level mov'd in just array
 And tribe by tribe to council. In the midst
 Rumor, Jove's messenger, *with ardent haste*
Inspired, and urg'd them to the spot. They met,
 Tumultuous was the concourse. Groan'd the earth
 When down they sat, and loud was every tongue.

Cowper, ii. 101-11.

Rugged indeed must be the ears that can be pleased with such harsh grating and grinding as these lines contain. Yet in Homer this is one of the most mellifluous and exquisitely modulated passages in the Iliad. There is not a single beauty of the original which is not travestied and spoiled. The humming, and buzzing, and murmuring, and bustling which are so admirably illustrated in the language of Homer, are all lost here. And the music of the verse, if it has any, is like the creaking of a rusty smoke-jack. *Cowper's supplements to Homer*!,—*proh pudor*! are very happy. His "green level" is the sea-shore: and if he could get grass to go there, we think that it was a poor imitation of madness, when Ulysses ploughed the sand and sowed salt in the furrows. If Cowper could get a "green level" on the sandy beach, Ulysses might have raised a crop of Scotch herrings. The force of the Homeric *δεσφει*, too, is completely lost in Cowper's "ardent haste inspired." Let us hear what Homer did say.

Meanwhile the people thronged: like *humming* tribes
 Of swarming bees, when from a hollow rock
 They pour incessantly, fresh numbers still
 Succeeding without end, and restless fly
 In clust'ring throngs among the flowers of spring;
 Some here, some there, a countless multitude
 So then the numerous tribes from tents and ships
 Pour'd thronging forth, along the *winding* shore
 Of vast extent. Among them Fame herself,
Conspicuous, flam'd (Jove's messenger)—to march
 Exciting all: they crowding hurried on.

Tomultuous was the concourse; where they sat,
The ground beneath the mighty numbers groan'd,
And loud their clamor rose. Munford. ii. 117-130.

This is what Homer did say, as truly, fully, and musically expressed as the English language and the particular metre employed will permit. Every thing in the Homeric simile is expressed in the translation, and nothing more. There are only three *additaments*, and they are very slight. The only defect is that Mr. Munford has taken a line and a half to explain the three words ἀεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων. He is the only one of the translators who has given due force to the Homeric *δεδησι*, or has given any poetic English equivalent for the beautiful expression ἐπ' ἀνθεσιν εἰαρινῶσιν. The rhythm of the original, and the simile itself is so exquisite, that we give it in Homer's own melodious Greek.

Ὡς τε ἔθνεα εἴσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
Πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων,
Βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἀνθεσιν εἰαρινῶσιν,
Αἱ μὲν τ' ἐνθα ἄλλος πεποτήσεται, αἱ δὲ τε ἐνθά,
ὧς τῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν ἅπο καὶ κλισιάων
Ἥϊόνος προπάρουθε βαθείης ἐστὶ γούωντο
Ἰλαδὸν ἐκ ἀγορήν· μετὰ δὲ σφισιν Ὅσσα δεδησι,
Οτρύνουσ' ἰέναι Διὸς ἄγγελος οἱ δ' ἀγέροντο·
Τετρήχει δ' ἀγορῇ, ὑπὸ δ' ἐστοναχίζετο γᾶια,
Λαῶν ἰζόντων, οἰαδὸς δ' ἦν. Il. ii. 87-96.

Let us now select a few of those passages in which Homer has exhausted the strength and copiousness of the Greek language, and has successfully made his own words like in nerve and sound to the things described.

Ἦχῃ' ὥς ὅτε κύμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
Αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ βρεμεται, σμαραγῆι δὲ τε πόντος.

Pl. ii. 209-10.

Here the frequency of dactylic feet well represents the impetuous rush of the angry billow on the roaring sea—the recurrence of vocalic cæsuras exhibits the dash and splash of the wave upon the rocks—while the dull, heavy thunder of the deep is intimated by the unusual pause in the fifth foot. The last of these effects is even further increased by the employment of two petty enclitics to complete the dactyl—so that the emphasis is thrown with double force upon the two long syllables between which they stand. We

need not allude to the full, nervous, and ringing sound which is given to the lines by the words that Homer has employed. Now let us see what our three champions make of these lines.

*Murmuring they move, as when old ocean roars,
And heaves huge surges to the trembling shores :
The groaning banks are burst with bellowing sound,
The rocks remurmur and the deeps rebound.* Pope. ii. 249-52.

This won't do : there is not a bit of Homer in it. "Old ocean," as Pope rather familiarly terms the sea when lashed by the fury of the tempest—a liberty Homer never takes, much less at such a time—could dance to this tune with a cap-full of wind. This cannot pass.

*Deafening was the sound
As when a billow of the boisterous deep
Some broad beach dashes, and the ocean roars,*
Cowper. ii. 232-4.

That won't do : it is worse than Pope—because weaker, less rythmical and less elegant. There is no touch of Homer in it. "Some broad beach" for *αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ*—pugh ! If this be translation then thunder may be rendered noise, and the sun a lard-lamp. Let us try again.

*As when loud-sounding ocean's stormy waves
Burst roaring on the wide re-echoing shore.*
Munford. ii. 272-3

Infinitely better than either of the others. It is not Homer yet ; but it is Homeric ; and for fidelity, nerve, and truth is very far above either Pope or Cowper. We will test their respective strength again in another passage of like character.

*ὦς δ' ὅτ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς ἔιδεν νέφος αἰπόλος ἀνὴρ,
Ερχόμενον κατὰ πόντον ὑπὸ Ζεφύροιο ἰωῆς,
Τῷ δὲ τ, ἄνευθεν ἔόντι μελάντερον, ἥτε πίσσα,
Φαίνεται ἰὼν κατὰ πόντον, ἄγει δέ τε λαίλαπα πολλήν.*
Il. iv. 275-8.

*Thus from the lofty promontory's brow
A swain surveys the gathering storm below :
Slow from the main the heavy vapors rise,
Spread in dim streams and sail along the skies
Till black as night the swelling tempest shows,
The cloud condensing as the west wind blows.*
Pope. iv. 314-19.

It is pretty enough, and will do for Pope but not for Homer,

it is as much like Homer as a Broadway dandy is like an Indian Chief in his warrior's arms.

As when the goat-herd from a rocky point
Sees rolling o'er the deep and wafted on
By western gales a cloud, that, as it comes
In distant prospect view'd, pitch-black appears,
And brings worst weather, lightning, storm, and rain.

Cowper. iv. 297-301.

There is but little of the solemn gloom, and quickly darkening cloud of the original in this. The last line is miserable. The *λαίλαψ* here is the white squall of the Mediterranean. If Cowper's pusillanimity had ever permitted him to go to sea out of reach of soundings, he would have learned something about storms, and would not have talked about a wind bringing "worst weather." That is a platitude of which even Apollonius Rhodius, or Silius Italicus would not have been guilty—much less Homer. We know no worse epic poets than the two referred to—bating Blackmore and Fimmons. The first lines are well enough, though hardly good: we hope to find something better.

As when a goatherd from a lofty rock
Sees o'er the deep a cloud, by west winds driven.
Far distant, black as pitch, scowling it comes
Big with the direful tempest.

Munford. iv. 370-3.

There are two epithets added in this translation, which may be unnecessary, but certainly do not detract from the general effect. We would not moreover be so ridiculously exacting as to require a translator not to insert any thing of his own to fill out the lines. If we did, a translation of any author into verse would become an impossibility. All that we demand is that the force of the original be not weakened, or the sense perverted by these expletives.

There is another passage in the Fourth Book of the Iliad very similar to those just noticed. It is descriptive of the appearance of Diomedes, prepared in full panoply for war, and of the effect of his martial air and the dreadful clang of his armour, and then proceeds to liken the impetuous onset of the army to the war.

Ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε
Δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσι νῆακος
Ὀρρυμενοῦ ὑπὸ κεν ταλασίφρονά περ δέος εἶλεν.
Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχεὶ κῆμα θαλάσσης

Ἵρνυτ' ἀπασσύντερον Ζεφύρον ὑποκινήσαντος
 Ποντῷ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα κορυσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Χερσὶ βῆγνύμενον μέγала βρεμει, ἀμφὶ δὲ τ' ἄκρας
 Κυρτὸν εὖν κορυφῶται, ἀποπτυσὶ δ' ἁλὸς ἄχνην. Il. iv. 419-26.

The closing phrase is a singularly bold and expressive metaphor—and spits forth the spray of the sea. Let us see what our *agonistæ* make of the whole passage.

He spoke, and *ardent* on the *trembling* ground
 Sprung from his car; *his ringing arms resound*.
 Dire was the clang, and dreadful *from afar*
 Of arm'd Tydides rushing to the war.
As when the winds, ascending by degrees,
First move the whitening surface of the seas,
The billows float in order to the shore,
 The wave behind rolls on the wave before:
Till, with the growing storm, the deeps arise,
Foam o'er the rocks, and thunder to the skies.

Pope. 474-83.

This is a beautiful and spirited description, and one which we would fain quote further. But there is very little foundation for Pope's simile in the original. In the early age of a people, the language, the thoughts, the descriptions are eminently picturesque, and definite. This is peculiarly the case with the Homeric similes. They select a particular moment of time, and portray all that can be caught at once by a single glance of the eye, and might be represented in painting. The distinction between the provinces of the sister arts is hardly recognized as yet. Hence, Homer seldom introduces the origin and development of those senses in nature, which he employs for his similes, but represents the phenomenon in a single state already at its acme. In this present passage he does not exhibit the growth of the storm—the bright sky becoming gradually overcast—the sleeping waters first waking up with a gentle ripple—then playfully forming themselves into tiny breakers—the wind puffing fitfully—sweeping in hurried gusts over the deep—swelling with a low, dull, rising murmur into a hoarse blast—chafing the sea, and lashing it into billows—the storm increasing—the waves fretting and foaming, and tumbling over each other in mighty masses—tossing their wild locks to the winds,—bending over to the heavy plunge—and shaking off the showers of spray, as the lion shakes the dew-drops from his mane. If this were Homer's

habit, Pope's translation would be as accurate as it is beautiful. But Homer's pictures presents the ocean already in its fury—it is vexed by the west wind in the opening of the simile, the waves are already curling their huge backs in dense confusion—they are hurling their crested heads on high—they are dashing against the jutting cliffs—and spitting forth the yesty spray. There Homer stops: he arrests the billows as they hang curling midway between earth and heaven—the foam is poised in air; he does not even represent the sullen roar of the waves, nor the thundering plash of the breakers as it falls back upon the bosom of the stormy sea. He gives us a distinct picture and not a moving scene.

Pope, too, has neglected altogether those beautiful and expressive words *πολυχέϊ, ἐπασσύτρων*, (for it is rendered with an improper meaning,) *κορύσσεται, κυρτόν, κορυφούται*, and *ἀποπτύει*. He substitutes, it is true, new beauties of his own in place of the beauties of Homer. Cowper does not make any considerable additions to the passage, but he wholly misapprehended the nature and the cause of its sublimity, and after all gives us little more than Pope, denuded of his grace and fire.

He said, and, at a leap, with *all* his arms
Dismounted: On his breast loud rang the shield
Of the impetuous chief. *The sudden din*
Had struck a terror to the boldest heart.

As when excited by the blowing west,
The billows crowd toward *some* sounding shore;
First *on the distant broad expanse* they curl
Their *whitening* heads, then thundering smite the land,
O'erswell the rocks, and scatter wide the spray.

Cowper. iv. 453–61.

"At a leap—dismounted" is a very tame substitute for *ἄλλο χαμᾶζε*—we do not know what the shield was doing on the breast of Tydides—it should have been on his back, if not on his arm. Instead of representing "the chief" as "impetuous," Homer depicts him as actually rushing on. Pope has caught the sentiment much more truly, when he speaks of "armed Tydides rushing to the war." There is no "distant broad expanse" in the midst of the tempest; "o'erswell the rocks," is the language of Pope, not of Homer, nor of any one who knows the sea, and would describe the raging wave hurled against a high cliff and being broken upon the rock. This Cowper would have known, if his natural timidity had ever suffered him to witness a storm at sea.

Munford far excels both of his competitors in the version which he has produced. He has faithfully exhibited the Homeric nerve, and truth, and simplicity; he has preserved the momentary unity of the picture; and has supplied an equivalent for every phrase but *κορύσσειται* and *κυρτόν*.

He said, and from his chariot to the ground
 Leap'd in his armor; loudly rang the brass
With dreadful clangor on his royal breast,
 As fiercely to the fight he rush'd; *that sound*
Might e'en the bravest heart *have touch'd* with fear!
 As when on Ocean's hoarsely-echoing shore
 A surge is driven by the *stormy* west,
 With force accumulated; swelling first
Far out at sea, the billows rise, then dash
 Against the land with *hollow deaf'ning* roar,
 And round the promontory's *lofty cliffs*
 Raise high their *foaming* heads and toss the briny spray.
 So then th' embodied squadrons of the Greeks
 Mov'd on, with ranks unbroken, to the war.

Munford. iv. 552-65.

This leaves little to be desired; it is Homer minus the rich fulness and sonorous harmony of the Greek language moving majestically along in his heroic hexameters. We have added the application of the simile, both to complete the sense,—preventing at the same time any misapprehension from the introduction of Diomedes—and to point out a singular mistake in the last line. Homer would hardly have compared an army “with ranks unbroken” to a huge billow broken against a precipitous crag. Nor does Mr. Munford here translate the word *νωλεμεως* accurately. Cowper has committed the same error—and has dwelt upon it and expanded it till it is a glaring, methodical, emphatic, and prolonged blunder.

A few lines lower down follows the magnificent impersonation of Discord, which Virgil has copied in his description of Fame or Rumour. We shall only allude to the passage. There is too much affectation for sublimity about Pope's version, which is otherwise inaccurate. Cowper's is equally unfaithful; and its baldness and insipidity become ludicrous by his quoting the commendation of Longinus that the “description gives us not more justly the measure of Discord, than that of the genius of Homer,” after such meagre lines as these.

Who small at first, but swift to grow, from earth
 Her towering crest lifts gradual to the skies.

Cowper. iv. 479-80.

Mr. Munford's version is nervous and accurate, but there is too much amplification about it.

The speech of Jupiter to the gods assembled on Olympus has been sometimes regarded as the most sublime passage in the *Iliad*. Pope has translated it generally with great spirit but with no pretension to fidelity, and in this way has crippled it in some of its finest parts by substituting the silken phrases of *Popification* for the naked strength of Homer. Cowper is naked enough in all conscience—he has no rag or sign of other vesture about him: he is as rude and rough as oak bark. His translation is very simple—so simple indeed that it sounds more like a child's babble, than Homer speaking in the English tongue. Mr. Munford has succeeded infinitely better than Cowper, and has done very well. He has not, however, done as full justice as usual to his original. His verse is not rugged nor is his language weak; but there is a stern simplicity, an unadorned majesty, and concentrated nervousness of expression, which are admirably adapted to the position of the King of heaven addressing his subjects, but which a translator can hardly render into English. There is very great danger of his running either into the meretricious ornaments of Pope, or into the barren and grotesque simplicity of Cowper. Mr. Munford's version is this.

Morn saffron-rob'd, now shone o'er all the earth,
 When Jove, rejoicing in his thunderbolts,
 The gods assembled on the topmost height
 Of all the summits of *immense* Olympus
 He spoke, and they *with awful rev'rence* heard
 Hear, all ye gods and all ye goddesses,
 The *sovereign* mandate by my mind approved.
 Let not a male or female deity
 Attempt to contravene my *sacred* word,
 But, all assenting, be it straight fulfill'd.
 If I shall any of the gods perceive
 Withdrawing from the rest, *with rash design*,
 To give the Trojans or Achæans aid,
 That god, *with wounds disfigur'd*, shall return,
 Or headlong, *by my forceful arm*, be hurl'd
 To the deep gulf of gloomy Tartarus,
Where far remote, beneath the ground, *descends*,
 The dark abyss: *a dungeon horrible*,
 With gates of iron and with floors of brass;
 As far below, e'en Hades as the space
 Between earth's *surface* and the *starry* sky!
 By *proof* then shall he know, how far indeed

My matchless might surpasses all the gods.
 But come, ye deities, *if such your wish*,
 The trial make! Suspending from the skies
 Our golden chain let all the powers of heaven
Confederate, strive to drag me down to earth!
 Yet never would *your utmost labor* move
The strength invincible of Jove supreme.
 But when *my sovereign will* would draw *that chain*
With ease I lift it, e'en with earth itself,
 And sea itself appended! *Firmly* then
 I bind it round Olympus' cliff *sublime*,
 And earth and ocean *raise* aloft in air!
 So far do I both men and gods transcend!
 He ceas'd, and, awe-struck, silent all remain'd,
 For sternly spoke the monarch of the skies.

Munford, viii. vv. 1-37.

We do not like 'rejoicing in his thunderbolts' as a translation for *εὐχόμενος*; it appears flat and tame. The epithet is rather equivalent to laughing in the thunder and the storm. Nor do we know why Mr. Munford will talk continually of Achaians instead of Achæans—he might just as well say Aischylus in place of Æschylus, or Athenai for Athens. It is true that Campbell in his song to the modern Greeks speaks in like manner of the Achaians, but that might have been to distinguish them from the ancients: but if it were not, the authority of a great name will not sanction a bad practice, nor would this be by any means a solitary affectation in Campbell's later productions. We perceive no necessity for giving Jupiter such a 'forceful arm.' The addition of any epithet of partial or comparative power to an omnipotent being necessarily comes under the head of bathos. The word 'forceful' itself is not much to our taste: it is scarcely modern English. We will not deny it to be good English since Richardson, for whom we have great respect, acknowledges it, and gives Chapman and Langhorne as authorities, though we would lay little stress upon the sanction of the latter, if Pope did not also use it. The word is inharmonious, and is here evidently out of place. The same mistake of weakening the power of the omnipotent god by amplification has produced the repetition of the same error in three more interpolations in this extract—we have Jupiter's 'matchless might,' and 'strength invincible,' and effort 'with ease'—we might add, as a fifth instance to the list, his binding the earth 'firmly' to Olympus. Homer committed none of these oversights.

Mr. Munford has made several annotations upon the passage which we have last quoted, as well as upon the rest of the Iliad. We will now notice them once for all, and be done with them. He says, "I have added copious notes prepared with much study and labor." We are sorry to think that the study and labor have been almost entirely thrown away. Mr. Munford had not access to the best sources of information respecting Homer and antiquity; nor was his scholarship of that kind or of that extent that he could dispense with their assistance. Although much of the literary apparatus requisite for such a study of Homer as is needful for commenting upon the Iliad was published in Mr. Munford's lifetime, yet but few copies of Wolf, or Heyne's edition of Homer, or of Buttmann's Mythologus, or of such works, had then crossed the Atlantic, if any had done so, and they certainly were not within his reach. We doubt, indeed, whether even their existence had come to his knowledge, for we have not found any intimation of such consciousness. We cannot anticipate much learned illustration of Homer from any one to whom the school Lexicon of Schrevelius was an authority to be cited.

Mr. Munford's aids were Eustathius and Clarke, and other critics and commentators; including Pope and Cowper, whose remarks are frequently of great value. Alack! that he should have thought so. Eustathius would no doubt have been an important assistance if it had been in Mr. Munford's hands; but unfortunately he could only take the petty extracts which he was able to find in Clarke's Homer, or referred to in Pope's notes. There are, so far as we remember, only two complete editions of Eustathius—that of Bekker, published at Berlin, since Mr. Munford's death, and that of Rome published by Benedict Junta in 1542–50. We do not think that a copy of the *Editio princeps* is likely to have reached this country—the only copy which we have ourselves seen or heard of on this side of the Atlantic was Bekker's edition. The imperfect editions are fully as scarce as the Juntine, so that we do not see how Mr. Munford could have been much benefitted by Eustathius.

Clarke is Mr. Munford's next authority—we will not say anything against Clarke, for we ourselves have in times past been under great obligations to him, but Clarke is only a school book. If his edition be the only one mentioned

nominatim we may readily infer that the 'other critics and commentators' were not likely to be very important authorities. Indeed, we have every reason to believe that these meant only such annotations as had been gathered from other sources in Clarke, and the translators of the *Iliad*.

We know none of Cowper's observations which can be properly termed valuable. Pope's æsthetical remarks are, indeed, well worthy of consideration, but the rest are entitled to small respect. We have one illustration of this in the note, adopted from him, on the golden chain in the passage above. Pope, and with him Mr. Munford, conjectures that this indicated, according to the Egyptian astronomers, the sun's attractive force. This is mere *niaiserie*—even if there had been any foundation for such an hypothesis, Jupiter is allegorically put for the air, never for the sun. Heyne alludes to the conjecture, and characterizes it as more acute than sensible.* There was a disposition in the Alexandrine school to interpret Homer and all the ancients allegorically,†—a folly which too many of the moderns have been disposed to imitate. It was a ridiculous fancy of exactly the same kind as that which afterwards led the English Dominican, Thomas Wallis,‡ to explain the Metamorphoses of Ovid by the Bible. We regret that Mr. Munford should have been led into this snare by following Pope. But this is the necessary consequence of relying on ignorant or insufficient authorities. "If the blind lead the blind, shall they not both of them fall into the ditch?"

Several of the notes, perhaps a tithe of them, may render some assistance to the mere English scholar by the explanation of allusions, or may afford some gratification by the apposite citation of parallel passages from Scripture. Mr. Munford frequently uses Homer as a text for the introduction of religious reflections. These are very genteel twaddling. We cannot ourselves see much propriety in forcing such moral homilies into the translation of a heathen poet, though we would pass no censure upon it, as it may be a question of taste; and even if they are strangely out of place, yet we have not the heart to condemn them, for they evince

* 'Acutius'—too acutely—says Heyne. ad. Il. viii. 18. vol. v. p. 415. q. v.

† Heyne ad Il. xiv. 205.

‡ Jacob, Bibliophile on Rabelais, Pref. liv. i. Hallam, as usual, is entirely ignorant of it.

invariably the gentle and amiable disposition of the translator, and his earnest and sincere zeal in the cause of morality and religion.

We read with a smile Mr. Munford's labored efforts to prove that the study of the classics is in no wise prejudicial to the interests of Christianity or to the development of religious feelings. The attempt to refute such foolish assertions shows his good will. But we think that this was a needless exhibition of it. It will never do to answer a fool according to his folly—both time and labor are squandered without benefit, in any such endeavor. Those who may be so ignorant, so weak-minded, or so fanatical as to adduce any such objections, are to be received with the smile of derision, and classed with the persecutors of Capnio, and the "*virī obscuri*" of the close of the mediæval ages—they do not merit a reply.

It would scarcely be either generous or just to enter into any minute criticism of the mistakes, into which Mr. Munford may have been led by his want of books of reference. It is always an invidious task to be fault-finding; and after having made the remarks which we have done upon the assistance within his reach, it would be unfair to bring against him the learning of those commentators, with whom he was wholly unacquainted, as a test of his critical accuracy. Wherever we may note palpable mistakes in the text, and we remember but few at present, we shall point them out; but there are few passages of Homer, which are not plain and easy, and capable of a satisfactory translation without any very profound or recondite learning. Immense disputation has, indeed, been raised as to the peculiar force of individual words—as any one may satisfy himself by casting his eye over Buttmann's *Mythologus*. Sir Daniel Sandford was wont to say that the epithet *κορυβαίολος* was only incapable of any sufficient translation.

Of course the application of any such learning as would be requisite to discuss such points as to the employment of phrases in the text would only transfer the controversies which they have originated in the Greek, to the English version. The present translation therefore loses but little by the absence of such erudition.

Mr. Munford seems to have been a better scholar than Pope, and fully as good as Cowper. He was fully competent to translate Homer in a manner sufficiently accurate for any one who can derive satisfaction from a translation. If

the scholar finds reason to be dissatisfied with a few phrases here and there—and they are such as would attract the attention of the scholar only—he can have recourse to the original. Instead, therefore of ungraciously cavilling over Mr. Munford's notes, we will give him all honor for having been able to achieve so much, and to do it so well, with no better assistance than the old *Lexicon* of Schrevelius and the copy of Clarke's *Homer*, into which he had *thumbed* his way into Greek at school and at College, and which continued to be the revered and affectionately beloved companions of his maturer years, even to the end of his days. It does great credit to him that with such scanty help he should have been able to produce a version of the *Iliad*, which, in fidelity, as in smoothness and grace, is infinitely before Cowper's, and with which, for truthfulness and accuracy, Pope's beautiful poem is not for one instant to be compared.

We have already detained our readers so long that we will tax their good nature with but very few additional remarks, and devote our remaining pages almost entirely to quotations from Mr. Munford's *Homer*. They will thus be enabled to judge for themselves of the general merits of its execution.

The first passage, which we shall cite, on this our return to our text, will be one requiring great vigor and energy of expression to do justice to the ponderous phrases of Homer. It is the description of Hector breaking down the gates of the Greeks. The translation is written with great fire and boldness.

With loud, tremendous shout,
He called his Trojan heroes. Sons of Troy,
Equestrian warriors to the onset come!
Break now the Grecian wall, and on the ships
Throw flaming brands, like thunderbolts of Jove!
He said, inspiring fury; they his call
With transport heard throughout that numerous host!
Thronging together, to the wall they ran,
Arm'd with keen spears, before them held erect,
And mounting scaling-ladders. Hector seiz'd
And bore a stone which stood before the gates,
Heavy, and cragg'd, pointed sharp at top,
Which not two men, though stoutest of the race
Earth now sustains, could without toil have mov'd
By levers from the ground, and heav'd its mass
Into a wagon; yet did singly he

Toss it with ease, so light Saturnian Jove
 Made it to him! For, as a shepherd brings,
 In one hand joyfully, a lamb's rich fleece,
 And feels but small the weight, so Hector bore
 That rock enormous towards the lofty gates,
 Strong-framed, with double valves, of panels thick,
 Compact and firm; two iron bars within,
 Transverse secur'd them, fasten'd by a bolt.
 He near them took his stand, with legs astride,
 That not in vain that weapon should be thrown;
 Then smote them in the midst with all his strength,
 And broke both hinges. Thundering on, the stone,
 With force o'erwhelming, fell within the wall.
 Loud rang the yielding gates, asunder riven,
 Nor could the bars retain them; flew the planks,
 In splinter'd fragments, scatter'd every way.
 Into the pass illustrious Hector leap'd,
 Gloomy as night, with aspect stern and dread!
 Array'd in brazen panoply, he shone
 Terrific; in his hands two javelins keen!
 And surely no one could have checked him then,
 Except the gods, when through those gates he sprang!
 His eyes, tremendous, flash'd with living fire;
 And, turning to his host, he call'd them all
 To pass the barrier. They that call obey'd.
 Some clamber'd o'er the wall, while others through
 The portals pour'd: and, terror-struck, the Greeks
 Fle'd to their hollow ships. Confusion dire,
 And uproar wild and horrible ensued.

Munford, B. xii. 594-638.

This is admirable; there are some few feeble lines in it, but the translation altogether is plain, manly, and strong. It is Homer in his majesty and simplicity. It may appear too simple to those whose ideas of Homer have been formed upon Pope, or the vicious taste of the present age, but the version throughout breathes of the antique, and must afford pleasure to those who are anxious to form some conception of Homer such as he actually was, not such as they may themselves fancy or wish him to be.

The description of Neptune's descent to the battle at the ships is equally fine. He had been watching the fight from the hills of Samos, and had noticed the undue intervention of Jupiter in behalf of the Trojans.

Fierce wrath and indignation fir'd his breast
 Against the king of heaven. Instantly,
 Impetuous, down the craggy steep he rush'd
 Of that huge mountain! Trembled all the woods,
 And cliffs abrupt, beneath th' immortal feet

Of mighty Neptune! Three prodigious strides
 He took, and, with a fourth, his journey's end,
 At Ægæ reach'd, where in the seas profound,
 His glorious palace stands, of solid gold,
 Refulgent, incorruptible. Arrived,
 He harness'd to his car his brass-hoof'd steeds,
 Swift-wing'd, and deck'd with radiant manes of gold.
 Himself in golden armor shines; he takes
 The splendid whip, and mounts the seat sublime.
 O'er ocean's waves the winged coursers flew;
 Huge whales unwieldy left their secret caves,
 And joyfully around him gamboll'd, all
 Acknowledging their king; the gladsome sea,
 Subsiding, gave him way; the coursers bore
 So rapidly the smoothly-gliding car
 That not a briny drop of billowy spray
 Bedew'd the whirling axle! To the ships
 They bore their lord. There is a cavern wide,
 Within the bottom of the gulfy main,
 Half way between rough Imbros' rocky isle
 And Tenedos. Earth-shaking Neptune there
 His coursers stay'd, and, from the car releas'd,
 Fed with ambrosia; then with golden chains,
 Infrangible, indissolubly firm,
 He bound their feet, that fix'd they should abide
 Till his return; he to the Grecian host
 Pursu'd his way.

Munford. B. xiii. 26-57.

Our next specimen is in a more tender strain; it is the application of a beautiful simile, on the death of Euphorbus. We will, however, ere we pass, make one observation on the original of the passage above. The dactyl is a rapid foot, more rapid than even Horace's *celeres iambi*. Accordingly, the hurry of Neptune and the speed of his divine horses, as he rushes furiously from the Samian heights to the plains of Troy, are indicated by the copious use of dactyls. The lines leap forward with rapid bounds; the rhythmical beats fall like the quick clatter of galloping horses strained to their utmost speed. These verses are almost purely dactylic. In the four lines describing the descent of Neptune to the sea only a single spondee occurs—excepting of course the final feet of the hexameters,—and there is not a single hiatus to cause delay.

Αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὄρεος κατεβήσσετο παιπαλόεντος,
 Κραιπνὰ ποσὶ προβίβας τρεμε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη
 Πόσσιν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος
 Τρεῖς μὲν ὄρεζατ' ἰὼν τὸ δὲ τετρατον, ἵκετο τεκμῶρ,
 Αἴγας.

Lib. xiii. 17-21.

We proceed to the death of Euphorbus.

Atrides next,
 With prayer to Jove the father, onset made,
 And stabb'd him in the throat, with forceful spear
 Strongly impell'd, as from the blow he shrunk.
 The point transpierc'd him thro' the smooth white neck ;
 He thund'ring fell, and loudly rang his arms.
 With blood his hair was soil'd, whose beauteous curls
 The Graces might have own'd ; his flowing locks,
 With gold and silver braids, were stained with blood !
 As when a verdant olive's vigorous plant.
 With care is cherish'd in some lonely spot,
 Beside a stream where plenteous water flows,
 All beautiful and gay, with leaves that shake
 To ev'ry gentle breeze, and blossoms white
 Profusely blooming, suddenly a storm
 Invades it, rushing with destructive sweep,
 And low it lies uprooted on the ground ;
 So lovely, Panthus' son Euphorbus lay,
 By Menelaus slain, of arms despoil'd,
 And naked left.

Munford. B. xvii. 60-79.

Then, with a singularly bold and rapid conversion, Homer describes Menelaus in his might, glorying in the triumph of his recent victory.

As when a lion, full
 Of valorous might, in savage mountains bred,
 Has caught a heifer, comeliest of the herd,
 He first, with powerful jaws, seizing her neck,
 Breaks the strong joint, then swallows greedily
 Her blood and entrails, lacerating all
 With sharp and murd'rous fangs, while round him dogs
 And herdsman vainly raise incessant cries,
 But far remote, not daring to approach,
 For terror, pale and chill, restrains them all ;
 So, not a Trojan found, within his breast,
 A soul that dar'd encounter Atreus' son
 Exulting in his glory.

Munford. B. xvii. 79-91.

We will make a single extract more and then conclude. It is the appearance of the unarmed Achilles at the trench, when Greeks and Trojans were contending over the body of the dead Patroclus.

—— straight Achilles rose
 Beloved of Jove ; Minerva spread her shield,
 The shaggy *Ægis*, o'er his shoulders broad.
 She, first of goddesses, his lofty head
 Crown'd with a golden cloud, from which a flame
 Of dazzling splendor blaz'd. As curling smoke

Ascends to heaven from some beleaguer'd town,
 Far distant in an isle, around whose walls
 Relentless foes, all day, have tried the chance
 Of ruthless battle ; when the sun has set,
 Torches burn, numerous, on the lofty towers,
 And flames aspire, far-gleaming o'er the waves,
 Bright signal of distress to neighboring realms,
 That friends with ships, to raise their siege, may come ;
 So from Achilles' head the splendors rose
 To heaven's ethereal cope. Beyond the wall
 Advancing, but not far, beside the trench
 He stood, not mixing with Achaia's host,
 But mindful of his mother's strict command.
 There standing, rais'd the chief a dreadful shout ;
 Athenian Pallas, with her thund'ring voice,
 That shout augmented, spreading heartless fear
 And wild confusion in the Trojan ranks.
 As, loud and clear, a shrill-ton'd trumpet sounds,
 Dread signal for assault of daring foes,
 Who round a city spread destructive war ;
 So shrill and loud was then the clear-ton'd voice
 Of stern *Æacides*. That awful sound
 The Trojans heard, and perturbation felt
 In every bosom ; back the coursers roll'd
 Their chariots, woes expecting imminent !
 The drivers, horror-struck, beheld the flame,
 Tremendous rising with continual blaze
 From great *Pelides*' head ; that wond'rous fire
 Which blue-eyed *Pallas* kindled ! Thrice, a shout
 Divine *Achilles* utter'd from the fosse,
 And thrice the Trojans and their sam'd allies,
 Astonish'd and confounded, fled.

Munford. B. xviii. 276-313.

We must now close, but we would refer our readers particularly to the speeches of the deputies, *Achilles*, and his friends in the ninth Book, to the forging of the shield in the eighteenth, to the contest between *Achilles* and the River *Scamander* in the twenty-first, to the death of *Hector* in the twenty-second, and to the whole of the last two Books. From a careful inspection of these passages, we apprehend they will be induced to coincide in our opinion, if they have not already received ample confirmation of it.

That opinion is this : that in fidelity, nervousness of expression, vigor and freshness of thought, and truthfulness, Mr. Munford's version of the *Iliad* far exceeds any of its predecessors. That, while it cannot, would not, and ought not to pretend to the rhetorical artifices, and modern graces of *Pope's*, it is sufficiently smooth in its rhythm, and pre-

serves the antique simplicity of the original. That in every point in which a comparison can be instituted it is infinitely to be preferred to Cowper's. That it is the only translation from which any idea can be formed of the manner, style, sentiment, and language of Homer: and that it ought to be a source of as much pride to America, as of honorable distinction to the memory of the translator.

It is for the last reason that we have devoted so much space and attention to the present work. We have not been able, indeed, to bestow upon it as much as it merited, but we have given more than we could well afford. But as the first translation, of any note or magnitude, of a classical author from an American pen, and especially as it is from a Southern pen, we felt that a Southern Review was bound to accord to it a critical and extended notice. We have now done our part, we have paid the debt of gratitude which was incumbent upon us; it remains for the public to acknowledge their sense of the favor received, by manifesting their cordial respect for the work in giving to it an extended circulation.

The book is beautifully *got up*, to use the printer's phrase. But we regret that by the carelessness of the printers or some other cause, so many typographical errors have crept into the text—though these are carefully corrected in the list of errata. And especially do we regret that by a singular oversight the various Books should have been left without a division into paragraphs. These are, however, slight blemishes, which for the honor of American Literature we hope that the public will for the present overlook. And so we dismiss "Munford's Iliad"—bestowing upon it our hearty commendation and wishing it God speed.

H.

ART. II.—THE PREACHER.

Ecclesiastes Anglicanus ; being a Treatise on Preaching, as adapted to a Church of England Congregation, in a Series of Letters to a young Clergyman ; by the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M. A., late Student of Christ Church. "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." 2 Tim. ii. 15. First American, from the second English edition, with Supplementary Notes, collected and arranged by the Rev. BENJAMIN J. HAIGHT, M.A., Professor of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and Rector of All Saints Church, New-York. New-York : D. Appleton & Co. MDCCCXLIV.

THE PULPIT as the spot whence issue "streams that make glad the city of our God ;" and the Reading Desk, as the place where the Scriptures are read and the services of the Church conducted, must ever be objects of interest to the Christian mind. The etymology of the word Pulpit, gives us some insight into its meaning, and history, classical and sacred, will show forth its nature and design. The English word Pulpit, comes from the Latin *Pulpitum*, a raised place, which Martinus derives from *πολφός* vel *βολβός*, quia tumeat instar bulbi, because it swells or rises like a bulb. The Latin word is borrowed from the Roman theatre, in which the Pulpitum was that part of the stage in front of the scenes, where the actors spoke their parts, corresponding to the *λογεῖον* of the Greek theatre, or part appropriated to the speakers. It was in this Pulpitum, or *λογεῖον*, that the poets recited their verses, and the dramatists, with the actors associated with them, enacted their plays, for no more than three were allowed in the *λογεῖον* at the same time. By Metonymy it is applied to any raised place, or scaffold, for the reciting of poems, or the delivery of orations ; and thus losing its original meaning, it is now applied to the sacred desk in the sanctuary of God.

The word Pulpit is but once used in the Bible, and is found in the Book of Nehemiah, where it is said that Ezra the Scribe "stood upon a Pulpit of wood," and read unto the people who had gathered themselves together as one man,

in the street before the water-gate, out of the book of the law from morning till evening. The Hebrew here is "tower of wood," and it must have been a large one, for six persons are named as standing beside him on his right hand, and seven on his left. Besides the word *Pulpitum*, various other terms were used to designate the place of the Christian Preacher. It was called *Tribunal*, from *Tribunus*, a Roman magistrate, hence applied to an elevated wooden platform or stand called *Tribunal*, from which the Tribune gave his veto; sometimes occupied by the Consul, when presiding at the *Comitia Centuriata* held in the *Campus Martius*. In the Epistles of Cyprian, the Pulpit is called the *Tribunal Ecclesiæ*, but he explains it to be the reading desk, where the ordained readers stood and read the Bible. In the French Chamber of Deputies, the Pulpit or elevated place where a speaker stands to address the assembly, is still called the Tribune.

Suggestum was another name, derived from *suggers*, properly to raise with boards; applied generally, it signifies any place raised above another; its particular application is to a chair or desk where orations or sermons are delivered. The elevated seats on one side of the *Forum Romanum*, from which magistrates or orators addressed the people, were called *suggestus*, usually called *Rostra*, because adorned with the beaks of ships taken in a sea-fight from the inhabitants of Antium. Thus Livy "*Rostris navium Antiatium suggestum in foro adornari placuit.*"

Ambo is another appellation of the Pulpit, derived, as some say, from *ambiendo*, from its surrounding those within it, or as others more properly assert, from *αναβαίνειν*, to ascend—to go up; because, being an elevated place, they went up to it by steps. The original term "*Ἀμβων*," means a protuberance of any kind, as at the boss or ambo of a shield, or the raised rim of a concave one, the knoll or ridge of a mountain; and hence, by later Greek writers, came to mean an elevated scaffold, gallery, or pulpit. Some suppose that it was from this place that the Bishops and Presbyters made their sermons. Chrysostom did, indeed, for convenience, sometimes preach from the ambo; and St. Austin seems to have delivered his discourses from it, which he calls *exedra*; it was not however the ordinary place for the delivery of sermons. Sozoman gives it the name of *βῆμα* (*Th. βαίω*) a step to mount upon, a judgment seat or tribunal of justice,

a place from which orators speak ; hence οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος orators. Both of these terms, however, were more particularly applied to the reading desk.

It was in the ambo that the canonical singers sung by book—it was from the ambo that the Dyptichs or Books of Commemoration were read—and it was from the ambo that the first service called *Missa Catechumenorum* was performed. Sozoman also distinguishes the βῆμα γνώσεων, the reader's bema, from the other bema, which was the sanctuary or altar, and used by the Bishops or Presbyters. But Chrysostom's phrase θρόνου διδασκάλικου, the preacher's throne, is the noblest and most expressive. Thus Gregory Nazianzer says, "I seemed to myself to be placed on an elevated throne ; upon the seats on each side sat Presbyters, but the Deacons in white vestments stood spreading around them an angelic splendor." And Augustine, speaking of this elevated throne, says, that "from it the Bishop might watch his flock as the vintager does his vinyard, from his watch-tower." It is in very truth the preacher's throne. There he sits (for it was the custom in the primitive Church for the minister to sit, and the people to stand, during preaching,) monarch of the hour—swaying a sceptre of truth over hearts softened by its power—ruling in the fear of the Lord over the spiritual realm whereof he is made an overseer by the Holy Ghost. These citations sufficiently show that the Pulpit and Reading Desk were originally distinct. The former being used for the delivery of sermons, the latter for the reading of the Scriptures and the prayers of the Church.

With regard to pulpits, it may be said with truth, that they are great impediments in the way of the Christian orator, they hide his person, restrain his movements, hinder free gesticulation, and fetter in various ways the freedom and gracefulness of delivery. Put our statesmen in Congress—our advocates at the bar—our orators at the hustings, in these square or circular boxes ; fasten them before and on either side, in those pulpit blocks ; and the eloquence of the senate, the tribunal, and the popular assembly, like a caged eagle, would fold its wings, because it could not outstretch them in these prison-houses of sacred oratory. To speak well, there must be room for action, freeness of motion, unencumbered gesture ; the advance at entreaty, the recoil at deploration, the bending form of earnestness,

the stiffened limbs of firmness, the relaxation of despair. The agitated frame must have room for its workings—the excited mind must have scope for its action, and those outbursts of eloquence which rock an audience as with earthquake throes, must have full play for its trembling violence, and free retreat to recover its exhausted energy. The elevation of the pulpit is a further objection; the minister feels himself mounted in mid air, and the audience far below him; while the people with strained necks and aching backs, suffer during the discourse from such a lofty place. The real evil of this is, that the minister and the people are kept too far apart. He cannot read their countenances; they cannot watch the changes of his. But this mutual reaction is one of the very spurs of oratory. The senator speaks to those around him on the same floor—the same aisle; the barrister addresses the jury and the court immediately before him. The popular orator speaks to a people who throng about his stand, and press upon his very steps; from this contiguity the orator derives incentives and stimulants. He sees the eye kindle, and the bosom heave, and the lip open, and the form bend forward, and it makes his own eye to flash—his own chest to labor—his own form to dilate, and his whole soul to work through each of its physical agencies, as he now “rises on the seraph wing of exstasy”—now sweeps “like a mountain-torrent swollen with the storms of autumn”—or now lulls the excited passions by the gentle wooings of a pathos that calms, even while it ravishes the heart. But of this powerful element of oratory, the preacher in most of our pulpits cannot avail himself; there is no electric sympathy between him and his audience; they look upon him as too far off, a being of another caste; he views them as too distant to be warmed by the fires of his emotions, and he smoulders them in a tame elocution. We must get down to our people—stand almost in their midst—see them eye to eye, and hear their stifled breathing, and behold the tear form and fall upon the cheek, if we would have our souls reacted upon, and made to glow by means of those sympathies which should ever link together the pastor and his flock. We would not do away with the pulpit, but would modify it—would have it lowered, enlarged, and made more of a platform, with a lectern for the Bible and manuscript, than a truncated sentry box, set upon a pillar. We can see no reason why

the preacher, if he can sustain himself, should not stand out in the chancel and deliver his discourses, untrammelled by desks, or lecterns, or pulpits. But this few can do; yet why should not the sacred orator do what the secular speaker can? He has higher authority, nobler themes, vaster interests—by which, and on which, and for which to speak, and why should not the ambassador for Jesus do for the cause of Christ, the good of the Church, and the good of immortal souls, what the statesman would do for his constituents, the lawyer for his client, the orator for his party? They speak but for the interests of time—he for eternity; they are eloquent for man—he should be the orator for God.

Having made these preliminary remarks on the pulpit, we come to the main object of this article, viz: the preacher as he was and as he should be. Christ ordained as preachers of his Gospel the twelve Apostles and seventy Disciples. After his ascension, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, they chose seven others to assist the Apostles in the serving of the tables, while they gave themselves to the ministry of the work. These newly ordained persons were called Deacons, and that they had the license to preach is evident from the fact that Stephen and Philip did preach with power, with faith, and with success. But in the Church presently after the Apostles' time, the Deacons were, as a common thing, not allowed to preach, that being an office mostly confined to Bishops in the large cities, and to Presbyters in the villages. Indeed, in the African Churches, a Presbyter even, was never known to preach before a Bishop until the time of Augustine, who himself whilst a Presbyter, was authorized by his Bishop, Valerius, to preach before him. The introduction of this novelty seemed greatly to disturb the peace of the African Church, for many Bishops were offended at this proceeding of Valerius, and declaimed against it, until its value compelled them to grant like privileges to their clergy. And even though they were allowed in the Eastern Church to preach sometimes before the Bishop,—the Bishop was always expected to preach after them, their preaching not being taken in place of his. The permission to Presbyters to preach lay wholly with the Bishop, which he could grant or refuse at will; hence both the ancient Church historians, Sozoman and Socrates, show that Presbyters were forbidden to preach at Alexandria, after Arius

had raised his disturbance of the Church. The Presbyter could, however, preach in the country churches. It is evident from ecclesiastical history, that though, as a general rule, the Deacons could not preach—yet the Bishops, in certain cases, did grant them this permission, by special license and authority. The instances of Chrysostom at Antioch—Aetius and Ephrem Lyrus, sufficiently prove that this permission was sometimes made, and the exigence provided for by the Council of Vaison, show that Deacons were allowed to rehearse publicly the expositions and homilies of the Fathers, when the Presbyter was sick or infirm. Thus, though it is evident that the first Deacons were evangelists, the later Deacons seldom were, and when they did become preachers, it was not so much by virtue of their office, as by the express license of the Bishop.

The question has been asked, if laymen were ever allowed to preach. That they did so under certain circumstances, we have good proof. The rule was, that they were not allowed—the cases otherwise, were peculiar exceptions. Persons of remarkable fitness and worthy gifts were occasionally licensed by the Bishop, as Enelfois was permitted by Neon of Laranda—Panlinus by Celon at Iconium—Theodorus by Atticus at Synada—Origen by Alexander of Jerusalem. The fourth Council of Carthage forbids laymen to teach in the presence of the Clergy, except by request. These cases, were, however, so rare, and were attended with such personal endowments to warrant the irregularity, that they scarcely disturb the general operation of those canons of the Church, which confined preaching to the commissioned minister of Christ.

The early Preachers generally sat during the delivery of their discourses, agreeably to the usual posture of our Lord, who *sat* down in the Synagogue—*sat* down in the ship—*sat* down on the mountain—*sat* teaching in the temple, according to the usual custom of the Synagogue. The auditors, however, listened standing, though to neither of these customs was there universal adherence.

Among the names given to the preacher was *κήρυξ*—a crier or herald, the public orator of heathen gods or princes; a term several times used by St. Paul in this sense; though its meaning was mostly restrained to that part of the Deacon's office which he performed as the common herald of the Church, the bidding of prayer, and the leading of the devotions.

Another term was *Διδάσκαλοι*, doctors and teachers, also used in the Bible. *Tractator*—as one who handles some passage of Scripture; *Concionator*—as one who makes an harangue or speech to the people. Good old Bishop Latimer has, with great force, called preachers “God’s ploughmen;” but they are both ploughmen and seedsmen—for not only do they break up the fallow ground by the ploughshare of truth, but also sow broad cast the seeds of the Gospel, which fall, as the beautiful parable of our Saviour teaches, some on stony ground, some in the beaten highway, some among thorns, and a little in good soil, when taking root, it springs up and bears fruit to the glory of God and the joy of the sower, who now binds up his sheaves for the garner of heaven.

The discourses which the ancient clergy delivered were variously styled. The Greek name *Ὁμιλίαι* (from *Ὁμιλος*, *crowding together, companionship*,) was at first applied indifferently to any discourse, whether the production of the preacher or not; but afterwards came to mean a more familiar discourse than *λόγος*, or oration. The Latin names for it were *tractatus*, *allocutio*, *concio*, *sermo*, *disputatio*, &c. Sometimes there were two or three sermons in the same assembly, the Presbytery speaking first, and the Bishops last, or if there happened to be several Bishops present, the most honored was the last speaker. During Lent and the festival day of Easter, it was common in many places to preach sermons every day. Thus Chrysostom’s Homilies on Genesis were preached in a course of sermons occupying two Lent seasons. On the Lord’s day two discourses were made at morning and evening prayer; and the same golden-mouthed John of Constantinople, entitled one of his Homilies, “An exhortation to those who were ashamed to come to sermon after dinner.” The subjects of their discourses were of course the usual themes of the modern pulpit. Sometimes having no prefixed text—sometimes taking one, and sometimes combining the teachings of the Psalter—the Lessons and the Psalms when they treated of kindred subjects, and making all the theme of discourse, as Augustine did when he preached upon the subject of praise and thanksgiving out of the Epistle, the Psalm and the Gospel together. Two of the ancient fathers, Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom, have left us records of the subjects of primitive discourse, and we find them to be sound, wholesome, spirit-

ual. "To me," says Gregory, "it seems to require no ordinary qualifications of mind rightly to divide the word of truth—to give to every one a portion in due season—and discreetly to discourse of the great doctrines of our faith; to treat of the universe of worlds, of matter and of mind, of the soul and of intelligible beings, good and bad—to treat of a superintending and ruling providence, controlling with unerring wisdom all things, both those that are within, and those that are above human comprehension—to treat of the first formation, and of the restoration of man, of the two covenants and of the types of the Old, and antitypes of the New Testament of Christ's first and second coming, of his incarnation and passion—of the resurrection, and of the end of the world—of the day of judgment, of the rewards of the just, and the punishment of the wicked: and above all, of the blessed Trinity, which is the principal article of the Christian faith." So likewise, Chrysostom, in his 24th homily on Baptism, puts his auditors in mind of what he had preached to them—"the nature of the soul, the fabric of the body, the state of immortality, the kingdom of heaven, the torments of hell, the long suffering of God, the method of pardon, the power of repentance, baptism, the forgiveness of sins, of the creation of the superior and inferior world, of the nature of men and angels, of the subtilty of Satan, and his methods and policies, of the constitution of Christian society, true faith and dangerous heresies, and other such mysteries as it behoved a Christian to be acquainted with."

From various expressions in the ancient writers we gather that the length of the sermons was usually under an hour. Some of Chrysostom's must have taken a full hour, while many of St. Austin's could be delivered in eight or ten minutes, though it is evident, that their original length before cut down by the *notarii*, must have been much greater. It must also be borne in mind, in speaking of the length of sermons, that two or three were sometimes delivered at the same service, one or two Presbyters and a Bishop, or two or more Bishops preaching to the same audience, and it is not at all probable, when the audience stood, and the preacher sat, that very long sermons would be tolerated, for the restlessness of the assembly would soon give evidence of their disposition. The fourth council of Carthage passed some very severe canons against such auditors, as left the church before the sermon was concluded, ordering

proceedings against them, even to excommunication. Sometimes indeed, they were detained by force—the doors being closed till all was over. But Chrysostom, with more indulgence, compares it to partaking of a meal at a common table, where some are filled sooner—some later—for “thou art satisfied, but thy brother is yet hungry—thou hast drunk thy fill of what is spoken, but thy brother is yet athirst. Therefore neither let him burden thy weakness by compelling thee to receive more than thy strength will bear, neither hinder thou him from taking as much as he is able to receive.” And he adds, with much pertinence, “to stay long at a carnal feast, is a matter worthy of reproof, because it proceeds from an intemperate appetite, but to stay long at a spiritual feast deserves the highest commendation, because it proceeds from a spiritual appetite, and argues patience and constancy in giving attention.” It was not until the time of Origen that extempore preaching began in the Church, nor was it until he had reached the age of sixty that he allowed the *Ταχυσγράφοι*, to take down his sermons. The catechetical discourses of Cyril, are supposed to be of this character, as also many of the expoundings of Pierius, Chrysostom, Gregory, Nazianzen, Basil, Atticus, and Augustine. Even the most abstruse portions of Scripture were sometimes thus extemporaneously discoursed upon, as well as the Psalms and Gospel lessons, and Gregory the Great declares that he often found those obscure places of Scripture which he could not comprehend in his private study, to flow in upon his understanding when preaching in public to his brethren. Among the peculiar circumstances connected with primitive preaching, we find that it was customary to begin the discourse with a short invocation to God, or the *Pax vobis*. The salutation “Peace be with you” or “the Lord be with you” was the usual preface of all holy offices, the people replying, “and with thy spirit,” a custom which Chrysostom derives from the Apostle’s days, and which was universally adhered to. Each sermon also was concluded with a doxology to the Holy Trinity, so that every address is made to begin and end with God. The practice, however, of applauding the Christian minister was both strange and unchristian. Originating in the theatre, it passed into the senate, thence into the great synodical councils, and was thence derived into the ordinary assemblies of the Church. This applause consisted of clap-

ping of hands, stamping, leaping, and verbal exclamations, etc. Thus George of Alexandria tells us, the people applauded the sermons of St. Chrysostom, some by tossing their thin garments, others moving their plumes, others laying their hands upon their swords, and others waving their handkerchiefs, and crying out "thou art worthy of the priesthood," "thou art the thirteenth Apostle," "Christ has sent thee to save our souls." When Cyril of Alexandria delivered the true doctrine, the people cried out, "orthodox Cyril, gift of God." Gregory represents to us how the people applauded him, while he preached, "Some by their praises, some by their silent admiration—some in their words, and some in their minds, and others moving their bodies, as the waves of the sea raised by the wind." Abundance of citations might be made to show how common was this custom—reproved and denounced indeed, by many preachers, but yet for a long time persisted in by the ancient Church. It was mostly the shallow-minded and the frivolous, who sought after these noisy acclamations; the more faithful and humble ministers rather labored to wring from their hearers the groans of a wounded spirit, and the tears of a sorrowing heart. Jerome in his preaching directions to Nepotian says, "let the tears of the hearers be the commendation of the preacher." So Prosper, in his "contemplative life," bids the preacher not place his confidence in the splendor of his words, but in the power of their operation; nor be delighted with the acclamations of the people, but their tears; nor study to obtain their applause but their groans. "Great eloquence," as St. Austin well observes, "often suppresses these acclamations by its weight and extorts tears in the room of applause."

Such is a brief sketch of the preacher in the primitive Church. It shows many things which in our view are strange, and indecorous, and some directly opposed to the teaching of the Apostles and the precepts of the Gospel. But, yet revealing at times a spirituality of character, a loftiness of aim, and an earnestness of zeal, which make us feel as if in very truth the mantles of Paul and James and Apollos and Barnabas and Peter had fallen upon Augustine and Basil and Jerome and Gregory and Chrysostom, for they preached with the demonstration of the spirit, and with the eloquence of Apostles. A few centuries rolled over the Church, and she was beginning to be

overshadowed by the forecast penumbra of those dark ages which like a moral and mental eclipse spread through Europe such disastrous twilight. According to Sozoman, there were no sermons or exhortations delivered in the Roman Church in the fifth century, which he remarks as a singular custom of that Church. Leo, Bishop of Rome, in the fifth century, appears to have been the only Bishop who preached in the Roman Church for many centuries, and it is said that none of his successors until the time of Pius V. five hundred years afterwards, followed his example. After the overthrow of Rome by the northern barbarians, and the consequent decay of the arts and sciences, it became difficult from the great ignorance of the times to find clergy sufficiently qualified to preach. Even among the Bishops, but few could compose their own discourses. Garbled passages from Augustine and Gregory, were made to supply the place of original discourses, and their hearers were frequently entertained with absurd fables, the object of which was to magnify their relics, their saints, their churches, their penances, their purgatory, their indulgences, tickling the ears with the most wretched quibbles and frivolities, but leaving the conscience unstricken by the truth, the affections unwarmed by devotion, the soul unvisited by the power of the Holy Ghost. The Easter sermons in particular, were but efforts on the part of the clergy, to provoke laughter in their congregation, by the recital of some ridiculous legend and whimsical tale producing what was called the Easter laughter. Even the little learning of these schoolmen, instead of being turned to the account of religion, was wasted away in dialectic substitutes and obscure mysticism and questions which ministered to strife, rather than profit,—faults which cling even to Bernhard and Bonaventura with all their fervor and unction.

The ignorance of the clergy and the extraordinary reverence of Charlemagne for the Holy Scriptures, led him to direct Paul and Alcuin to collect from the fathers, discourses on the portions of the Gospels and Epistles, which he had directed to be read in the churches, so that the ignorant might recite them to the people. This was the origin of the *Homiliarium* or book of Homilies in the eight century. In the next age, other Homilies were written by Alarnus, an Italian abbot; in the next century, Haymo, of Halberstadt, and Rabanus Mauros, formed one at the request of the Emperor Lothaire.

In England, about 957, Elfric, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, required the preacher in each parish to expound the Gospel, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. He afterwards compiled Homilies in the Anglo-Saxon language, which for some time continued to be read in the English Church ; but these soon grew into disuse, and at the close of the thirteenth century, preaching was generally omitted. In 1281, John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, made a constitution requiring the priest of each parish to teach the people, once every quarter of the year, the meaning of the creed, the commandments of the law and gospel, the good works to be done, the sins to be avoided, the principal Christian virtues, and the doctrines of the sacraments. This constitution was renewed in 1408, by Archbishop Arundell. Nearly a century afterwards, the "*Liber festivalis*" was published, in the reign of Henry VIII. though printed in 1497. This contains a series of Homilies for all the holy days of the year, followed by the "*quatuor sermones*," as directed by the constitution of Archbishop Peckham in 1281.

The present book of Homilies was first printed by Richard Grafton in 1547, and was "appointed by the King's Majesty to be declared and read by all parsons, vicars and curates every Sunday in their Churches where they have care."

Running our eye up the list of English preachers, one of the earliest as well as one of the most distinguished, is John Wicklif. Two methods obtained at that time of addressing a congregation from the pulpit; either the preacher announced some particular subject, as humility, love to God, obedience to civil power,—on which he made an orational harangue, and this in the technical language of the day was called *declaring* ; or else he selected a portion of Scripture which he illustrated by expositions as he proceeded, which was known at that time as *postillating*, from the degenerate Latin word *postilla*—a marginal gloss or commentary. This postillation or exposition, was the method employed by Wicklif for his parochial instructions ; more than three hundred of these, some little more than brief notes, others elaborately wrought out, still exist in the British museum, and the libraries of Cambridge and Dublin. Throughout these, as a writer who has examined them declares, "the Holy Scriptures are represented as the supreme authority

from which we are to seek the knowledge of our duty, and the grounds of our social and moral obligations; the great truths of the Gospel are plainly and faithfully set forth; the frailty and depravity of man are urgently insisted on; the sufferings and merits of the Saviour are represented as the only ground on which the sinner can rest his hope of pardon and acceptance; and the influence of the Eternal Spirit as the only fire which can baptize the hearts of men unto holiness and purity."

It was by his power as a preacher, and his diligence as a translator, that he became the "morning star of the English reformation." His preaching was bold, fearless and direct in its expositions of error, and its appeals to conscience. Unlike the mendicant Dominican and Franciscan friars of his day, he was no "*pulpit brawler*" substituting false miracles, and cheating legends, and childish fables, for the eternal truths of the Gospel of Christ, but he faithfully declared and truly postillated the word of God; such an one as Chaucer in his "Village Priest" describes; indeed it is thought by some that the picture is intended for the Rector of Luttlérworth.

"A good man there was of religion,
He was a poor Parson of a town,
But rich he was of holy tho't and work,
He was a learned man, also a clerk.
That Christian Gospel, truly would preach,
His parishioners devoutly he would teach."

Against the efforts which were then made to stop the faithful preaching of Christ, Wicklif made a bold stand. He wrote several tracts against such unchristian views, some of which are still preserved. One is "De Prelatis, et eorum officio," beginning thus, "Here it telleth of prelates, that prelates leaven preaching of the Gospel and been gostly manquellers of mens souls." Another was, "Speculum de Antichristo," describing how antichrist and his clerks, "feren true priests fro preching of Christ's gospel by four deceits." The first of which is, "They seyn that preching of the gospel maketh dissension and enmity."

Another was, "Of good preaching Priests." The titles of his homilies or parochial discourses are "Sermones in Epistolas," and "Sermones in Evangelica." Whether he had the graces of oratory we know not, but he possessed the power of a truthful eloquence, and roused into action not

only his parish of Luttlerworth, but the whole realm; his homilies even tingled in the ears of the dwellers of Rome, and made Gregory XI. tremble for his English tribute.

The next English preacher of note is Bishop Latimer, the martyr, born in 1480, and burned at the stake, 1554. His sermons seem to lie in a mean between the declaring and postillating styles of the days of Wicklif. He takes a text, but is very discursive. He is expositing, yet not of connected passages, opening and explaining divers texts and truths as they strike upon his mind, irrespective of place or order. There was no aim at the higher qualifications of oratory, yet they were eloquent in truths, mighty through God to the pulling down the strong holds of sin and satan, and effective in their appeals to the consciences of his hearers.

Latimer has much wit, and he often enlivened his sermons with strokes of pleasantry, or spiced them with a "caustic severity against the prevailing deformities in Church and State, that the bigoted Papists hated the preacher for his powers, while the ambitious courtier dreaded him for his honesty." In looking over Latimer's sermons, we find two entitled "Of the Card," and we are at once arrested to know what such sermons mean. It seems, that card playing at that age was so common at Christmas, that to have openly attacked it would have stirred up the prejudices of the people. He aimed therefore to turn this custom to good account, and in some sermons, about Christmas, 1529, alluding to the usage, he gave the people certain cards out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chap. of Matt. "In the chief triumphant trump in the cards, he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal." This pleased not only the illiterate, but took even with the members of the University, and by this whimsical mode of instruction, he fastened upon their minds solemn truths, which perhaps he would have failed in doing by other methods.

The taste of the age permitted many things in the pulpit, which now would shock us as gross breaches of decorum, and therefore, we find Latimer's sermons well filled with anecdotes, and quaint allusions, and pithy sentences, and sparkling wit, such as would not now be tolerated. His preaching is peculiarly practical, and it is said that few, if any, have exceeded him in dissecting the human heart, and laying open its secret springs of evil. This he did with

such plainness, pungency and pathos, that none but those who were lifted up with pride, or sunk in depravity, ever departed from his sermons without an humbling sense of their infirmity. The effect of his powerful exhortation to restitution, was witnessed in the repentance of John Bradford; and that excellent scholar Sir John Cheke, instead of being offended with what has been called quaint buffoonery, said to Latimer, "I have an ear for other divines, but I have a heart for you." Of his boldness we have a noted instance, when, on one occasion, he preached before Henry VIII. The Bishop, fearing God rather than man, assailed those very sins for which the monarch was notorious, until he was stung by the stern yet wholesome rebukes of the undaunted Prelate. The king sent for Latimer, and said, "Your life is in jeopardy if you do not recant all you said to-day, when you preach next Sunday." The trembling courtiers were all anxious to know the result of this, and the chapel was crowded. The venerable man took his text, and after a pause, began with a soliloquy thus; "Now, Hugh Latimer, bethink thee, thou art in the presence of thy earthly monarch, thy life is in his hands, and if thou dost not suit thyself to his fancies, he will bring down thy gray hairs with blood to the grave. But Hugh Latimer, bethink, bethink thee, thou art in the presence of the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who hath told thee 'fear not them that kill the body, and then can do no more; but rather fear Him that can kill both body and soul, and cast thee into hell forever.' Yes, I say, Hugh Latimer, fear Him." He then went on, and not only repeated what he before advanced, but, if possible, enforced it with greater emphasis. What was the consequence? Henry sent for him and said, "How durst thou insult thy monarch so?" Latimer replied, "I thought if I were unfaithful to my God, it would be impossible to be loyal to my king." The king embraced the good old Bishop, exclaiming, "And is there yet one man left who is bold and honest enough to tell me the truth?" Latimer gained much popularity as a preacher, and though his style seems uncouth now, yet it was most effective in touching the hearts and reforming the lives of those who heard him. He was zealous without rant—witty without licentiousness—playful without levity—familiar without vulgarity—grave without moroseness, and faithful "even unto death." His sermons are rather panoramic views of the morals of the

times, than sermonical treatises. They are pulpit camera obscuras, showing the feelings and hearts of his audiences, rather than the starch harangues of the doctors. They are the "loci communes" of the current theology, rather than the stately monography of the divine. In fine, we can get a good mental and moral and theological character of the age, by a perusal of Latimer's sermons.

Upon the passage in Parliament of the famous act of six articles, Latimer gave up his preferment, the Bishopric of Worcester, in 1539, saying, as he laid aside his Episcopal robes, that he was now rid of a great burthen, and had never found his shoulders so light before. For six years, he lay a state prisoner in the Tower, under false charges; and during this period all preaching was forbidden, as it also was in the first year of Queen Mary, the pulpit being now used on the side of the Reformation—now for the Papist, and now silenced, first by one and then by the other, as their several interests were advanced or retarded, by that powerful engine of the Church.

But we are admonished that we have already, perhaps, dwelt too long on this sketch of the pulpit and its preaching and preachers; and tempting as is the desire to go on and sketch the several distinguished preachers of the English Church, from the days of Latimer, we must desist. It would be delightful to give pulpit portraits of Jewell, as he stood in St. Paul's Cross, "that watch-tower of the Church," of Andrews, as he delivered his pathetic sermons; of Taylor, the Chrysostom of the English Church, in his secluded Parish Church at Portmore, or pouring forth his exquisite periods in the Cathedral of St. Patrick; of Sharp, whom Burnet styles "one of the most popular preachers of the age," in his pulpit of St. Giles; of Atterbury delivering his eloquent discourses in St. Brides; of Barrow, whom King Charles declared "an unfair preacher, because he never left any thing to say after him; of Southe preaching his witty sermons before the profligate courtiers of the Second Charles; and of Hopkins, attracting vast crowds by his discourses in St. Mary Arcles in Exeter. This, perhaps, we may do at some future time; but now we must turn away from this attractive field of pulpit eloquence, in order to discuss some of the general principles of this noble art.

The eloquence of the pulpit must be conformed to the object of the pulpit. The object of the pulpit is to reconcile

men to God, and the preacher is the ambassador of Christ for this purpose. It is not his mission to gratify intellectual tastes, to please the refined sentiments of his hearers, to dally with their fancies, to wrestle with their understandings, to be a mere lecturer on virtue, or an ex-officio teacher of morality. He has one great object, and but one—to win souls to Christ; and all other purposes are subsidiary to this, for this accomplished, all other good is accomplished likewise. It is important to settle this point clearly in the mind, because, on it depends whatever we may say on the subject. We repeat, then, that preaching has no relation to time, except as time is the beginning of an eternal future; no relation to man, except as man is an immortal being; no relation to the world, save as it is probationary of the world to come. Its only object is to restore to man the lost favor and image of his God; to make of the alien, a citizen—of the enemy, a friend—of the sinner on earth a saint in heaven. Other things may be effected by preaching, but it is by indirect results; wordly good, and temporal benefit, and intellectual advancement are constantly subserved by the preaching of the Gospel—but its primary purpose, its original aim, is higher, holier. It has God for its author, man for its auditor, salvation for its theme.

This being the design of the pulpit, we can on this basis argue the means and aids requisite for giving to it the necessary effectiveness and the intended end. It is upon this foundation alone that any true system of pulpit eloquence can be built. Rules for such systems have been contrived and published, from the early ages of the Church. At the head of the list of valuable writers in this department, stands Augustine, who in the fourth book of his "*De Doctrina Christiana*," has handled the subject of preaching with much ability. He aims to show the importance of rules and studies for the formation of a Christian orator, illustrating his remarks by many happy quotations from the Scriptures. It was from the instructions of Augustine on preaching, that Luther formed his views of the sacred art, and it has constituted the basis of many of the subsequent works on the subject. Chrysostom's *περὶ ἱερῶς ὁνίας*, though rich and elaborate on many topics relating to the priesthood, is rather meagre in homilitical directions. The fifth book does indeed set forth some rules, yet only of a general nature. The "*De*

Cura Pastoralis" of Gregory the Great, valuable as it was in other respects, failed in imparting knowledge on this.

Gregory Nazianzen and Jerome have also left us views upon this subject, not elaborated with treatises, but embracing much of real value. The "*Ars Oratoria Eloquentiæ Divinæ*" of William, Archbishop of Paris, and the "*De eruditione Concionatorum*" of Humbert de Romans, both written in the thirteenth century, as well as the "*Liber Conceptorum, de arte prædicandi*" of Reuchlin, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, gave no advance to the art of preaching. Since the Reformation, many works have been published.

Erasmus began the series by a work written in 1536, entitled "*Ecclesiastæ sive de Ratione Concionandi*," a hundred years after, Bishop Wilkins published his "*Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse on the gift of preaching, as it falls under the rules of art.*" Glanvil, thirty years later, sent out his "*Essay concerning Preaching, with a seasonable Defence of Preaching and the plain way of it.*" That most worthy work, the "*Pastoral Care*," of Bishop Burnett, the eighth chapter of which contains much valuable and judicious advice, followed. To this, succeeded "*The Preacher, in three parts*," by Dr. John Edmonds; and since then, we have "*The Accomplished Preacher*" of Sir Richard Blackmore, "*The Reformed Pastor*" of Baxter, "*The Preacher's Directory*" of Enfield, and the several minor treatises of Jennings, and Watts, and Mason, and Doddridge.

The most elaborate treatise which America has produced, is the excellent one of President Porter, in his "*Lectures on Homiletics*," delivered in the Theological Seminary in Andover, Massachusetts. This work was republished in England, under the editorial care of Rev. J. Jones, M.A., incumbent Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Liverpool; but he took many liberties with the original work, and in attempting to add to its worth, really detracted from its value. The "*Ecclesiastes Anglicanus*" of Mr. Gresley, was published in England eleven years since. It is about two years since Dr. Haight first introduced it to the notice of the American people. He calls it truly a "valuable treatise," and so it is in some respects, but yet, like all the works which have preceded it, leaves much to be supplied by oral instruction and a dear bought experience.

Mr. Gresley's work consists of thirty three letters, ar-

ranged under four parts, viz: "Matter of Sermons," "Style," "Method of Composition," and "Delivery." Several of these as 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, pertain more to college than to theological students. The introductory letter strikes us as a very singular one. Its burden is "write your sermons," a direction suited in some respects to the English, but not needed in the American Church, where as Dr. Haight truly says, "the practice of delivering the sermons of others, has never prevailed, and would not be tolerated." Not only does the practice of preaching the printed sermons of others obtain in England,—not only are the cast-off sermons of distinguished divines bought up and re-sold to country curates—but we have even seen sermons *lithographed in written characters*, and so like a genuine manuscript, as to deceive, not only the overlookers in the gallery, but even the casual glances of the hangers on in the vestry. But it is a shame even to speak of such falsehood and deception in the Christian pulpit. What though it has the sanction of Addison? What though even the great Augustine justifies it in those who lack invention, yet can speak well? What though Ferrarius cites us instances in the primitive Church? Yet we repeat, that in our day, with aids and helps to Biblical learning, and profound education and rhetorical drilling, which abound; and which men with University degrees, ought to be ashamed not to use, it is a disgrace to the clerical profession that any of its members should thus make the pulpit a by-word for the jester, and a scorn for the unbeliever. We hope the time will never come, when the American Pulpit shall be thus dishonored by those who stand upon it as the watchman of our spiritual Zion. Nor can we pass this introductory chapter, without dissenting from the views of the author upon the subject of Aristotle. The rhetorical work of the Stagyrte does indeed, in one sense, lie at the foundation of oratory. His masterly analysis of the passions—his pointing out the spring of action—his knowledge of the mind and its faculties—of the heart and its affections—of the will and its governing principles, has scarcely been surpassed; and therefore, as a teacher of secular eloquence, we do earnestly recommend him, dry and severe as his style is, to all who wish to excel. But the rhetoric of Aristotle is based on the researches of a heathen mind, among heathen minds; it is a compound system of mental and moral Pagan philosophy.

It is, therefore, radically defective, when we come to use it as the basis of the Christian preacher's art. This proceeds upon other principles of philosophy, both mental and moral. It finds man in other relations to his fellow men, to the world, to time, to God, than those in which the Grecian philosopher placed him; and brings his passions, feelings and emotions into exercise on themes, and in ways, of which he never dreamed. To make, therefore, a Christian preacher, by the rhetoric of Aristotle, is like the absurdity of the Romanists, who turn the image of the heathen Jupiter into the statue of a Christian Apostle. We know that Aristotle has had his fashionable eras in the Christian world. Displaced in the Church at first by the philosophy of his great master Plato, the influence of his system revived in the fifth century, was depressed during the sixth, came again into vogue in the seventh and soon became the triumphant philosophy of the world. The organon of Aristotle was the central point of intellectual gravitation, and the minds of men for centuries lay bound up by its laws, until a purer light in the Church than any which the "Angelic" or "Seraphic" doctors of the schoolmen struck, a truer system of astronomy than his circular mechanism of the heavens, prepared the way for the instauration of the sciences on the principles of the Baconian philosophy. And now Aristotle, having passed centuries of honorable exile from the literary world, has returned, and under the auspices of the Archbishop of Dublin, been re-introduced to us as the basis of rhetoric, his "*dictum de omni et nullo*," as the corner stone of his logic.

But the sanction of names is not the sanction of truth, and we contend that sacred eloquence based on Aristotelian rhetoric, falls short of the expectance of truth and the demands of the pulpit. This is not the place to discuss, as fully as we should like, this matter; but we take the liberty of saying this much, that a careful comparison of the motives of the Christian preacher, the arguments and appeals of the Gospel, the purposes of its promulgation, and the passions and affections it addresses, calling out feelings, motives, thoughts which could have no birth but under Christianity—with the motives of the secular oration, and the ways and means and purposes of swaying a secular audience, will at once show the great modification and additions which the art of rhetoric, by Aristotle, must

undergo, before it can be made a teacher of sacred eloquence. It must be baptized by the spirit of truth, and christianized by the influence of the Gospel, before it shall speak out from the pulpit, as the vehicle of the revelations of God. There is deep truth in the remark which Coleridge makes in his *Aids to Reflection*, that "the fears, the hopes, the remembrances, the anticipations, the inward and outward experience, the belief and the faith of a Christian, form of themselves a philosophy and a sum of knowledge, which a life spent in the grove of Academus or the Painted Porch, could not have attained or collected." By the side of such a philosophy as this, based on the word of God, approved by conscience, wrought out in the inner life of the soul, and developed to man in its noble aspects, how infantile and impotent appear the curiously moulded systems of Pagan philosophy, which in their nearest approaches to Christianity, are only as a corpse is to a living body, and after every attempt to vitalize them, we, like the Spartan, who labored long to make a dead body stand erect, are obliged to desist, exclaiming, *τι ἐνδον*—something within—the spirit of life is wanting.

We shall arrange what we design to say upon pulpit eloquence, under three heads—the Preacher—the Sermon—and its Delivery. This arrangement is simple and comprehensive, and may be made to embrace the whole range of sacred oratory.

The preacher should have a religious heart, and an educated mind. A heart filled with love, furnishes him with motives for preaching, and support and delight in preaching. A mind well furnished, gives him the tools and materials for constructing and perfecting his sermons. The one constitutes the moral, the other the mental qualities of the preacher. The moral qualities of the preacher should be of a high order. He should have a personal and experimental knowledge of the truths which he preaches. He should have a soul at peace with God, and warmed and illuminated by the influences of the Spirit. He should have a heart glowing with love to the Master whom he serves, and the souls to whom he ministers. He should be zealous for their spiritual good, diligent in his labors, faithful in his dealings, "speaking the truth in love," that it may bring forth the fruits of the spirit.

The preacher should be a good psychologist. He should

know his own heart ; he should be familiar with its moral mechanism ; and knowing its structure, should know all other hearts by this self knowledge ; “for as face answereth in water, so dost the heart of man to man.” It was a good advice which Sir Philip Sidney gave to the poet—“look within thy heart and write ;” and the minister of God who preaches from a heart “that holds communion with the skies,” and is the habitation of God in the spirit, cannot fail of preaching “the truth as it is in Jesus.” To this end, the advice of Augustine on preaching is very pertinent—“on the approach therefore of the hour in which he is to hold forth, let him, before moving his tongue, raise his thirsty soul to God ; that, having drunk himself, he may have a supply for others, and be able to pour out to them of the fulness which he himself has received. Since many things can be said upon every subject appertaining to faith and charity, that comes up for consideration, and said in various ways, by those to whom they are known ; who but He that sees all hearts, is thoroughly informed of what it is expedient for us to speak or listen to, at any particular time ? And who can enable us to utter what we ought, and say it as we ought, but He in whose hand are both we and our words.”

Gresley, with much propriety, brings forward the three fundamental points which Aristotle, in his second book, sets down as necessary in order to gain the good opinion of an audience, ἀρετή, εὐνοία, φρόνησις, moral virtue, good will, and sagacity or intelligence. But it is altogether useless to devote four letters to this subject. The scope of what it was necessary to say, he has said in the fourth letter ; and if a preacher has the qualities there set down, he will not fail of gaining the confidence of his hearers. If the preacher be a Christian—if he be duly commissioned to his office—if he speak with the utterance given him by the Holy Ghost, and illustrate his teaching in his upright life and conversation, he will infallibly gain the confidence of his people ; and if he have not these, no arts of rhetoric, not even the cunning of a skilled hypocrisy, can win for him their confidence, or insure their reverential regard to his ministrations. A high moral character is a necessary requisite. (the heathen themselves being judges,) for the orator ; but this is not enough for the preacher. He requires an elevated spiritual character. Morality will do

for the *forum*, but alone, will not do for the *pulpitum*. It may do for the bema of the market place, but not for the bema of the sanctuary. There we want the shining face, that shows communion with God on the mount of prayer. There we want the holy heart that speaks out through the holy life; there we want the spirituality of mind which shows an intellect baptized in the laver of divine revelation. "The life of the preacher," says St. Austin, "has more weight in it than the greatest grandeur and force of eloquence, to induce his hearers to obedience; for he that preaches wisely and eloquently, but lives wickedly, may edify some, who are desirous to learn and observe the commands of Christ; as many will learn from the Scribes and Pharisees who sit in Moses' seat, and say and do not, but he should live as he speaks, for men are very apt to ask this question, *quod mihi præcipis, cur ipse non facis?* Why dost thou not do that which thou commandest me to do? And so it comes to pass, that they will not obediently hear him, who does not hear himself, but condemn both the word of God and the preacher together. But he whose life is unblamable, his very example is grand oratory, and his form of living an eloquent discourse, *copia dicendi forma vivendi*."

Another personal requisite of the preacher, but one which many fail to possess, is a knowledge of human nature. It is too much the case with our clergy, that while they are conversant with books they know little of men. They come out of their Theological Seminaries, mere babes in the knowledge of the world. They have been cloistered to study, perhaps from early childhood, and have looked out upon the great world through the lattice of vacations and holidays. They know nothing of man as he develops himself in the active workings of society; nothing of human nature, as seen in the daily intercourse and struggles of men with men—nothing of those interior views of character which business, trade, politics, and professional life uncover to the human eye. Thus are they easily deceived. They see life in its festival masquerade, and not in its undress and dishabille; and mistake the assumed characters for the real, because they have not learned to look behind the mask. This lack often injures the ministrations of even good men, and their pulpit labors are lost because of their social ignorance.

The qualities and constituents of sermons demand a wider range than our limits allow. The object of the sermon is to declare, explain and enforce Gospel truth. But this truth is presented to us in languages which are dead, in a dress which is very old, and blended with such circumstances of time, and place, customs and government, as make it now difficult to understand. 'Care then is requisite in the composition of a sermon upon truths wrapped up in other languages, and made known in older countries. Care that the truth should be well understood—that the interpretation should be clear—that the doctrine should be sound. The essential requisites, then, of a sermon, are plainness, in opposition to a style involved and mystical; simplicity, in opposition to tumid harangue and high-sounding wordiness; dignity, in opposition to slovenliness and puerility; faithfulness, as opposed to heartless exhortations; warmth, as opposed to cold and lukewarm appeals; Scripturalness, in opposition to the savour of philosophy; and unity, in contrast with those loose and dispirited efforts, those many sided essays, those theological epitomes, with which some sermons abound. They should, in a word, be gospel teachings springing up from Christian hearts and educated minds.

We want plainness in words, simplicity in expression, dignity of subject, faithfulness in appeals, unity of design, scripturalness of illustration, and warmth and energy in delivery. Where these meet, there is a good sermon; but strike out any one of these qualities, and it becomes faulty. Without plainness, the ignorant are unreached; without simplicity, the mind is perplexed; without dignity, propriety is offended; without faithfulness, the discourse is pointless; without scripturalness, the theme is dishonored; without unity, its effect is weakened; without warmth and energy, it falls languid and dull upon drowsy lethargic hearers.

Let then the preacher have the personal qualities spoken of, and write sermons made up of the elements above described, and he can scarcely fail of producing the desired results. Yet Mr. Gresley devotes two letters to the question, "How to move the passions?" And are the passions of our congregations to be moved by rules? Is it the artifice of the schools which is to rouse the souls of men? Is the presentation of Christ crucified, to be modeled after the

rhetoric of Aristotle, or the institutes of Quintilian? Must the preacher have recourse to machinery, the wires and pulleys and springs of man's invention, in unfolding the Gospel of the Son of God? No—not while man has a soul beating with high aspirations for redemption; not while he has a conscience convicting him of sin; not while he has a revelation which meets all his spiritual wants, and opens before his soul two paths leading to the two great compartments of eternity,—heaven with its glories, and hell with its woes. He will not fail to move the passions of his audience, who feeling the love of Christ himself, feelingly declares it to others; while he will fail, who, having never himself tasted that the Lord is gracious, attempts, by scenic displays, and artistic efforts, to move others by that which stirs not a passion in his own bosom.

With great propriety then does Milton say: "Some eloquence, I find, to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth: and that whose mind is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well ordered files, as he would wish, fall abruptly into their own places."

There are, indeed, many kinds of sermons which call out peculiar styles of writing. The argumentative or doctrinal sermons, such as those required in defending the leading doctrines of our faith, and these demand careful analysis, clear demonstration, close argumentation. He can argue best, who has the clearest idea of the subject, the fittest use of language, and the closest method of joining together and mutually supporting the several ratiocinative processes of his mind. But to do this, it is necessary that one should be skilled in exact definition, in logical tactics, in mathematical compactness of thought. He does not indeed need the subtle dialectics of the schoolmen, nor the model canons of the logicians, nor the sententious brevity of the mathematician. These often trammel rather than aid his mind; they become as Saul's armour on David's shoulder. The "smooth stones and shepherd slings" of common sense will sometimes do more for truth, than the spear and corslet and cuirass of the *dictum* of Aristotle. There are the ethical sermons enforcing the precepts of morality, including all

the relations of man to his fellow man, and the duties springing out of those relations. These require a knowledge of moral philosophy—not such an imperfect philosophy as Paley's, nor the semi-platonism of Sewell, nor the deontology of Bentham, but such as makes the Bible its basis, and the glory of God its aim.

Another kind of sermons is the historical, under which we include the biographies of men, as well as the annals of towns, or the records of kingdoms. The Bible opens to us here, rich sources of beauty and instruction. Not a precept of duty but what may be illustrated in the lives of some of its characters; not a principle of truth that does not find some exponent in its historic sketches. Such sermons, skilfully managed, are always beautiful, instructive and persuasive. They are beautiful, because they call out high descriptive powers, and a delicate skill to interweave the lessons of truth with the pictures of the artist. They are instructive, because they acquaint us with men and things of the olden time, and furnish our minds with golden stores of knowledge, in the lives of its kings, priests and judges—in the chronicles of its people and kindred, in the detail of its judgments and blessings, in the descriptions of its scenes and customs. They are persuasive, because they charm the imagination, as well as the heart, reaching not only the ear, but painting upon the retina of the mind's eye the pictures in which the truth is embodied, thus accumulating the effect produced.

The expository sermons are of great use in rightly instructing a congregation in Biblical knowledge, being a running commentary on a lengthened text, giving the preacher many salient points from which to bound a thought, or precept, or truth, unawares, into the hearer's mind. Much of the primitive preaching was of this character, being expositions of the Epistle, or Gospel, or Lessons, or Psalter of the Church; and our congregations would be better versed in the Bible and the truths of religion than they now are, if more of this expository preaching was heard from our pulpit. Such discourses would much more advance religion than the essays and orations which, under the name of sermons, because they have a text at their head, are prevalent in our land.

The only other kind of sermon we shall note, is the hortatory. This is generally of the inflamed and passionate

style. It is an appeal to the feelings, and rousing up of the emotions, a kindling of the fires of passion, by the electric sparks of oratorical excitement. There are times and truths, in and upon which such sermons are proper, but sermons entirely hortatory, are seldom appropriate or effectual. Seldom should the passions be roused, except under the supervision of the judgment. Mind uncontrolled by reason, and unguided by passion, is the mightiest of human power placed under a madman engineer. Momentary effects are produced, the feelings are touched, the mind glows, imagination is excited and borne down by the storm of passion; the physical man even may be smitten before the blast, but the prostration is now over, the excitement subsides, the glow has passed, the feelings are calmed, and then too often comes that reaction, which in its recoil, overthrows not only the effect first produced, but even the good which before was in the heart; and then passion's convert goes and "takes to himself seven other spirits, and the last end of that man is worse than the first." Passion must be curbed; like all mighty agencies, it is only valuable when harnessed to the service of truth; unrestrained, it is destructive to mind and soul;—restrained, it gives healthy vigor to the one, and ennobling tendencies to the other.

Such are the various kinds of sermons, and the preacher who would "rightly divide the word of truth," will use all methods, on proper occasions. Now reasoning out a doctrine, now explaining a text, now laying down a precept, now enforcing a duty, now painting a glowing picture of the past, and now rousing the passions by exhortations to flee from the wrath to come.

We are now brought to the last point, delivery—that *ὑποκρισις* which Demosthenes makes so essential; that *actio* upon which Cicero lays so much stress. The former, the great master of Grecian eloquence, made the first, second and third requisite of oratory; without the latter, the immortal Tully declared no man can be eloquent. But what does this *ὑποκρισις* and *actio* mean? It does not mean what the etymology, and the usage of the first word implies—feigning passions and feelings, for purposes of art; nor does it mean what the second word might indicate, the mere actings of the stage; the imparting to others by physical agencies the feelings and passions of the speaker. By physical agencies, we mean the voice, the eye, the hands, the features of

the face, and the postures of the body. With regard to the voice, the various works on elocution are full of phonetic directions. With regard to the hands, the *Chironomia* of Austin and Barber are ample. With regard to postures, the pulpit, as it hides most deformities, exposes few, and those easily remedied. But the eye, the window of the soul, and the face the mirror of the heart, are too often overlooked, but cannot be too much insisted on, as powerful agents in the production of eloquence. There is a power in the eye of the orator, as it fixes itself, here and there, upon the eye of the hearer, which is above all gesticulations. The eye melting with love, the eye glazed with horror, the eye sparkling with delight, the eye beaming with hope, the eye flashing with indignation, the eye piercing with earnestness, the eye glowing like an orb of light under kindled passions and excited faculties, are powerful agents of oratory. There is no passion that the eye does not evidence, no emotion that it does not betray. It is in every truth "the window of the soul," and we see passing and re-passing, and standing at its casement, all the passing and re-passing or stationary emotions of the inner man. In delivering written discourses, the tying down of the eye to the manuscript, takes off from the great effectiveness of this organ. The eye is then used as an optical instrument, not as it should be, the reflector of the soul's emotions; it is then employed mechanically, and not as it should be, in its mystical power, to startle and agitate and inspirit the congregation. It is when we look round an audience, and catch respectively the eyes of the hearers, that we command more attention, speak to more purpose, and produce deeper results. Eye kindles eye, and the answering flashes of the auditors add new excitation to the electric light of the speaker's eye.

A fearfulness to look an audience in the face, betrays a timidity that should never show itself in the sacred desk. The man who stands there should feel the dignity, the vastness, the usefulness of his office, placed there not by men, nor by the will of men, but made an overseer by the Holy Ghost, and there should be no fearfulness, no shrinking, no leaning upon man's applause, in him, who, as an ambassador for Christ, stands up to declare the whole counsel of God. Let the preacher look his hearers then in the eye, telling them by its kindling earnestness that he is in earnest, that he feels the truths he utters, and expects them to

feel ; that he reads not these terrors of the Lord to them, as the cold speculations of a lifeless theology, but declares them under the deep responsibilities of their eternal truth. And while the lips speak the thoughts of the mind, let the eye speak the workings of the soul, so that not only shall the intellect be roused, but the heart shall also be stirred in its inmost depths.

Most of these remarks apply equally well to the face. We are all sufficiently familiar with the ability of the facial muscles, to express any and every emotion of the heart ; and we all know that when these facial expressions do not correspond to internal feelings, the force of the inner sentiments is weakened, if not altogether destroyed. If a man is uttering expressions of hate with a smiling face, or countenance, the features belie the tongue, and we are more apt to believe the face than the lips. True earnestness will, if left to its proper workings, press into its service the features of the human countenance, and it will use those features not with the distortions of grimace, but as auxiliaries of the most powerful feelings and passions, showing the heart through the transparency of the face—for where each passion has its own peculiar arrangement of features, the display of that arrangement in connection with that expressed passion, must always add to its force and effectiveness.

He who would speak well, must feel deeply, and none but those who feel deeply the truths they are set to declare, should attempt to expound the oracles of God.

The preacher, then, should have as personal qualities, a heart filled with love, and a mind fitted up with knowledge, benevolence and firmness, diligence and devotedness to his work. His sermons should be various in style and character, clear in their expositions of truth, earnest in their appeals, simple in expression, dignified in manner, faithful in exhortation, and scriptural in language. His delivery should be with a speaking eye, an expressive face, a modulated voice, a forcible gesticulation, and a soul which lays the whole man under contribution, to give force and efficacy to its swelling emotions.

In a word, sermons should be quarried out from the Bible, worked up in the study, shaped by the wants of the Church, baptized in the closet, and delivered as if the very gates of eternity swung open before the preacher's eye.

ART. III.—*Onslow, or the Protégé of an Enthusiast ; an Historical Traditional Tale of the South.* By a Gentleman of Alabama. Philadelphia : G. B. Zieber & Co., No. 3 Ledger Buildings.

SOCIETY must have imaginative excitement. It is one of the laws of its existence. It is connected alike with its spirit and forms. Whatever strength reason may give to its principles, and whatever activity passion may communicate to its interests, imaginative influence is necessary to animate the one and exalt the other. It is the source of harmony, producing union, where other means would maintain divisions, finding secret ties of correspondence, where contrast seems to have been designed, and diffusing itself in such fulness throughout the universe as to be the dim representative of its parent mind. As an impulse to action, it is strong and enduring ; as an effort to put consciousness into palpable embodiment, it is equally significant of spiritual life and material relations : as an illustration of social character and condition, its facts challenge attention. If individual man cannot dispense with its powerful agency, if he is compelled to look to it to enlarge the range of speculation and effort, if it must infuse itself into all realities and atone for the want of those things that mysterious whisperings assure him were once his inheritance, society must acknowledge the same provision for its energy and happiness. Amid the different stages of civilization, the nature of imaginative exercises and exhibitions will assume various aspects, but it is only because the intense sensibility, out of which it springs, is ever ready to obey any invocation and ever glad to summon intellect and affection into any service promotive of human advancement.

The inherent disposition to imaginative excitement is exemplified in the immense number of objects, that appeal to it, in the constancy and earnestness of their presentation, and in the quick sympathy of our hearts with them. The researches of science are among the secrets of nature. Worthy of creation are those wonders. A reserved treasury of sublime intelligence and benevolent adaptation, a rich fund for the inquiring mind to subsist on through endless ages, it is entitled to the homage that has been rendered to it. To analyse, to comprehend, to apply such objects, time

and toil are required. The laborers in this field are indeed under the curse: the sweat is on their brows: the burden is on their brains. They live and die under a rigid dispensation. If nature ever seem to forget its tenderness and place its servants under severe exaction, it is in the case of such men as Galileo, Kepler and Davy. They alone are its martyrs. Nor is the fact strange. If the design of science is to meliorate the circumstances of humanity, to lessen the evils entailed by sin, and to restore the lost sovereignty of matter to the hands that once held it, there must be a compensation to justice for this abridgment of its penalty. Sorrow is the destiny of all, who remove sorrow from others. The doctrine of substitution, so sacred in its higher application, finds in them a shadowy example of its divine import. But the history of imagination is different. Its vocation was first appointed and is least invaded. Beauty seeks it as it seeks beauty. The heavens bend to it as it rises to the heavens. Nature greets it every where and glorifies it in every thing. Religion early claimed it. The past is crowded with its triumphs, and the future offers it new trophies. The infinite variety of its objects astonishes us. Charm succeeds charm—interest springs from interest—grandeur crowns grandeur like stars retreating beyond stars, until the universe glows for it. Learned men have often marked the fitness of material arrangements to develop and sustain mind. Unlike in substance, they constitute one creation, the facts of materialism and spiritualism being so interwoven as to express the intimate relationship of opposite phenomena. The strong hold of philosophic infidelity has ever been natural science, but through the exertions of Paley, Chalmers, Whewell and Kidd, the foundations have been withdrawn, and Christianity has been disclosed as the end of this singular alliance. If this precise correspondency be traced between matter and imagination, the argument is still more conclusive, for here, we see nothing indicative of chance, nothing intimating a Deity retired from human affairs and secluded within the solitudes of space, but a wise and kind God, present amid his works and anxious to commune with his creatures. For all of these attractive scenes, this faculty has an abiding love; for all, a restless passion for communion; for all, it is ever gathering up and giving forth, the melody of praise. So true it is, that nature and nature's Lord will have the regards of man; so true it is, that thanksgivings must be uttered.

The age of great poets appears to have terminated. It has closed under circumstances calculated to perpetuate its existence. If genius produces genius, if sublime ideas create sublimer thoughts, as we incline to suppose, we are surprised that such poets as Dante, Shakspeare, Klopstock and Milton have not bequeathed their harps to hands, that would repeat and ennoble the strains. The recent history of society has not been deficient in the elements of romance. It has been distinguished by all kinds of conflict, by bloody warfare, by vast schemes, by feudalism, democracy, and republicanism, by barbarism and civilization. But yet, poetry has languished. Instances of art in other departments of imagination have been numerous. The skill of Canova and Thorwaldsen has revived sculpture; the music of Mozart and Beethoven has perfected the language of adoration; the canvass has exhibited the resources of reality and ideality beneath the pencils of Reynolds, West and David. Why then, has poetry declined? We think the reason is found in the introduction of another form of imaginative excitement. Men will have fiction. As society changes, it must change. As the twilight retires, the phantoms must retire. As the signs of external life multiply, literature must copy them. Hence, the creative power has transferred itself into new departments and devoted itself to them. Let us take an example. The middle ages were characterized by wonderful movements of enthusiastic feeling. If ever imagination was incorporated into every element of private and public interests, if it ever luxuriated in perfect wildness, if it ever had the governments and religion of the world as its auxiliaries, it was during that memorable period. All Europe struggled and all Asia resisted. Out of the convulsions, poetry was reproduced. It used the numerous materials and performed its task. Prose-fiction soon followed. Why? Poetry could not employ half the stirring incidents. It wandered away from many a baronial palace and neglected many a brave hero. The records of chivalry and the crusades combine poetic and prose-fiction in them, and therefore, each has sought to make them subserve its purpose. If the one has had more license, the other has shown more faithfulness. If the one has invented, the other has imitated. Had the facts been preserved merely in history, they could never have lost their influence, but how is that influence

augmented, now that their features are fastened upon all hearts by the stamp of fiction?

No one can suppose, that prose-fiction can become a substitute for poetry. Whatever resemblance there may be between them, in respect of some of their materials and effects, they are so distinct as to belong to different provinces of literature. It is nevertheless the case, that in advanced stages of culture and refinement, prose-fiction will secure and maintain the ascendancy. Though poetry is an element of all inward and outward nature, yet its sublimest utterances are rarely heard. It is therefore circumstantial, ordained to wait times and seasons, never impatient to speak, never obtrusive, never anxious to force mankind to yield it reverence. It is too great to be restless for human applause, too glorious to seek familiar companionship, too divine to be dependent on mortal love. Prose-fiction has charms for the multitude. It is of the world and worldly. It is unquestionably a most enchanting display of imaginative excellence. Considered in any light, it exerts a commanding power over the human mind, subordinating all varieties of thought and emotion to itself, employing all the treasures of wisdom to make itself effective, turning science into magic and magic into science, dealing with facts plain and obscure, with mysteries known and unknown, with beings seen and unseen, and indulging itself in every way consistent with its scope to afford amusement and profit. In the impossibilities of the Arabian Nights, in the exuberant animal spirits of the works of Rabelais, in the wit of Don Quixote, in the domestic loveliness of the Vicar of Wakefield, in the mutterings and moanings of distracted Europe in the Sorrows of Werter, in the romance of history as seen and felt in the writings of Scott, there is the same assertion of its sway over the passions of men.

A fascinating form of literature having acquired its maturity in modern society and exerted an extensive agency over mind, morals and manners, its study is a matter of interest to all, who watch the developments of our race. Whatever novel-writing may have been before the eighteenth century, it was then, that it assumed importance, as an intellectual instrumentality, under the guiding genius of Richardson. How wide has been its range! How unforeseen its results! To awaken its power, to show its vast capabilities, to estab-

lish its identity with the throbbings of warm hearts and the laborings of quickened understandings, it has put itself in nearest alliance with imagination and claimed its utmost ingenuity. It has not been disappointed. Obedient to the call, imagination has travelled over lauds far and near, over seas stormy and serene, listening to strange voices and beholding strange sights, poring over old volumes, gathering up singular legends, then disdaining one and all, courting phantoms, making friends of fairies, painting terrific scenes upon the clouds, and moving the elements to perform its purposes. Philosophy has protested against it, but in vain. History has wondered at its own transformations. And yet, it has gone on further in its career and freer and freer in its spirit, determined to convince spectator and student, that it grasps the highest interests of society. We believe it. We bow to it. We breathe an earnest wish for its wise direction. Of all enthronements, imagination has now the uppermost. Of all earthly glory, it wears the brightest. Of all human means, its full activity, with sanctified guidance, is most needed. Nothing, in the late progress of humanity, has surprised us so much as this concentration of literary mind in fiction, and nothing, it appears to us, is fraught with so many consequences of good or evil. If its morbid exhibitions could now cease and society avail itself of that general vigor of mind, which imagination only can supply, and convert it to useful objects, we should then see, that it can be made to sustain the two-fold office of prophet and reformer. A genius of rare endowments is required to accomplish this change. Strong men—gifted men—do not always appear in periods of critical responsibility. If this were the established law, mankind would never retrograde. The history of recent literature brings us to a point of solemn reflection. The force of the world has been transferred to the few, and the power of the few is controlled by imagination. A master-mind is needed to redeem the present state of things. If one of deep sympathies, earnest will, resistless energy, universal affections, strong instincts, spiritual without abstraction, material without grossness, with an inspired imagination and overflowing heart could now take advantage of the modern tendencies of literature and its results in the social system, we think, that other schemes of reform might be set aside and the world left to its protection.

We have a new American novel before us. Like the hero, whose name it bears, its paternity has been concealed, and like him, it must pass through a warfare with opinion and prejudice. Its subject is interesting to every American heart. It is founded upon that exciting period of our revolution, when the cause of liberty seemed to be prostrated in the South, when, excepting those who adhered to Sumter and Marion, the mass of the people had quailed before the terror of successful arms and resigned the pursuit of freedom. The facts of the work are historical and traditional; blended with skill, and arranged with tact. They present light and shade, reality and fancy, so as to convey a strong impression of the spirit of the times. Revolutions bring out character strongly; they teach great truths and reveal mighty passions; they give to the individual an opportunity to signalize himself, and call for the utmost degree of personal valor. Whatever amount of wisdom, ingenuity, boldness and magnanimity may dwell in society, is then required and consequently will be shown. History can do perfect justice to no revolution. It may announce the philosophy embraced in its contests and analyze the principles connected with it, but to dissect is not to paint. We want the scenes and the actors. We want the whole ground laid before us. Let us see and hear for ourselves. Let us mingle in the shock and stand amid the storm. Give us the solid and substantial history, with its quiet air and possessed temper, for truth, but do not leave us with it alone. We confess our passion for something more. Convert it all into pictures, spread them out in their length and breadth, collect the sunshine over them, if these are to be brightened; or gather the cloud, if they are to be shaded; sketch the scenery of events, and let nature lend the grandeur of the mountain and the repose of the valley to the deeds of patriotism; show us the hearth with its love-circle, and the altar, with its heart-worshippers, move us with the baptism of blood and captivate us with the triumph of martyrs. Men are forming history into an abstract science. Robertson gave impulse to the effort; Schlegel and Guizot have advanced it. We enter no protest. We rather rejoice in it. Monarchy will learn good lessons from them; so will aristocracy. We only deny the competency of philosophy to execute the whole work. We plead for the poetry of history. What intellectual and moral wealth is in it! What facili-

ties for a knowledge of humanity ! What silent and solemn memorials ! What prophetic tokens ! What spirit-power and spirit-pleadings ! Fiction can best appropriate these treasures to human enlightenment, for it knows their worth, and is eager to demonstrate it. "Onslow" places the struggles of our revolution in the South prominently and impressively before us. The peculiar circumstances of the South at that time gave some distinct characteristics to the contest, which ought not to be overlooked. The Cavalier and Huguenot traits should be kept in view, whenever that era is studied, as well as the state of things with which they were associated. The spirit of chivalry animates the entire work. Resolution to suffer and sacrifice,—high sense of personal honor—magnanimous bearings towards enemies are frequently portrayed. We think, that toryism deserved severer treatment from our author. A colonial revolution can scarcely be free from such a taint, but, whenever we reflect upon the aggressions of England and the absolute necessity for a resort to arms by our countrymen, we cannot look upon the friends of monarchy in the colonies, in any other than a detestable light.

The hero of the volume is Julian Onslow. There is sufficient mystery about his parentage and history to excite the imagination of the reader. Few things give a novelist a finer command of human sympathies than such circumstances, and as we pursue their corroding influence upon a noble mind like Julian's, the struggles of his pride, the lurking suspicion that it may thwart his fondest hopes, we cannot but realize a deep interest in his life. The passive qualities predominate in him. Whenever occasion requires, he exhibits the active virtues, cherishing them as a sort of reserved store for special necessities. A great mind should always entertain an equal sympathy with exertion and repose, and manifest its strength alike in them. The ocean is sublime in calm and storm. To see a heroic man of large views, mighty powers, and acute sensibilities, bearing the reverses of fortune in tranquillity, turning away from every thing to be every thing to himself, and awaiting the occurrence of propitious events, with sustained hope, expands our ideas of humanity and impels us to feel, that true majesty of character may assume various forms. Julian is decided and bold—never rash—never reckless—a firm patriot, mortified under reverses but not disheartened,

prompt to assert the rights of his country and zealous to defend them. A band of guardian-angels seems to be around him. They sometimes act strangely and speak incoherently, but yet, the trusty friends keep him in their view and exert themselves to shield him. Several scenes awaken a lively interest in his behalf. The capture, subsequently to his interview with Edir Immerson, is admirably told, and presents one of the most striking incidents of the plot. Julian is a man of thought and feeling. We like his sentiment and pathos. Situated as he is, with his tenderest passions fixed upon a charming woman, with his domestic relations involved in perplexity, with his life in jeopardy, he is true to nature in that current of deep emotion, which so often flows from his bosom. Apart from these facts, strong attributes of character and high hopes are calculated to impart a hue of gentle sadness to the spirit. There is something subdued in all bright expectations. There is something mournful in all dreams or realities of happiness. If man is ever conscious of profound feeling, it is when bliss swells into ecstasy and ecstasy trembles in awe. We think that Julian's character is not developed sufficiently by our author. It lacks ideality. It is sometimes too negative. A prairie is a magnificent scene, but we admire the undulating surface. Canals are useful, but the water glides with too much stillness for impression. Julian quickens your pulse and sends the blood hurriedly to the brain at times, but in so fine and endearing a character and under such stimulating circumstances, we should like to realize the import of one favorite word—*power*. If the hero could have had better opportunities of exhibiting his energetic attributes of mind, the individualism of his nature would have been more fully disclosed, and the attractions of the work enhanced.

The heroine of the volume is St. Ille Grayson. She belongs to a high-minded and honorable South-Carolina family, and in every thing, sustains the dignity of her station. Without etheriality, she is an elevated woman, identified with real life, and moving before you with the home-ease of familiar experience. The fancy is never strained to appreciate her. With a woman's heart, she endures suspense and suffering, believing against belief, and hoping against hope, tender and true, calm and constant, with sufficient strength to brave difficulty, and prudence enough to restrain her from

seeking occasions of romantic display. In her filial obedience, in her firm resistance of all temptations to cupidity, in her counteraction of Notwood's schemes, she acts the part of a composed and courageous female. Julian and she are devoted to each other. The progress of their love is well expressed, though there is frequently too much imagination in their language for such an engrossing passion. Persons are not usually inclined to figurative eloquence under the overwhelming sway of passionate feeling. The heart at such times forgets all intellectual signs of thought, and absorbed with its own violent affections, utters its raptures or sorrows in words of direct significancy. To draw the line between the language of imagination and passion is always difficult, but as a general rule, the former is prompted by nature to recall impressions and revive emotions, rather than to give expression to ideas and sensibilities, that burden the spirit. St. Ille is a lovely creature, a beautiful picture for a work like Onslow, and a worthy object for profound attachment. Julian and she are at last married, and as the reader looks upon their union, and gathers all past scenes around them, he wishes them the full share of happiness promised to faithful love. The other female characters are finely drawn. Julia Armond, a young widow, is an intellectual and romantic woman, with a due share of girlhood balanced by the dignity of widowhood, not one who glides into your heart, but rather seizes it as a kind of made-over property. If she had appeared in a poetic effusion, star beams would probably have clustered around her, and cloud-drapery robed her, but in "Onslow," with all her great capacity for fancy and sublimation, is by no means a stranger among scenes, where hearts carry on their involuntary warfare. She appears in but a portion of the volume, and patroness as she is of Julian, tests his affection for St. Ille effectually.

Cathena, a fine country-girl of excellent endowments, charming in person and manner, and spirited enough to excite a high degree of respect, moves among the scenes, like a bird, that would prefer to flit among flowers, but has been driven into forest shade, amid tall trees and tangled vines. Mrs. Conway atones for the deficiencies of her husband by her nobleness of mind, with skill to manage and nerve to execute. Kelonah represents the best traits of an Indian woman. Jemina is a cynic and behaves accordingly. Ame-

lia is an instance of practical transmigration—a woman embodied in a dove. She lives to cast soft glances and breathe low heart-tones, in still twilight hours. Early death is part of such a history, for exceeding loveliness carries its destiny with it. She expires beside her lover, Edward Conway. Edir Immerson, who turns out to be the mother of Julian, is a masculine woman, half-sane and half-insane. Nanny Hart will be recognized as a real personage by Southern readers, a wonderful creature in history or fiction. These constitute the prominent female characters. There are too many of them for intense effect. The mind is divided among such a number of fair beings. We feel as we do in a museum; multiplicity weakens attention.

The chief actors of our sex are Edward Conway, Major Walden, Geoffry Jarvis, the mineralogist, Dr. Cain, Captain Gant, Clannagan Coldfire, Notwood, Bucklebelt and Timmy Tidder. Our partialities are in favor of Jarvis and Tidder. The character of the mineralogist is the most distinct and earnest one in the group. A scientific enthuſaist, bent on his wild project, he is the same man under all circumstances, no exigencies diverting him, no temptations seducing him, so that the reader understands exactly what he will say and do, and feels himself denied the privilege of speculating as to his future course. Julian is his protégé. Cato and Prudence are domestics, and in their faithfulness, illustrate forcibly the devotion to our families, of which the negro is capable.

The selection of events from history is judiciously made, while those which are fictitious serve to give scope to the writer and reader. As we followed the author through the windings of the plot, passing from occurrence to occurrence, from field to river, from mansions to huts, from promenades to battles, we again and again felt the thrill, that the heart feels when its passions are aroused. The events at the Bee-Tree and Nanny Hart's, at Tower Rock and Forest Hill, the death of Clannagan, and numerous other incidents, are admirably drawn. And then, the triumph of American arms under General Greene, the achievements of General Sumter, with the rejoicing enthusiasm and prolonged shout, how does the fancy revel and patriotism glow over their rich details! And afterwards the closing scenes, the discovery of Julian as the son of Major Walden, the nuptials of the hero and heroine, the farewell of Jarvis, and the

other events that finish this attractive narrative, how pleasantly some, how painfully others, come over the interested mind of the reader !

That the work has defects need not be disguised, but they are capable of remedy by its talented author. No one can read it and deny him a clear insight into character, an active poetic sense, a deep sympathy with the struggles of humanity, a fulness of feeling, and a copious inventiveness. If the writer, (Dr. S. C. Oliver,) should dedicate his intellect to this branch of literature, the success of "Onslow" warrants the opinion, that he will be ranked among our best authors.

ART. IV.—ITALY.

1. *Griffin's Remains*. New-York: G. & C. & H. Carvill. 1831.
2. *The Athenæum*. London. Feb., 1846.
3. *The Foreign Quarterly Review*. London. Jan., 1845.
4. *Letters from Abroad*. By MISS SEDGWICK. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1841.
5. *Letters from Italy*. By J. T. HEADLY. Wiley & Putnam. 1845.

WHEN we have heard some fanciful story which we would like to believe yet feel strongly tempted to doubt,—a story which our vanity will not permit us to imagine is palmed off on us as a hoax,—we look, for a moment, earnestly at the narrator, and, rather interrogatively, exclaim, "Nay, that's a traveller's tale !" Travellers have been famous, from time immemorial, for the fervor of their fancy or the laxity of their truth, and we doubt not that if Noah had kept a log book of his stormy voyage, and read it to his second generation, there would have been incredulous listeners among his rising progeny, even to the story of the olive and the dove. Travellers,—says Shakespeare sarcastically,—

"Ne'er did lie—though fools *alone* condemn them."

Beaumont and Fletcher, too, in the Coxcomb, have given

S

VOL. X.—NO. 19.

a scene between Nan and Madge, in which the tribe of wayfarers is fairly snubbed :

"Sirrah! where is't they say my young master hath been?" asks Nan.

"Faith, I know not," replies Madge, "beyond seas, where they are born *without noses!*"

"Jesse bless us!" ejaculates Nan,—"*without noses!* How do they for handkerchiefs!"

This repute for exaggeration is unquestionably not without a basis. Travellers start from home, panting with the lust of novelty. As they are bigoted patriots or dissatisfied citizens, they are inclined to regard the foreign world with disgust or unrestricted delight. *Abroad* would not be *abroad* were it not vastly different from *at-home*; and the standard of its quality must depend on the liberal mind or the narrow prejudice of the voyager. But whether the land he visits is to receive his commendation or his censure, we may ever be confident that the praise or the blame of the tourist will be equally exaggerated. Besides this, "Monsieur traveller must, for a while, lisp and wear strange suits,—disable the benefits of his own country,—get out of love with his nativity, and almost chide God for making him the countenance he has, or one would scarce think he had swam in a gondola."

We have thought that it would be a curious subject for readers of our Review to investigate the motives and manners of American travellers in Europe; and, perhaps, that a good result might be gained by observing the contemptible results most generally achieved even by those who neither write nor publish, but content themselves with the social *eclat* of being travelled men. The causes of this lamentable failure, we believe may be found in the very inadequate education of our youth, in their neglect or want of opportunity to pursue a thorough course of classical studies; in a deplorable self-sufficiency, inherited from their English ancestry, and in their idea that money is as omnipotent abroad as it is at home.

These causes, at which we have time merely to hint at present, at once place the majority of our young American travellers beyond the pale of scientific, literary and artistic circles in the old world. They travel to be excited by a continually shifting panorama of the external world, and, consequently, are rarely presented with any other objects of

observation than such as are set down in guide books, or may be heard of from *valets de place*. Palaces, galleries and gardens charm their eyes and excite their astonishment by day, only to give place to the voluptuous scenes of the ballet and the surprising songs of the opera by night. Thus, we find in all the travels of our younger countrymen, the most vapid repetitions of details, the most lavish descriptions of the peasants' dress, the army's drill, the pomp of religious ceremonials, the annoyance of officials, the impurity of continental inns, the princely magnificence of architecture, the gentleness of Raphael and grandeur of Angelo; and, if perchance the traveller has accidentally obtained the *entrée* of a single saloon, his republican eye is either dazzled by the glittering stars with a bewildered admiration of "the nobility," or his fastidious ears are jarred by horrible dialects and deplorable ignorance.

Gossip, scandal and revamped descriptions of scenery and ruins, are thus unsparingly afforded us; but, seldom indeed, do we find our tourists penetrating beyond the exterior, and representing the man of Europe as he is influenced by the social and political institutions of his native country.

The effect of this flippancy in Europe, where they are by no means inattentive or uncritical observers of Americans, is to make us suspected, "unsafe" and unwelcome guests; and the results of this imperfect education and motiveless travel are bringing merited contempt on our name and nation.

It cannot be said, in just excuse, that we should be treated with peculiar leniency, because, emerging from our old forests and new cities, we are fairly taken by surprise at the mere outside of Europe, and have no time to devote to the intellectual characteristics of the people. The reason is altogether insufficient. We are not, we certainly do not think ourselves, savages. A savage may be surprised, a civilized man must never be. The fact that a thing is, should, at once, be enough to satisfy him, that in God's providence it can be and ought to be. Wonder, therefore, though a laudable excitement of the human energies, should never become their absorbent. It is a part of manliness to be equal to every occasion, and a character of true worth is as much at home the first time it penetrates the golden circle of a court, as it is in the oaken arms of its familiar

chair, and in the nook of its own fireside. Above all, whilst cultivating this spirit of manliness, the American youth should, also, assiduously cherish a genuine sympathy and respect for all nations; he should seek to know what is good, and to weigh justly the evil, in the condition of all people; he should be prompt to penetrate the political nature of all governments, and to see how much of their burthens they derive from the direct oppression of aristocracies, how much from their own feebleness of character, and how much from the traditions and the effects of their ancient laws and ignorance; he should desire to render the knowledge he acquires at school or college not merely the stimulant of a boyish superiority over his fellow pupils, but the foundation of that ultimate wisdom, embellished by a pure taste, which will make him valued wherever worth and cultivation are cherished; and he should, especially, seek to make himself fluent in the modern languages of Europe, without which he might as well go abroad without a tongue and without ears.

Prudent and discreet preparations, like these, for a tour in Europe, are, however, in the vast majority of cases, entirely neglected. A worthy merchant, upon whom fortune has smiled for many years, feels that he has discharged one of his most conscientious duties, when he sees the receipted bills for his son's education, taped, labelled, and comfortably shelved in the pigeon holes of his counting-room. He feels that his soul is relieved of a load of care, and that but one thing more is required to perfect his paragon,—a trip to Europe! He looks at his ledger, calculates his domestic expenses, sums up the outlay of a summer tour and a winter campaign, and yet finds that he can conveniently spare a few odd thousands for the projected journey. And so, he launches from domestic leading-strings, his raw, half-taught, petulant and conceited stripling, freighted with bad French and unexceptionable bills.

Every packet brings in a hashed up letter, and, now and then, some flattering editor to whose columns papa is a profitable payer, is betrayed into the publication of elegant extracts. We are thus periodically instructed of our fledgling's progress. Vesuvius, Portici, Pæstum, Pompeii, Paris, London, go, again, the thousandth round of the cosmorama. He sees Rome in a week, though it was "not built in a day." He is positively of opinion that the Pope is a humbug, and

the Cardinals a set of red-legged women. How well Taglioni dances! How *oily* are the notes of Grisi! What a passion he has for Paris! But the government is a sad bore to him; he abhors despotism. What a murky hole London is! But, then, what a place for *coats and trousers*!

Thus, having dawdled through Europe and spent his bills; and having bought, in Paris, an exquisite cap and charming bonnets for mamma and his sisters, he steams back again to America, jaded by expedition and debauchery, with a chaos of impure conceits and "first impressions" floating in his mind—a sort of nondescript animal, speaking a mongrel language—a praiser of every thing European, a despiser of every thing American—and though heartily sick of his native land, he may still be seen condescending to apprise us of his existence, by appearing in our most fashionable streets, with a light coat, a natty cane, a waddling walk and abundance of hair upon his face.

The fortune of this being is made with certain classes. He has been to Europe—he has travelled! He has seen Taglioni—we have only seen Elssler. He has heard Grisi—we have only listened to Wood. He has seen the Coliseum—we have only visited the Park. He has been presented to Victoria or Louis Philippe—we have not even shaken hands with President Polk. What vast advantages he enjoys over the great body of American mankind! He is a lion—at least he wears the skin of one—for the season. He is sought out as a man of conceded taste. He is regarded as a judge of the fine arts, for he exhibits the numerous "old masters" he has obtained from Italian galleries. He is held to be an infallible judge in all matters of *virtù*—for behold his chains, brooches, cameos, intaglios, pietraduras, mosaics! What glowing descriptions he occasionally emits! What obscure hints of possible adventure! What easy anecdotes of my lord this and my lady that! What bright ages grow brighter at his advent, and become dim at his departure!

"While he was abroad
His want of wit and language kept him dumb;
But Balaam's ass will speak now without spurring!"

If the matter ended here, and the trifle, after fluttering like a moth, around the blaze of intelligent society, were, at last, to perish in the flame he had tempted; or, were suffer-

ed to expire under the adequate punishment of future insignificance, there would be nothing to regret ; but, unexamined critically by the people, the imposter becomes exalted into an idol, and, mistaking the flattering astonishment with which he is received as the deliberate acknowledgment of his merit, he hangs awhile on the skirts of society, marries, and, in turn, becomes the

“tenth transmitter of a foolish face,”

and the founder of a social perpetuity whose fund is wealth, impudence and ignorance.

In sketching thus rapidly the outline of a fruitless but fortunate American traveller, we have desired to characterize distinctly a very large class of young countrymen who annually cross the Atlantic and “do Europe,” as they call it, in a twelvemonth. But we desire to be by no means understood as confounding, with the excellent citizens who travel from our shores, those swarms of American foplings, whose vacant minds and vulgar manners have seriously injured our national reputation, both in Great Britain and on the Continent. On the other hand, there are many American tourists whose learning and modesty have made them as beloved abroad as they were admired at home ; but unluckily, in the majority of cases, the world’s tendency is to recollect the fault rather than the merit, and to condemn the Yankee *parvenu* more than to praise the American gentleman.

This should be reformed. We are rearing an unprofitable race at home, and publishing a libel on our character and manners across the Atlantic. In America, we have heard men loud in their criticism of European *society*, whose associates abroad were couriers or chambermaids, and who derived their notions from the rapacity of the one and the proverbial virtue of the other. In Europe, we have listened to a tory who was quite as eloquent on the pretence, ignorance, grossness and flippancy of an American upstart, who aped the manners and emulated the fortunes of the faubourg St. Germain. The European argued from this vulgar example, that we were pretending fools or hypocritical democrats in America ; whilst the American declared, that in Europe, the men were all scamps and the women—“no better than they should be.”

Influenced by this generalizing spirit of travellers and their tales, nine-tenths of our countrymen believe that an

Englishman is, universally a bluff, beef-eating gentleman, in buckskin smalls, fair-top boots, blue coat, yellow vest, red cravat and rosy face, whose chief delight is to swear at Yankees and sip his ale. Spain is made up, by these fallacists, of gloomy towers on toppling cliffs; bleeding nuns and lazy monks; women in short petticoats, dancing fandangos with men in tight trousers; whilst numerous gentlefolks, clad in cloaks and slouched hats, wandered by moonlight, in the sombre shadows of ancient corridors, in order to stab their rivals as they steal homewards from the sweet serenade. Frenchmen, they tell us, dine upon frogs and soup *mâigre*; live in *hotels*; are educated chiefly at the theatre; have no "*homes*;" are taught to dance before they learn to read; love revolutions, glory, and *foie-gras*, and believe in the remission of sins by the grace of holy water. Even the classical Beckford, declares, that he was "not at all surprised at the fishiness of the scite of Holland, since very slight authority would persuade him that there was a time when it was all under water, and the ancestors of the present inhabitants fish! A certain oysterishness of eye," he continues "and flabbiness of complexion, are almost certain proofs of this aquatic descent; and he begs he may be informed, for what purpose are the huge trousers, with which the Dutch burden themselves, made, but to tuck up a floundering tail and cloak the dolphin-like termination!" Jean Paul Richter declares, that they are only a cheap edition of the Germans printed on bad paper and published without copperplates!

A very lovely lady once asked us whether the Mahomedans were not Pagans? and "still," says old Burton, "the Turks deride us, we them; Italians, Frenchmen, thinking them light-headed fellows; the French scoff at the Italians, and at their several customs; Greeks have condemned all the world but themselves for barbarians, the world as much vilifies them now; we account the Germans dull, heavy, fellows, and explode many of their fashions; they as contemptuously think of us; Spaniards laugh at all, and all again at them. And so," continues the Anatomist of Melancholy, "and so, are we all fools and ridiculous; absurd in our actions, carriage, diet, apparel, customs and consultations. We scoff and pout at one another, whereas, in conclusion, all are fools, and they are the veriest asses who hide their ears most."

As for Italy, she has, in turns, had the tourist's sigh, his love and his anger. Like a beautiful but spoiled woman, married to a doating but passionate man, she has ever been treated with injustice. To love her he could not help; but to respect her, he could not compel himself. The consequence is, that the Italy of the books is a capricious coquette, in whom, pride and passion, youth and age, marvels and mediocrity, external glory and inward meanness, bold rashness and lurking reserve, wild folly and hesitating sympathy, bigoted religion and reckless impiety, combine to make up a character on which we know not whether to bestow our blind adoration or unmitigated contempt.

Even old Roger Ascham, as far back as the days of Queen Elizabeth, was resolved with Shakspeare, that

"drug damned Italy should not out-craft him."

"I was once in Italie, myselfe," says Roger, "but thanke God, my abode therein was but *nine* days, and yet I saw in that littel tyme; in one cytye, more libertie to sinne *than I ever heard tell of in our noble citye of Londone in nine yeares!*

"They had fallen into all manner of corrupt manners and licentiousness of life. They had more in reverence the triumphs of Petrarche than the Genesis of Moses; made more accounte of Tullie's Offices than of St. Paul's Epistles, and of a tale in Boccace than a storie in the Bible. They account as fables the misteries of the Christian religion, and His Gospel onlie served the civill police; they cared for no Scripture, made no count of generall councils, contemned the consent of the church, railed on Luther, allowed neyther side, and liked none but onlie themselves." The reader will not fail to remark that it is by no means the least witty and interesting portion of this emphatic summary of the national characteristics of the whole peninsula, that it was made by the old British schoolmaster in the amazing period of *nine days!*

It might have been justly supposed that specimens of bigotry and injustice, like those we have quoted above, would have gone out of fashion long before the nineteenth century; but when the Queen of England forgot the dignity of her race and rank to bask in the smiles of her Italian *courier*, a warm hearted Irishman,* moved by what he considered the

* See Phillip's Letter to George the Fourth.

persecuting spirit of her husband, addressed a letter of remonstrance to his sovereign, in which he takes occasion to improve on the Elizabethan pedagogue, in the following style:

"Effeminate in their manners, sensual from the cradle ; crafty, venal and officious ; naturalized to crime ; outcasts of credulity ; the Italians have, from their infancy, seen their court a bagnio, their very churches scenes of daily assassination, their faith a form, their marriage ceremony a mere mask for the most incestuous intercourse. Gold is the god before which they prostrate every impulse of their nature." And, as if prose was not energetic enough in its poignancy, he concludes with a couplet :

"No nice extreme your *true* Italian knows
But bid him go to hell—to hell he goes !"

Let us see whether these "epitomizing epithets" have done justice to Italy. We laugh at the Chinese for calling all the world, "outside barbarians," or "red haired devils ;" let us discover whether we are less bitter or bigoted than the Celestial tea-dealers.

Italy has been called the "garden of the world," and, in truth, it has been the garden, not only of the physical, but of the intellectual world. The bright sun, the genial sky, the balmy air tempered by the surrounding seas, seem, not only to have exerted their happiest influences upon material creation, but to have peculiarly nourished the genius of her men. The history of Italy is the history of human greatness. Military glory—the triumphs of time—the memorials of the great and good, seem piled on her slender peninsula ; and these records of her fame make her children emulous of the fate and fortunes of their noble ancestry. Thus, in all times, we have beheld, in Italy, a prodigality of intellectual power, unequalled perhaps among other nations ; yet the men who laid the foundation of that Empire in "severe virtues and stern morality," passed through all the grades of refinement and splendor, and ended the vicious circle of human, as well as of natural fortune, in the blandishments of enervating luxury. Art gratified the eye and ear ; voluptuousness exhausted the soul and body ; and the strong man, shorn of his locks in the hour of dalliance, has at last, yielded to a power mightier than his own.

From the wholesale censure which, as we have seen, has been thrown upon Italy, it might perhaps be supposed, by a person who was not familiar with history and geography, that "Italy" comprised within its limits one vast empire, and that the "Italians" were an undistinguishable mass of people, amenable to the same laws and ruled by the same government. But, since the overthrow of the Roman power, Italy has never formed an entirely independent realm. In different ages she has been parcelled out and apportioned under various sways. On 127,000 square miles of territory, including Sicily and Sardinia, she possesses no less than ten governments,—the Ecclesiastical States, Tuscany, Lombardy or the Austrian States, the States of the King of Sardinia, the Two Sicilies, Modena, Lucca, Parma, Monaco and San Marino; being two Kingdoms, a Vice Royalty, the Popedom, three Duchies, a Grand Duchy, a Principality and a Republic. Although a vein of nationality runs through the whole peninsula, yet, in the different States, not only are the habits of the people extremely various, but, according to Baretti—"a Bergamasco may speak to a Bergamasco at Naples, or a Genoese to a Genoese at Venice, and be as little understood by a Venetian or Neapolitan, as if they conversed in Arabic; and Tasso's *Gerusalemme* has been translated into no less than five dialects, in order to suit sectional necessities." At Naples, the Italian language has been corrupted by Oriental and African intercourse, whilst, in the north, the German gutturals have produced a mongrel tongue, that can scarcely be endured by civilized ears.

The Piedmontese are distinguished among the Italians for a want of cheerfulness. They may be characterized as a melancholy people; and, although their country is full of beautiful scenery, yet they have seldom produced a poet, whilst the livelier Southerners are devoted to metrical compositions, "often speak in poetry, and are constantly singing it." The fine arts, too, have been but sparingly cultivated in Piedmont; yet, as if to compensate for the want of these embellishments of life, its inhabitants are renowned as heroic soldiers. When the French swept down from the snowy passes of St. Bernard into the plains of Italy, it was rather by surprise than forcible victory that the Austrian General was forced to surrender in a country so full of powerful fortifications. Until that moment, there was not a child who was

not familiar with the adage that—"Piedmont is the grave of Frenchmen."

Among the nobles of this section of the peninsula, the French language is much affected; they are proud of their lineage and nationality, and disdain familiar intercourse with the rest of their fellow subjects. It is even declared by a celebrated Turinese defender* of Italy, that they are so fond of war and yet so averse from scientific acquirements, that "very few of them know the Italian language in its purity, fewer still the Latin, and that he never was acquainted with one who had learned the Greek alphabet." In the middle class, this ignorance prevails, of course, as it does in the highest; and, instead of warfare, with an undercurrent of politics, the conversation dwindles into scandal and frivolity. French romances form the chief materials of the literature of the women, who, consequently, are very proper associates for the men.

In Piedmont, however, there lives one man whose life and remarkable book,† are sufficient almost to leaven the loaf of Turinese trifling. It is there that Silvio Pellico resides, as the librarian of a certain Marchesa. "We wrote him a note," says Miss Sedgwick, "and asked the privilege of paying our respects to him, on the ground of being able to give him news of his friends, the exiles who were his companions at Spielberg. He came immediately to us. He is of low stature and slightly made, a sort of *etching* of a man, with delicate and symmetrical features—just body enough to gravitate, and keep the spirit from its natural upward flight,—a more shadowy Dr. Channing. His manners have a sweetness, a gentleness, and his voice a low tone, that correspond well with his spiritual appearance." * * *

"Dieu m'a fait la grâce," said he, "de me laisser revoir mes parents en sortant de la prison. Dieu fait tout pour notre mieux; *c'est cette conviction qui m'a soutenu et qui me soutient encore.*" In reply to his remark, that he lived a life of retirement, and had few acquaintances at Turin, we told him that he had friends all over the world. "That proves," he said, "that there are, every where, belles âmes." His looks, manner, voice, and every word he spoke, were in harmony with his book,—certainly one of the most remarkable productions of the day. His phase of the Christian charac-

* Baretti.

† Le Mie Prigioni.

ter has always been that of *sufferance*. He is the gentle Melancthon, not the bold and valiant Luther; the loving John, not the fearless Paul."

Genoa has passed under the dominion of the Sardinian house since the downfall of the Emperor Napoleon, and, although within a short distance of Piedmont proper, the character of her people is entirely different. It is the variance between a race of mongrel mountaineers or people bred at the foot of the mountains, and a nation of bold and fearless mariners. Her nobles are affable, amiable, polite and cultivated gentlemen, whose wives are better acquainted with books than any other Italian females. Literary subjects are, therefore, discussed in their presence with pleasure and advantage. The ancient commercial freedom and intercourse of Genoa has left its lees even among the present fallen population, and we may easily believe that the time was when the Genoese nobility were her accomplished merchants. "In Genoa," says Mr. Headly, in his letters from Italy, "there is a great deal of nerve and stern republicanism remaining, which may yet recall the days of Spinola. Let the police over her be as lax as that of Tuscany, and it would not be long before she would be a republic again."

Lombardy has always been renowned for the gaiety of its people, and, even now, when given up to the Austrians with the Venetian Provinces, it still preserves its character of refinement, urbanity and courage. Milan is the Paris of Italy, and, no where do you behold so much modern eloquence. Miss Sedgwick writes from Milan :

"We found Madame T. at our hotel, full of cordiality, animation, and kindness. She had come in from her villa at Desio to keep her appointment with us. She first took us to her town-house, which has recently undergone a remodelling and refurnishing, and a most luxurious establishment it is. The perfection of Parisian taste, the masterly workmanship of England, and the beautiful art of her own country, have all been made subservient to wealth almost unlimited. It seemed to me like the realization of an Arabian tale. I have seen luxurious furniture elsewhere, but nothing, not even at Windsor Castle, so beautiful as Madame T.'s painted ceilings, her mosaic floors, and a window painted by Palaggio, in the exquisite colors which modern art has revived, illustrating Ivanhoe. How Scott has chained the arts to his triumphal car! There was a screen, too, exquisitely painted by the same artist. We went through the whole suite of apartments, dining-room, coffee-room, drawing-room, music-room, billiard-room, &c., Madame T. pointing out the details to us

with the undisguised naive pleasure of a child. "Je vous assure," she said, "que lorsqu'il y a les rideaux en velours et satin blanc avec les derriere-rideaux en tulle brodé, c'a fait un bel effet. * * *

"Madame T.'s villa is near the little town of Desio. After arriving at Desio we had an hour of rich twilight before dinner to see her grounds, which have given us new ideas of an Italian villa, and would lead us to think it was not so much a want of taste for rural life as a want of means to carry out their ideas of art and beauty, that drives the Italian gentry from their country places. Madame T. lacks nothing to produce the results she wills. Her conservatories, extending many hundred feet on each side her mansion, indicate princely wealth. They are filled with exotic fruits and flowers; one is filled with pines in great perfection and positive abundance—some five or six thousand well-grown plants of the *camelia japonica* intimate the magnificent scale of things here.

On one side of the estate there is an old abbey which serves the purpose of stables and other offices, and, which, last year, must have looked rather ruinous and *Italianish*; this has been recently ingeniously masked under the direction of the artist Palaggio, and now appears to be fragments of an aqueduct and an old abbey church with a tower, from which you have a view over half the rich plains of Lombardy, of an amphitheatre of Alps, of Como in the distance, and—I could fill my sheet with names that would make your heart beat *if you had been here*. Within the edifice there is a theatre and a *salle d'armes*, which is to be also a museum, and is already well begun with a collection of antiques.

There are noble avenues of old trees that might make an Englishman look up and around him. Through one of these we went to a pretty toy of a labyrinth, where one might get "a little lost." We were soon extricated by our lady, who held the clew, and who led us around the winding, bosky margin of a lake so extensive that I did not dream nature had not set it there and filled its generous basin, till Madame T. told me it was fed by a stream of water brought from Lake Como; and this stream flows through the grounds; now leaping over a precipice, and now dancing over a rocky channel, and singing on its way as if it chose its own pleasant path. There are many artificial elevations; we passed over one half as high as our Laurel Hill, with full-grown trees upon it; and between this and another is a wild dell, with a cascade, an aerial bridge, and tangled shrubbery: a cabinet picture of some passages in Switzerland; and on my saying this, Madame T. replied, she called it her "*Suisse*." At one end of the lake, near a fisherman's hut, is a monument to Tasso, half hidden with bays. There was a fishing-boat near the hut, so I took it for a *true story*; but, on Madame T. throwing open the door, we entered an apartment fitted up with musical instruments, which she modestly called her sewing-room. How fit it is for that sedative employment you may judge: there is a lovely statue in the middle of the room; the walls and ceiling are covered with illustrations of Tasso in fresco, and from each window is a different and most enchanting view." Vol. ii. p. 56.

These are scenes of picturesque beauty and social elegance, perhaps, unequalled elsewhere in the world, and serve to indicate the extreme luxury with which the nobility of upper Italy are accustomed to beguile their time in the midst of a government that always keeps its "cannons loaded, guarded and pointed against the homes of its citizens." Before the days of Austrian thralldom, these delicious dwellings were always hospitably open to strangers; but now "the theatre," continues our authoress, "is the great rendezvous of Milanese society. The ladies receive in their boxes instead of at-home. Yet, among the proofs enjoyed by the Austrian Emperor that the love of liberty is at work in the hearts of the Milanese, is the fact, that *no Italian lady will receive an Austrian officer at the opera*. It matters not what rank he holds; if she receives him, she is put into Coventry by her countrymen."

Traits of character like these are quite sufficient to mark distinctly the prevailing sentiment of the better classes of the Lombards. They entitle them to great respect from all lovers of freedom, and have made them conspicuous on the Italian soil. Whilst the Genoese cherish a sort of hereditary hatred of the Piedmontese, and dislike the Tuscans and Neapolitans; and whilst the Tuscans hate the Romans and Venitians,—the cordiality and candor of the Milanese, and their prompt disdain of despotism, make them general favorites with their peninsular neighbors. As long as they reside in the capital, they let no opportunity escape them of enjoying life with tasteful elegance, but they delight to escape to their rural haunts, where their countless villas, whose graceful columns adorn the embowered banks of Como and the adjacent lakes, have converted their picturesque territory into a modern Arcadia.

Mantua, Parma, Modena and Lucca are too small to be separately noticed for any very striking sectional peculiarities. They are rather large *estates* than national governments. But, with the name of Venice, a thousand graceful and romantic associations at once spring up in the reader's mind. Her strange site in the sea; her dim and unnatural history; the artful boldness of her creation; her gloomy prisons; her terrible *espionage* and brutal inquisition; the story of her vast commercial power, when she was the key

• Miss Sedgwick.

of the Orient ; the renown of her naval and military prowess ; the fate of a city, anchored as it were, in the sea, like a fleet awaiting the return of a conquering navy ; and, finally, the late but unregretted end that completes her career after the French Revolution,—all combine to make Venice a place of the deepest interest to a traveller from America.

In the spring of 1833, we passed a fortnight in this curious city of palaces, prisons, shrines, art, despotism and degradation. Amidst the solitude of her abandoned dwellings, against which the gondolas rested, unoccupied and motionless, our feelings came back with a rebound, from the grave of the old Republic to the active life and energy of our new one ! Her modern desolation contrasted strangely with the vigor of her ancient story. The soft verdure of our American landscape, the bright curl of our waters, the freshness and freedom of our forests, had no type amid the stagnation of these still and lovely canals. It was strange to one, coming, as we did, from a country, full of youthful lustiness, to look upon the gradual death of a mighty nation, the palpable extinguishment of a glorious city.

Such was Venice thirteen years ago ; but the Austrian Government, appreciating the valuable position of that city, with reference to the political and commercial power of Italy, as well as her own more immediate possessions, seems resolved on redeeming it from the entire destruction with which it seemed threatened at the time of our visit.

"A marked difference in the appearance of Venice must strike any traveller who has visited the city, even six years ago ;" (says a correspondent of the *London Athenæum* in 1844,)—"more vessels appear in port, throwing up their spars and curving lateen yards against the elegant tower of the custom-house, or the picturesque palaces and domes of the stately queen of the Adriatic. A whole fleet of galleys is seen in the hazy distance—no longer indeed returning from the conquest of the Morea or the glorious combats of Cyprus or Candia, but, waging a war against the very elements for the sake of "old Venice," they are carrying out and dropping stones at the break water of Maxomoco, which was begun some fourteen years since, (when Venice was declared a free port,) and now is very far advanced. On the other side of the city, four or five miles of gracefully curved arches unite this aquatic capital to the main-land—not for such a purpose as Alexander joined Tyre to the con-

continent, or Xerxes attempted to affix the island of Salamis to Attica, but to pour the young blood of commerce, trade, and daily life into the heart of time-honored Venice, that it may mantle on her wrinkled cheeks, and renew the vigor of her limbs, stiff with long repose, like the transfusion of blood from an infant to an octogenarian. Another year may suffice to complete the rail-road from Venice to Milan, already traversed by engines and trains from the shore to Padua, and soon to be laid down over the above-mentioned arches. Instead of the 'Bucentaur,' '1st, 2d, and 3d class boats' are seen by the quays of the Doge's palace, and hundreds of gay Venetians hurry to exchange the languid smiles of the Nereids for the embraces of the Vulcanian Cyclops, 'the Antenore,' or 'the Galileo,' and are borne in their mighty arms to the schools of Padua. Thus is taught a more practical lesson of life in an hour, than the learned professors have produced in the last century. Nor does the famous Piazza di San Marco, with its undying and almost unscathed relics of the past, refuse to give signs of the modern movement. Repairs are going on in the facade of the palace and cathedral, and a number of new silver lamps adorn the Madonna di San Marco. As evening closes, hundreds are to be found reclining to take their ice and their coffee beneath the deep shades of these beautiful arcades, while the regimental bands (of no less than fifty) perform, exquisitely, selections from the best operas, to a critical audience. When the stars become visible, the Promethean spark is rapidly applied to the numerous lamps, and the whole scene is brilliantly lighted with gas; on festas, three or four enormous candelabrae are erected down the middle of the piazza, and spread the magic light, as if with an enchanted hand, over the quaint clock tower, the huge *campanile*, the cathedral, the column of the Banda, and all the lofty facades of this piazza of piazzas. One of the immediate results of the rail-road will be the introduction of water by pipes into the city, an immense blessing, when it is considered that it is even to this day carried in tanks by barges, and paid dearly for; only a very few wells being open to the poor. Many of the churches are undergoing repair, as well as some other public buildings, at the public expense."

If the true *Italian* descendants of the old Venetians are indeed hopeless so long as the imperial flag floats from her masts, or Austrian sentinels keep watch beneath the arches

of the Ducal Palace, still there seems to be the evidence of a desire upon the part of the Emperor, to improve the condition of his subjects, and to give them objects of ambition and prosperity of which they had been deprived for many years under the government of their ancient aristocracy. Built in the sea, with its streets of water, and its vehicles, boats, Venice is naturally, nothing but a great wharf for Northern Italy and the headland shores of the Adriatic gulf. Throwing political discontent aside for commercial prosperity, she should apply herself assiduously to all the advantages which her rulers propose to her, and thus a new vitality will be infused into a body, which, for more than a century, has only known that it still existed by its consciousness of suffering.*

The Neapolitans, are, every where, celebrated for their remarkable good nature and joyous character. The realm of Parthenope is, emphatically the land of sunshine, and the enervated climate seems to have produced a most deteriorating effect upon the national character. The air is balmy, the sun is bright, and the people live abroad. Naples is prolific in beggars; indeed the sovereign of Naples is known in Europe as the "King of the Lazzaroni." It is his duty to tax the people; it is the correlative duty of the people to pay his imposts and to laugh at *Policinello*. The King oppresses, the people suffer, and Punch makes his joke. It is too warm to get angry. Politics result in too profuse a perspiration!

"Nothing can exceed the fertility of the soil about Naples," (says Miss Sedgwick.) "The crops on the best ground are each season, as follows: peas, apples, and grapes; two harvests of Indian corn and one of wheat; and, at the end of the season, a crop of turnips or some other vegetable. But, what avails it to the multitudinous swarms who go hungry every day? A man who can get work, earns only, by the hardest labor in summer, sixteen cents a day, and he pays a tax of three dollars for every bushel of salt he consumes. He is forbidden to use the salt water that washes the shore. All articles of necessary consumption are inordinately taxed. There is a tax of 25 per cent. on the income of real estate. As if each potentate was not sufficiently ingenious in laying taxes, one plays into the hand of another. Meat is of course proscribed during Lent, but, His Holiness grants a dispensation on the payment of three carlini to the King!

* * * * *

* See Hunt's Merchants' Magazine for May, 1846, for an interesting article on the history and commerce of Venice.

"Avarice is the ruling passion of the sovereign. During the cholera, an impost of half a million ducats was laid to alleviate the wants of the poor. Fifty thousand only went to relieve their necessities, and the remainder passed into the king's coffers. Whenever the provinces require expenditure, for repairs or improvements, they raise money by laying a tax; but the money so raised cannot be laid out until a certain officer of the government makes a report as to the appropriation. If three years pass without a report being made, *the money escheats to the king*. Repeatedly the tax has been laid, the money collected, and a report never made.

"The system of *espionage* is so much more severe in the provinces than in Naples, that the country gentlemen flock to the city for protection. We knew intimately one of these, a most amiable and accomplished young man, whose whole family had suffered political persecution. Some had lost their lives, some were maimed, and some had died of broken hearts. * * *

"The king has been educated by priests, and is now in the hands of the Jesuits. His tutor published the course of instruction by which he trained his royal and docile pupil. *The king is there set forth as the shepherd, and the people as his sheep, over whom he has absolute power to lead them whither he will—to give life or to inflict death.*" Vol. ii. p. 242.

It might truly be hoped that despotism, so open in its action, so undisguised in its ferocity, would, before long, arouse into vital action the remains of manhood, if there be any, in the Neapolitan people. But what a temperate climate and physical temperaments, naturally inclining to indolence and submission, have not effected, Austrian bayonets and mercenary troops have accomplished entirely. Neither the "spirit of manhood," nor "humanity" are extinct in Naples; but "deep and general depravation" exist throughout the kingdom, which make a land, that its poet has described as "*un pezzo di cielo caduto in terra*," a spot to be avoided by every one who hates despotism in rulers and degrading submission in subjects.

"The statistical tables for the city of Naples, up to January 1, 1845, recently published," says a correspondent of the London Athenæum, under date of the 12th of January, 1846, "present a curious and much more intimate insight into its moral and social condition than the most protracted residence would afford. Here every thing is so concealed under that impenetrable veil of reserve, which the national character, or, the ecclesiastical and political relations of the people induce, that a man might mix and mingle in the gay and thoughtless crowds of their lovely city, and yet know nothing of what is going on beneath the surface. Statistical tables are therefore a kind of mirror in which one sees the intricate machinery of society in full action; and were the various items clothed with the information which a lengthened residence may have permitted to a

traveller, singular and varied would such a history be. But, as I propose to give you simply the reports, with a remark here or there, let us begin at once.

"The amount of population, then, for the city of Naples, on January 1, 1845, is, 197,423 males, and 203,390 females, making a total of 400,813. To these, if we add foreigners and provincials, *en route*, and the garrison, as well as those in detention, we shall have 430,086. Whether the number of those in detention, 2,882, be correct, I should doubt, as I am told that the statistics of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies give the entire number of 'the detained' at nearly 800,000.

"In 1844, 1,114 foreigners passed through Naples. Now, considering the comparatively slight commerce* that Naples possesses, the great proportion of these were only idlers attracted hither by the beauties or the curiosities of the neighborhood; hence it is obvious what an amount and species of influence is introduced into this capital.

"The next item to which I will advert, is that of the amount of births, which is as follows:

Legitimate,	{ Males, 6,057 }	11,831	} Total, 14,181
	{ Females, 5,774 }		
Illegitimate,	{ Males, 76 }	128	
	{ Females, 52 }		
Exposed,	{ Males, 1,021 }	2,222	
	{ Females, 1,201 }		

"The proportion of illegitimate births, as above, is so slight when compared with those of Paris, Munich or Vienna, and so contrary to what might be expected, that, at first, I was inclined to doubt the accuracy of the statement. Further consideration, however, of the peculiar relations of married life in Naples, induces me to believe I was wrong. Here, for instance, the *Zitella*, as the unmarried female is called, is treated and guarded with the utmost reserve; whilst marriage gives the female perfect liberty, emancipates her from bondage, and, like charity, covers a multitude of sins. Hence the apparent disproportion between legitimate and illegitimate births at Naples, and so it will continue, as long as *cicibeism* exists, or, in other words, so long as so little sanctity is attached to the married relation.

"By *espositi*, or *exposed*, are intended those who are presented, as the Italians say, to the Madonna, or, as Englishmen would say, are abandoned by their natural protectors. All such are presented at the *Casa Santa dell' Annunziata*, are styled *figliuoli della Madonna* and often from devotion, and sometimes no doubt from less pure

* In 1844, 3,335 vessels arrived at Naples; total tonnage, 68,648, of these

133	were English vessels	-	-	-	20,957 tons
2,926	" Neapolitan "	-	-	-	39,780 "
119	" French "	-	-	-	5,585 "
65	" Sardinian "	-	-	-	5,238 "
43	" Tuscan "	-	-	-	10,159 "
10	" Russian "	-	-	-	1,845 "
6	" American "	-	-	-	553 "
6	" Austrian "	-	-	-	1,314 "

reasons, many are adopted by childless couples. Thus religion is called in as it were to wipe out a stain which vice and prejudice have cast on them ; and, comparatively, but slight obloquy attaches to the declaration '*Sono un figliuolo della Madonna.*'

"The deaths in Naples in 1844 were :

Males,	6,909	} Total, 13,342.
Females,	6,433	

making, therefore, an *excess of births*, for the same year, of 839 only. The *marriages* in the same year, were 2,932, or about 1 in 133.

"The conditions and occupations of the Neapolitans are indicated in the following table :

Ecclesiastics,	{ Secular clergy,		{ Monks, 1,764 } 3401	{ Nuns, 1,445 } 3209	} Total, 6610
	{ Regular clergy,				

with 52 monasteries for monks, and 24 convents for nuns.*

Proprietors,	-	-	-	-	-	16,878
Government employees,	-	-	-	-	-	8,337
Pensioners,	-	-	-	-	-	11,902
Professors of science and dependents,	-	-	-	-	-	5,091
Professors of liberal arts and dependents,	-	-	-	-	-	1,936
Merchants and shopkeepers,	-	-	-	-	-	3,465
Notaries,	-	-	-	-	-	115
Students,	-	-	-	-	-	1,383
Agriculturists and shepherds,	-	-	-	-	-	2,596
In mechanical arts,	-	-	-	-	-	83,176
Connected with royal commission of Beneficence,	-	-	-	-	-	2,830
Military,	-	-	-	-	-	18,184

* As a singular contrast between the *numerical force* of established Churches, we quote the following statement of the English and Welsh clergy. The reader will please compare it with the table of the ecclesiastics in the city of Rome alone :

The total resident clergy in the dioceses of England and Wales, in 1844, numbered 7,246, of which 5,332 resided in the parsonage houses; 929 in the houses appointed by the bishop's licence, and 985 within the limits of the benefices, there being no parsonage-house. The non-resident numbered 3,454, of which 1,061 were performing the duties. The miscellaneous cases were 427, including 41 sequestrations and suspensions. The total number of benefices in England and Wales is 11,127, of which 7,792 have glebe-houses. The diocese of Lincoln has 1,058 benefices, and London 686. Sodor and Man has only 25. There were 2,409 curates serving benefices, in which the incumbents were non-resident, and 2,361 assistant-curates to incumbents, resident on their benefices. The stipends of the curates are given arranged in classes. One was under £10, and 499, £100 and under £110, in the list of curates of non-resident incumbents, and 696 of £90 and under £100, of assistant curates to resident incumbents. Some curates to non-resident incumbents pay for the use of the glebe-house.

Education in Naples is almost entirely under the care of the Jesuits; and there are:

Primary schools,	{ Males,	12
	{ Females,	12
Private schools,	{ Males,	253
	{ Females,	137
Infant asylums,		3**

We will not extend our extracts, nor venture to make any further observations in reference to these items, then as regards the evil moral influence which is at work in a city where near 7,000 individuals *have taken vows of celibacy*; and, in which the immense political influence is thrown into the hands of a government having upwards of 8,000 *employés* and 12,000 pensioners in a population of 400,000.

Tuscany was formerly divided under several princes, until it was reduced to a single government by the Medici. Under the fostering care of these princes, the arts revived after the feudal ages; they patronized letters; and in fact, all that distinguishes or spiritualizes a people, was the growth and culture of their territory. France sought among the people of this dukedom her masters of etiquette; and, through her, all Europe felt the influence of graceful manners and education. Even at this day, time and revolutionary vicissitudes have had but little effect upon the characteristic institutions of Tuscany. Her government is her own, and although originally derived from the Austrian family, and influenced, as we shall see, by the Austrian court, still, she is ruled by her Grand Duke with a spirit of general moderation that evidently attaches the Tuscans to their prince, and makes them happy under his sway. The well bred noblemen of Tuscany are dignified in their personal bearing, yet, cultivate familiarity with all classes; their style of life is simply elegant and their domestic intercourse is characterized, beyond that of all other Italians, by a blandness and *bonhomie*, that makes a stranger at home in Tuscany.

An anecdote like the following, related by Miss Sedgwick, shows the genuine manliness and humanity of the Tuscan nobles; and we take great pleasure in placing it in our pages, as our personal knowledge of the Strozzi family, justifies our believing any thing that may be alleged as to its bravery and generosity.

* See London Atheneum, Feb. 14th, 1846.

The Marquis Strozzi, the head of that illustrious house, was, it seems, a few years ago on his estates during a sudden rise and inundation of the Po. "Seeing some persons on the roof of a house in imminent danger of being swept off, he offered a large reward to some boatmen if they would go to the rescue. The peril they imagined was too great, and they refused. The Marquis doubled his offer, but they still refused;—they had wives and families, they said. "Would they go if *he* went with them? demanded Strozzi. "Yes, they would do any thing the *padrone* would do."

The Marquis wrote a few lines to a friend, and embarked with the boatmen. At great risk they succeeded in their enterprize. By some mistake, the note, which was only designed to be opened in case Strozzi did not return, was read, and found to contain instructions that in the event of the loss of the adventurous party, *the families of his companions should be provided for from his estate.*

As a contrast to this anecdote, and, as a reverse of the political from the social picture, we must relate the following story, which shows that the Grand Duke, with all his liberal tendencies, has not yet liberated himself entirely from the leading strings of his paternal house. The tale is one of Tuscan degradation; but, in an article which must have its shadows as well as its lights, in order to produce a truthful effect, we cannot hesitate to record what we have learned on sufficient authority.

Sometime in the year 1843 or 1844, the Count Massetti, a Florentine noble, purchased the house on the *Lung' Arno* of Florence, where Alfieri had lived and died. He performed this pious service to the memory of the poet, in order to save his former residence from destruction, and to preserve it as a monument for the honor of Tuscany.

As soon as Massetti had obtained his title, he placed over the gateway a marble slab, bearing the following inscription:

"Vittorio Alfieri, Principe dell' Italiana
Tragedia, per la gloria é rigenerazione
D' Italia, qui detto é qui mori."*

"There was nothing very alarming in this monumental record; the censorship gave its *visa*, and the prefect of

* "Here Vittorio Alfieri, the prince of Italian tragedy, for the glory and regeneration of Italy, wrote and died." See London Athenæum, for March, 1844, and Foreign Quarterly Review for 1844.

police his *exequator*. But this was not to be the end of the matter. The inscription had hardly been uncovered for a few days, when the Austrian chargé d'affaires, at Florence, took exception to it in the name of his imperial master.

The Tuscan government believed, at first, that he could not be serious, in his objection to so harmless a tablet; but despatches soon came from Vienna, in decided approval of his ministerial sensitiveness. Protest was vain on Count Massetti's part, as were also the lampoons, pyramids and epigrams with which Florence was flooded by the public. *The Tuscan authorities were obliged to yield, and the inscription was removed at the behest of Austria.*

An anecdote like this appears to be unquestionable proof of the subserviency of Tuscany, and yet, the very able correspondent of the Foreign Quarterly Review, under date of the 10th November, 1844, writes as follows from Florence :

"It is generally believed that the Grand Duke of Tuscany would lend his aid in the establishment of a free constitutional government in his dominions, if it were in his power to do so. But Austria with its dead weight of leaden influence, oppressing like a hideous nightmare, the breast of Italy—says no! And Tuscany has no power to resist the *brutum fulmen* of the imperial despotism.

"It is, nevertheless, abundantly clear, that the liberal feelings and principles of the Grand Duke are by no means entirely inoperative in Tuscany. They are, on the contrary, visible in a thousand small matters of internal administration; and, in things literary especially symptoms of toleration are observable, which cannot but have the effect of attracting to Tuscany the intelligence and talent of the Peninsula, and tending thus to render Florence the capital, at least, of intellectual and literary Italy.

"Thus, last year, when Niccolini's 'Arnold of Brescia' appeared, it was rigorously prohibited throughout Italy. It was, indeed, a book to make her tyrants tremble on their thrones. A more awakening cry against the two-fold tyranny of the church and the empire—of Austria and of Rome—under which Italy is groaning, has not been heard by her people. A more vigorous and damaging attack against the unholy alliance of 'Cæsar,' and 'Peter,' for the spiritual and temporal oppression of the nations, has never aroused the rage of Vienna and the terrors of the Vatican. A more thrilling cry to union has never been sounded from the Alps to the point of Calabria. The volume was printed at Marseilles; and was instantly prohibited with the utmost rigor throughout the states of Italy. Tuscany could not stand alone, and refuse to join in the prohibition. 'Arnaldo da Brescia' was a prohibited book also in Tuscany. But three thousand copies were sold in a few weeks in Florence; and the author, instead of taking up his residence in St. Elmo, as he would have done had his home been Naples, or been marched off to Spielsberg, as would have happened had he had the misfortune of being a Milanese, con-

tinued and continues in the undisturbed and peaceable enjoyment of the affection and society of his friends, and the applause and admiration of his fellow-citizens. It is, moreover, within our knowledge, that when some would-be-lick-spittle parasite, who little knew the man he wished to toady, offered to the Grand Duke to write a reply to 'Arnaldo da Brescia,' the proposal was rejected with marked coolness, and its author dismissed with the answer that the Grand Duke did not wish any thing to be said upon the subject. It should be mentioned, too, that Niccolini was enjoying, and still enjoys, a government salary as professor at the Academy 'delle belle Arti.'

"All honor, therefore, from every friend to Italy to Leopold II. of Tuscany—a despotic monarch against his inclinations;—a liberal prince and enlightened philanthropist despite his position; and most righteously entitled by his administration to the appellation, which ancient Florence selected as most expressive of its reverence and affection for a beloved ruler, of 'Pater Patriæ.'"

Indeed, every where in Tuscany, the traveller is surrounded by the humanizing and progressive influence of the arts; and one who comes to Florence, unacquainted with her history, may well be surprised to learn that in the days of the Guelphs and Ghibbelines, the Tuscans were the most ferocious and formidable people of the Peninsula. Although the Italian character is "generally marked by strong passions, and often rendered selfish and dissembling by long oppression, in Tuscany it is at once cheerful and happy, charitable and devoted to learning." The only mercantile character of the Tuscans, is still to be traced in their foresight and versatility; and if a love of money can be charged upon them as a fault, it is at least one they possess in common with the majority of mankind.

We shall pass rapidly through the Ferrarese and Bolognese territories, under the papal dominion. Dickens is a habitual caricaturist of almost every thing he attempts to describe, but we think that in his account of Piacenza, he has given so graphic a picture of that city, that we cannot refrain from quoting it as applicable to Ferrara, and to many other moth-eaten relics of Italian glory, in which life seems utterly stagnant:

"A brown, decayed, old cheese of a town is Piacenza," says he in his recent letters from Italy. "A deserted, solitary, grass-grown place, with ruined ramparts, half filled up with trenches, which afford a frowsy pasturage to the lean kine that wander about them:—streets of stern houses moodily frowning at the other houses over the way. The sleepest and shabbiest of soldiery go wandering about with

the double curse of laziness and poverty uncouthly wrinkling their misfitting regimentals, the dirtiest of children play with their impromptu toys (pigs and mud) in the feeblest of gutters; and the gauntest of dogs trot in and out of the dullest of archways, in perpetual search of something to eat, which they never seem to find. A mysterious and solemn palace, guarded by two colossal statues, twin genii of the place, stands gravely in the midst of the idle town; and the king with the marble legs, who flourished in the time of the Arabian Nights, might live contentedly inside of it, and never have the energy in his upper half of flesh and blood to want to come out.

"What a strange, half-sorrowful and half-delicious doze it is, to ramble through these places gone to sleep and basking in the sun! Each in its turn appears to be, of all the mouldy, dreary, God-forgotten towns in the wide world, the chief. Sitting on this hillock where a bastion used to be, and where a noisy fortress was, in the time of the old Roman station here, I became aware that I had never known, till now, what it is to be lazy. A dormouse must surely be in very much the same condition before he retires to the wool in his cage—or a tortoise before he buries himself. I feel that I am getting rusty. That any attempt to think, would be accompanied with a creaking noise. That there is nothing anywhere to be done, or needing to be done. That there is no more human progress, motion, effort, or advancement of any kind, beyond this. That the whole scheme stopped here centuries ago, and lay down to rest until the day of judgment!"

There is so much to distract the attention of a stranger in Rome,—so many various points of interest to call off his mind and absorb it with the contemplation of a single idea, that we are not at all surprised at the different accounts given of it by tourists. To us its general impression was that of a vast cathedral, built among and out of the ruins of a world. The whole territory of Rome, as well as the chief city, seemed to be ruinous. The destroying angel had flown over the domain and left the shadow of his wing on the Roman soil. It seemed to us as if all the ordinary impulses of society were disregarded;—as if commerce had forgotten its purpose, trade its thrift, ingenuity its skill, and the whole people had devoted themselves to religion. Man seemed born for only two occupations—to pray or to look

at pictures and statuary. The priest and the painter were the lords of Rome. If we listened, the air was full of the sweet clangor of bells;—if we looked from our window, we gazed on a steeple, a monk, a friar or a procession;—if we wanted horses for our carriage or gloves for our party, we were told that the day was a *festa* and the people might neither stir nor sell;—if we wandered into the churches or palaces, their walls were covered with designs inspired by the testaments; and music is to be heard in Rome only in the perfections of mass and vespers.

This religious pall, which so solemnly mantles the whole papal realm, seems to have fallen upon the spirits of the people as well as on their territory. Demure formality and etiquette, are the characteristics of the grave, precise, dignified and distant Romans. It may easily be imagined from such a description of the highest classes of the Pope's subjects, that the *laymen*, generally, have but few avenues left free for adventurous enterprize. Their ambitions are as limited as the censorship of the press is narrow and illiberal, and, the result, of course, is, that as all emulation must take refuge in the church, the church must become the only pathway to fame as well as heaven.

"The nobles of Rome," says Griffin,* "engage in no useful occupation, with the exception of those who enter the church or the army. They are excluded by the constitution of the state from the natural province of an aristocracy, the management of public affairs, which are here entirely in the hands of ecclesiastics. Deprived of the ordinary incentives to generous exertion, the Roman nobleman is an indolent being, wasting his time in trifling pursuits, and sinking, too often, to the station of a mere *cavaliere servente*, who dangles perpetually after his lady, assists at her morning toilette, attends her in

* The Reverend Edmund D. Griffin, from whose "Remains," published in 1831, in New-York, this quotation is made, died at a very early age and very soon after his return from Europe. He was a most amiable gentleman and erudite scholar; but unfortunately, instead of his "remains" being buried,—his "Remains" have buried his reputation with the great mass of the literary world. "Remains" was a sad misnomer for the productions of Mr. Griffin. People were deterred from its perusal by the fear of finding only the skeletons of sermons or a quantity of polemical discussion. Yet the book is, in fact, a most valuable record of the excellent Divine's travels in Europe, and we do not hesitate to recommend it to the public as the *best descriptive work on Italy as it is, that we know*. We have travelled through the classic land with it in our hands, and we have since recommended it to other travellers who have experienced equal satisfaction from its truth and tastefulness. We hope that the surviving friends of Mr. Griffin will put another edition to press and rebaptise it by some other name more characteristic of its excellent contents.

her afternoon promenade, and goes with her to her evening *conversazione* and opera. The young men of high rank seem to me an effeminate race; and, like the patricians who ran away at the battle of Pharsalia, occupied only with the care of their faces."

* * * *

"The lower classes of the Roman people present the greatest number of peculiarities. They have the same gravity and seriousness of manners with the classes already mentioned, exchanged, however, occasionally, for wild and extravagant hilarity."

By far the larger proportion of our American travellers, pay their visit to Rome during the solemnities of "Holy Week," and, in the short interval between sleep and the ceremonies at St. Peter's, they drive among the ruins of the ancient city, and, under the instruction of a *cicerone*, traverse the forum, the "golden house of Nero," the palace of the Cæsars, the Colliseum, the Pantheon, the various baths and temples, and finally become poetical at the tomb of Cecilia Metella. Yet even of this mode of occupation they soon become tired; and, surfeited with pictures, statues, relics, ruins, benedictions, processions, cardinals, friars and abbats, they order post-horses, and are off to Florence as soon as the last gun booms from St. Angelo on the Easter festival.

We remember a *parvenu*, says a writer in Fraser, who on entering the Pantheon, at Rome, looked around the building with a languid air, and half-shut eyes, and then slapping his boot with his rattan, uttered his criticism thus: "*d—d humbug!*" It is not long since, that a Yankee, returned from the eternal city which he had visited, after filling his capacious pockets by the mellow speculations of Wall-street. He was of opinion that "*Rome was a town very much out of repair, especially about a place they call the Forum.*" And we further recollect a jolly gentleman who ran over to Rome for a few months, but being attracted on his arrival by the roll of the billiard balls in the neighborhood of his hotel, went forthwith to the saloon, where he remained, continually engaged in play, *until his companions called for him, a week after, on their way to Naples!*

Weatherhead, in his "Pedestrian Tour," relates an anecdote which quaintly illustrates this spirit of modern travelling:

"One of our travelling, or rather, posting countrymen," says he, "was met the other day by an acquaintance, as he was stepping into a *chaise de poste* from Featherstonhaugh's,

at Florence, on his way to Rome,—when the following characteristic dialogue ensued :

“ ‘Are *you* here, Bob ?’

“ ‘Yes, my boy,’ quoth Bob, ‘but I’m off for Rome, I came here, d’ye see, the day before yesterday, determined to see all that is to be seen, now that I’m abroad. I shall snooze quietly, all the way to Rome, and examine the curiosities as I’ve done here.’

“ ‘And what do you think of the gallery ?’

“ ‘Gallery !’ exclaimed Bob—‘what’s that ?’

“ ‘What ! hav’nt you seen the Venus ?’

“ ‘No ! by Jove, she slipped me ; but I will tho’, old fellow !’

“So Bob ordered his postillion to drive to the gallery ; and, rushing up stairs, where he remained five minutes, he rushed down again, and, as he leaped into his travelling carriage, exclaimed—‘well—they can’t say now, when I get back to old England, that I hav’nt seen the Venus !’ ”

It is greatly to be feared that we have many blundering “Bobs” among our American tourists in Italy ; men who see quickly, if they see at all, and judge with a degree of haste that amounts to rashness. But in one who visits Rome with a patient, tolerant, and inquiring spirit, there cannot fail to be awakened a respect for the descendants of so many ages of genius and renown, in spite of their present degradation. The modern Roman has probably but few traits of character in common with his illustrious ancestors ; yet the “*veteris vestigia flammæ*” are still perceptible. When the Roman edicts went to all the quarters of the known world, the excessive power and vast territory of the empire became the very elements of its decay ; and yet, nations have sprung from its ruins. The very downfall of ancient Rome seems to have been only the preparation for a resurrection of even greater glory. She did not content herself with the ordinary fate of nations, when her sceptre was finally wrestled from her grasp. Weak as she was, she contrived, with true Italian dexterity, to seize upon a new source of influence in the world’s affairs, and, replacing her eagles by the cross, she devoted herself to the dissemination of Christianity throughout Europe, until she wove the web of piety and politics so inextricably around the thrones of Europe, that even in the nineteenth century, the frail “Successor of Saint Peter,” still exercises his powers among the freest nations of the world.

"Those ancient men,—what were they who achieved
 A sway beyond the mightiest conquerors !
 Setting their feet upon the rocks of kings,
 And through the world, subduing, chaining down
 The free immortal spirit ? Their's a wondrous spell,
 Where true and false were, with supremest art,
 Close interwoven ; where together met
 Blessings and curses, threats and promises,
 And with the terrors of futurity,
 Mingled whate'er enchants and fascinates !"*

In the course of our reading, we have recently met with an article, in the London Athenæum, for October, 1844, in which an account is given of the present population of the Eternal City, taken from a statement published by the Cardinal Zacchia, who, in 1842, was Governor of Rome.

General Division of Population.

34,449 Families,	151,424 Romans,
167,121 Individuals,	15,697 Foreigners.
88,442 Males,	
78,679 Females,	

Special Division according to Professions and Occupations.

30 Cardinals,	62 Midwives,
21 Archbishops and bishops,	302 Masters of public schools,
125 Prelates,	3,733 Public employés and pensioners,
1,654 Secular clergy,	2,622 Private employés and pensioners,
2,749 Monks,	37,202 Shopkeepers and tradesmen,
1,550 Nuns,	12,128 Servants,
6,129 Total of religious orders.	15,158 Laborers in different suburbs,
	1,913 Laborers on public works and beggars.
2,652 Nobles and proprietors,	
2,158 Professors of science and literature,	81,230 Youths and individuals of both sexes without any fixed employment.
1,522 Professors of fine arts,	
213 Physicians,	
183 Surgeons,	
71 Druggists.	

Marriages, Births and Deaths

Marriages,	1,313	
Births,	{ 2,110 Males,	} Total, 4,043 Births.
	{ 1,933 Females.	
Deaths,	{ 1,809 Males,	} Total, 3,588 Deaths.
	{ 1,779 Females,	

*Rogers.

Proportion of marriages to population,	1 in 127.
“ “ births	1 “ 41.
“ “ deaths	1 “ 47.

This statement exhibits some curious facts. As Rome is not a city which attracts emigrants desirous to fix upon it as a permanent residence, for purposes of trade, the 15,697 “Foreigners,” who inhabited it in 1842, were, doubtless, all transient visitors, and chiefly composed of students, artists or mere travellers. These 15,697 were by their expenditures, the chief supporters of the 151,424 Romans, who, for the salvation of their souls, employed 6,129 cardinals, archbishops, prelates, secular clergymen, monks and nuns, and sustained, by their labors and taxes, 2,652 nobles and landed proprietors; and yet, out of the whole population of 167,121 individuals in the eternal city, *one half, or upwards of 80,000 persons of both sexes, were without any fixed employment.*

If a war should break out on the Continent of Europe, and Rome be thus closed to the hosts of wealthy Englishmen who throng the ancient city every season*; if any calamity should occur by which it would suddenly cease to be the great “old curiosity shop,” of Europe, and the Pope the great showman of antiquity, what misery would not ensue to this idle, ignorant, hopeless mass of beings, thus clustered and swarming under the shadow of St. Peter’s!

The vast spiritual influence *still* exercised by Rome, the extreme degradation and misery of her people, and the temporal weakness of her sovereign, are, indeed, singular subjects of consideration for the politician and social improver of our age. But, if we believe that the great object of all moral government should be to elevate the personal character of the people and to produce a wider spread of individu-

* A speaker, of statistical authority, stated at a public meeting recently held in England, that the number of British families resident abroad was, at least, *one hundred thousand*, with average annual incomes of three hundred pounds sterling (\$1,500) which amounted, in all, to thirty millions sterling (\$150,000,000).—*R. Walsh, Esq., U. S. Consul at Paris, in a letter to the National Intelligencer*

It is possible that this is exaggerated, but, if we deduct one half of the outlay, we shall still have, *seventy five millions of dollars* spent annually abroad by the absentees. Rome is a favorite resort and residence of a great portion of these British travellers, and a very large amount is disbursed by them, every year, in the Papal capital.

It is understood that near 1,000 persons attend the English Protestant Chapel, in which services are permitted by the Pope every Sabbath, *outside of the Porta del Popolo.*

al comfort and happiness among those immediately under its direct action, we cannot fail to arrive at the conclusion that the papal domination has either been false to its trust, or is constituted on principles that are entirely at war with the progression of our race.

These, however, are subjects, that, if further and properly examined in our pages, would necessarily produce a much longer discussion than we have space to devote to them; we shall, therefore, allude to some other topics of which Rome is suggestive, and which are probably of a more interesting character to our readers.

Rome is, emphatically, the Mecca of scholars. All who have the slightest pretensions to that name should don the "scollop shell and sandal shoon," and make their pilgrimage to this city of sacred associations. The skeleton of her material grandeur is still perfect. We travel hundreds of miles to see the residence of Scott, Byron, Napoleon, Washington, Petrarch or Machiavelli; but Rome is an entire *city* of such dwellings and haunts. With all its actual decay, there is still, nothing that savors of destruction in Rome, to an educated person. *Tacitis senescimus annis.*

"The heart runs o'er

With silent worship of the great of old ;

The dead but sceptered sovereigns who still rule

Our spirits from their urns !"

But it is probably in the influence of the fine arts that travellers feel the most genial sympathy for Rome and Florence. The effect which the Roman Catholic religion has had upon the arts is notorious. The Church sought to appeal to man through his senses as well as his reason, and thus the great masters of music, sculpture and painting were induced to devote their lives to the adornment of the sanctuary, and the celebration of its august services. Pope, prelate and priest were the great patrons of art. The brush and the chisel made religion palpable; and, though they did not reduce men to absolute idolatry, they furnished the minds of an imaginative people with constant symbols of all they were to dread and all they were to hope. In Rome, nay, throughout Italy, art is a religion, and painters are a hieroglyphic priesthood, inspired by heaven and divine by that inspiration. The monk preaches from the pulpit with temporary unction, while the painter preaches *forever* from

the walls and canvass of church or chapel. The one is a temporal teacher whose ministry passes with his life; the other is an orator, eloquent during all time. The one is a minister, with all the frailties of human nature; the other a spiritual voice to the eye and soul, embodied, only, in the instructive forms and living colors which genius has conceived in its wrapt meditations upon the Bible. The priest and the painter are, therefore, indissolubly united in Italy. And Rome has thus become, a vast gallery of the arts, where, from the Vatican and St. Peter's, down to the humblest parish Church or palazzo, the foreign student may linger for years over invaluable collections.

It is alleged that the Roman religion has, with all its benefits to the arts, been but a political stepdame to the civil interests of Italy, and, indeed, of all countries in which it was adopted as the exclusive system of theology. Of these things, we confess ourselves at present unable to write with sufficient accuracy of details, and we, therefore, postpone the question until another occasion; but it strikes us, that all interference in Italian affairs, at least by the British, under the pretence of improvement in ecclesiastical interests, comes with but a bad grace from a nation whose very connection between Church and State arose from the necessary support of an unpopular creed and clergy at the reformation, until, with its benefits and its abuses, it has become inextricably interwoven with the structure of government.

The Roman religion has grown with the language and power of Italy, and become part of the very nature of the people. In a country like ours where there is a more general diffusion of knowledge and a more intellectual and spiritual application of its results, we may be content with our colder forms of worship; but, in the south of Europe, religion won her way quietly into the hearts of the people; and as wealth, learning and luxury increased, they combined with the warm imagination of Italy, to aid in the adornment of a ritual, formed from the customs of many nations, but chiefly of the east. In the institution of this ceremonial the adoration of God with the greatest pomp and honor was solely intended; nor were the effects of such splendor lost on the fanciful minds and impressible hearts of a people extremely sensitive to the sublime and the beautiful. Ceremony in Italy is the exponent of pas-

sionate adoration. The religion is one which, in all countries, *attracts* the people. Men, in large masses, want the extreme of simplicity or the extreme of pomp. Methodism and Romanism are therefore always popular creeds, and become the religions of the multitude. In no Catholic country do we find the glaring distinctions of rank forced upon us in the house of God. It is a democratic as well as a dramatic religion. There are no richly lined pews to provoke the patrician to indolence during a drowsy sermon, and from which the poor are diligently excluded. In St. Peter's, at Rome, the princess and the *cantadina* kneel side by side, and the foot of the Apostles' statue which has just been saluted by the lips of a beggar, may next be touched by those that have waked a noble with the kiss of love. There is a constant impression of the fact that "all men are born equal"—*in the sight of God*. The nobleman has his court and enjoys exclusively the splendor that surrounds his sovereign; but the church is the poor man's court, the altar a sumptuous throne, and God and the saints are his king and nobles.

Is it surprising then with such temperaments, religiously appealed to by such ceremonials, independently even of all pious convictions, that the Italians should be imbued with an abiding veneration for their creed? Are they to be justly stigmatised as *superstitious*, because, with their enthusiastic natures, they have endeavored to make their religion manifest to every sense, and have clung to their ritual with the loyalty of ancient servants? We do not desire to contrast Roman Catholicism with other religious professions in their *essentials*, or to defend it from the criticism of discreet Protestants; but we have felt it impossible, in treating of Italy, to avoid vindicating it from the charge of blind and bigoted superstition with which it is so frequently assailed.

A mild poet—Bernard Barton—the *Quaker*, in a volume just published, has addressed some beautiful verses to the "*Madonna and Child*," so expressive of a tolerant spirit of Christianity and so entirely appreciative of the Italian character that we shall take the liberty to insert them:

THE MADONNA AND CHILD.

I may not change the simple faith,
 In which from childhood I was bred ;
 Nor could I, without scorn, or scathe,
 The living seek among the dead ;
 My soul has far too deeply fed
 On what no painting can express,
 To bend the knee, or bow the head,
 To aught of pictured loveliness.

And yet, Madonna ! when I gaze
 On charms unearthly, such as thine ;
 Or glances yet more reverent raise
 Unto that infant, so Divine !
 I marvel not that many a shrine
 Hath been, and still is reared to thee,
 Where mingled feelings might combine
 To bow the head and bend the knee.

For who—that is of woman born,
 And hath thy birthright understood,
 Mindful of being's early morn,
 Can e'er behold with thoughtless mood,
 Most pure and perfect womanhood ?
 Woman—by angel once addressed ;
 And by the wise, the great, the good
 Of every age accounted blessed !

Or who that feels the spell—which heaven
 Casts round us in our infancy,
 But, more or less, hath homage given
 To childhood—half unconscious why ?
 A yet more touching mystery
 Is in that feeling comprehended,
 When thus is brought before the eye,
 Godhead with childhood strangely blended.

And hence I marvel not at all,
 That spirits, *needing outward aid*,
 Should feel and own the magic thrall
 In your meek loveliness displayed :
 And if the objects thus portrayed
 Brought comfort, hope, or joy to them,
 Their error, let who will upbraid,
 I rather pity—than condemn.

For me, though not by hands of mine,
 May shrine, or altar, be upreared ;
 In you, the *human* and Divine
 Have both so beautifully appeared,
 That each, in turn, hath been endeared,
 As in you feeling has explored
 Woman—with holier love revered,
 And God—more gratefully adored.

This is a very touching and apologetic tribute to Romanism ; but we must in justice to Italy turn from the poetical to the practical estimate of the matter by Italians themselves. Mr. Headley, a very clever traveller in Europe, at the conclusion of his "Letters from Italy" takes occasion to remark that "the Catholic religion is most certainly losing ground here :—perhaps I should not say this particular *form* of religion, so much as the *power* of the priests. The people think more for themselves than formerly, and laugh at the tricks of the priests which they formerly believed. Whatever the Catechism may say, intelligent Catholics do not believe in the Pope's infallibility any more than we believe in the infallibility of our President ; and the multitude of friars and monks are openly scorned. There is a growing contempt for the whole priesthood, and a strong disrelish of the tax which the church levies on the pocket. The men pay less and less attention to the public ceremonies of the church, *and we should call corresponding action, at home, scepticism.* And the inevitable result, I think, of the present form of religion, will be the spread of infidelity. Thus, while Catholicism, by adapting itself to the institutions of every new country into which it introduces itself, gains a foothold and spreads ; it loses in its own land, by adhering to the old superstitions and nonsense, which the spirit of the age condemns. *Italy is now nearly half infidel*, and we do not believe that Paris itself is more given to infidelity than the very seat of his Holiness—Rome."

This is a very sweeping assertion, and although we do not credit its entire accuracy, we doubt not that it is a fair indication of the progressive condition of Italy. The tendency of a single, self-existent, exclusive religion in any country, is like the tendency of a despotism, it unquestionably leads towards corruption. When the people become enlightened, and when the *corruptions in the administration* of their creed became palpable, they eagerly seek for a substitute. In Italy, this substitute is not to be found ; and the result is, that they are driven to repudiate their ancestral doctrine : and, having no creed wherewith to replace it, they are forced into infidelity. "*Aut Cæsar aut nullus.*" Nor is it at all a paradox, as Mr. Headley seems to suppose, that whilst Romanism sinks in Italy, it rises in new splendor in the western world. It is true that the creed is the same ; *but its administration is different.* The variance is that

which always exists between a vast corporation seeking to win power, and the executive character of that corporation in the unrestricted exercise of power *after it has been won*.

We have thus availed ourselves of our privilege to skim over the surface of social and political Italy, and we believe the reader cannot fail to see very marked distinctions, (at least as to *progress*, if not as to actual *character*,) in the various States we have examined. We shall conclude this article, therefore by some general remarks which we think must be of interest to all who are disposed to study the Peninsula with a fair and liberal spirit.

The intellectual world is largely the debtor of this beautiful country, and it is difficult to say in what branch of literature, science, art, or adventure, mankind does not owe its present advanced condition to the enterprise and genius of Italy.

Was a mode of directing the sailor over trackless seas, desired? Italy gave the compass, and Galileo taught the mysterious uses of the stars. Was a language needed, which, at once, possessed the delicate softness of poetry and the noble energy of resolution? The modern Italian was formed from the ancient Latin, and, like the diamond, polished by its dust. Was a scheme of jurisprudence demanded, which should be the most comprehensive in its scope, as well as the most natural and just expounder of our rights and duties?—the code and pandects of Justinian were unfolded in Italy. Did enthusiasm need the eloquence of poetic expression? Passion learned to command and love to woo, in the cadences of Dante, Tasso and Petrarch. Did diplomacy need the skill to make the weak equal to the strong? Machiavelli lived, and taught the influence of reason to every court and sovereign in Europe. Did commerce need an impulse to make it omnipotent in modern civilization? The merchant princes of Florence became its friends and patrons. Angelo and Rafael were Italians. Italians were the first to teach the world to “hang the dome in air;” and the first to produce the highest triumphs of musical art. It was an Italian,

“Who the great secrets of the deep possessed,
And firm, resolved, with every sail unfurled,
Planted his standard on the unknown world!”

And, in our own age, when the vices of the old world

were to be uprooted, and the foundations of government to be relaid in modern civilization, and an Italian island became the birth place of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Such things and such men has Italy produced in past times and under freer institutions. It may well be asked, why the world, in this generation, sees so few evidences of genius or capacity among the descendants of so illustrious an ancestry? The answer is evident. Italy is no longer free to speak her mind though her mind is as powerful as ever. If her writers, whose souls are filled with the inspiration of poetry, dare to publish or attempt to publish, any thing that expresses the true, the free, and, of course, the natural longings of the human heart, they are persecuted or are denied the freedom of the press. If a historian desires to present an account of his nation's story, and to contrast the past with the present, the *censorship* falls heavily on his productions, and government shrinks from permitting the ancient Italian glory to be placed side by side with modern Italian degradation. It is not shame that does this, nor even regret; but political fear closes the mouth and paralyzes the arm. Nor is religion more liberal in her literature. What is published on the subject of Christianity must be orthodox, according to the rules of the Catholic Church, all else is heresy and blasphemy.*

In such a system of literary espionage, any thing like political speculation is of course regarded by the censor as a sin to be utterly avoided; and, while Orioli of Bologna pines in exile at Corfu—while Bozelli, of Naples, is confined in the dungeons of St. Elmo, in consequence of having been mentioned in an intercepted letter, written to one friend by another, who was known to hold constitutional principles, we can only account for the permission to purchase Balbo's "*Speranze d'Italia*"—"sotto cautela," from the fact,

* As a brief illustration of this subject we may mention that by a decree of the censor at Palermo in 1843, Alfieri's works were prohibited, and that another interdict was laid, in the same year, on Thiers' History of the Revolution, when it was understood to have been half printed.

The same government also suppressed Amari's history entitled "*Un periodo delle Istorie Siciliane del Secolo XII*;" and this, too, after the work had undergone the twofold revision of the Jesuits and the Prefect of Police. In 1844, when Niccolini's "*Arnoldo di Brescia*," appeared first, it was rigorously prohibited throughout Italy; but in 1845, the Grand Duke of Tuscany permitted it be inserted in a complete edition of the poet's works published at Florence.

that he advised the friends of Italian progress to make the king of Sardinia "the captain of their hopes."

Nothing remains open, therefore, as safe and lawful literature for the Italians, but archeology and the exact sciences. Both of these address themselves only to the learned few, and, consequently, the mind of the nation must continue to slumber under the Austrian dynasty.

The Florentine correspondent of the Foreign Quarterly for October, 1845, laments that,

"Curious, interesting and valuable as are the *fragments* and gleanings in antiquarian and historical bye paths, which are published in Italy, yet, they are not of such stuff as should form the staple of a people's literature. This is the mint and cummin; but where are the substantial matters? Where is that which is to feed, form and educate the public mind? You go to your bookseller and ask him if he has any thing new? *Sì, Signore! eecò*—a translation of Louis Blanc's Ten Years, a translation of Thier's Consulate, a translation of *Juvenal*, just published here!" But if you ask him what original Italian works have appeared, he will hand you a learned treatise on an old vase a pamphlet on mad dogs, another on the law of mortgages, or, perhaps, the *libretto* of a new opera.

"And these," says this writer, "and such like, are nearly all that the censorship will permit Italian thought to produce. The most powerful and valuable intellects run the risk of ruin, imprisonment or exile, and most fortunate in the latter, speak bitter thoughts in the safety of a foreign country, writhe in compulsory silence, or, finally, fall back on the past, and, finding themselves forbidden to speak on the present, take refuge in the comparatively restless *dilettanteism* of historical research. Mere *dilettanteism*—for history in its strength and truth, must be kept silent."

It was hoped by those who were fondly looking for the regeneration of Italy, that, while the annual "Scientific Congress of Italians" which has been held for seven years past in the different capitals, indicated the anxiety of the people for some legitimate vent for their intellect, they would, at the same time, furnish them with opportunities of *speaking*, if not of *publishing* their opinions. It was hoped, too, that they would produce a union among the various states of the Peninsula, and break down the ancient prejudices which have descended through ages ever since Italy was inhabited by barbaric tribes. But the class of literary and scientific men in Italy is poor and secluded, and, of course, has no means of exercising an influence on the social world, or of producing, by "the imposing strength of its united forces," a decided effect on the political and

military men of Italy. At the sixth meeting of this scientific congress, which was held at Milan, in 1844, the president, Count Borromeo, speaking doubtless under Austrian dictation, admonished the members as to the topics it was proper for them to discuss, and seems to have confined them to a very limited range.* The Prince de Canino, Charles Lucien Bonaparte, in addressing the section of which he was president, remarked, (evidently in reply to Borromeo,) that "the alliance of religion with knowledge is not a command of human invention, but is the design of evangelical truth; and he who seeks to break or loosen their connection, is not only the enemy of man but the adversary of God.".... "But," (continued the speaker,) "*since the voice is ever useful which is raised to maintain the indestructible right of free discussion for all men, I turn to you, my most worthy colleagues—to you, whose wishes are not for the limitation of thought, but are in favor of its unshackled conquests, and the progressive enlargement of its boundaries.*" The Prince published this address afterwards, but the censor of the press, before he permitted its issue, struck out the sentence which we have printed, above, in *italics*.†

* This congress was divided into the following sections, viz : 1st. Medicine, with a subdivision of surgery; 2. Zoology, anatomy, comparative physiology; 3d. Botany, vegetable physiology; 4th. Geology, mineralogy, geography; 5th. Mathematics; 6th. Chemistry; 7th. Agronomy, technology.

The reader will observe that no liberal or speculative branch is admitted in these seven sections—no history, no ethics, no politics, no national law, no poetry, no belles lettres. Every thing that could, by possibility, permit speculation on any matters but the *exact sciences*, is sedulously excluded.

For a valuable list of Italian authors of the 18th and 19th centuries, and of the *living* authors of that country, see London Foreign Quarterly Review, for July, 1841, p. 292, Amer. ed.

† In Valerý's *Curiosités et Anecdotes Italiennes*, there are some interesting details, which show the small pecuniary recompense derived from literature by Italian authors.

Ariosto, he alleges, printed his *Orlando* at his own expense; and the first editions of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* were published very incorrectly, in fragments. The greater number of authors consider themselves fortunate, if they find a publisher who will undertake the risk of printing their MSS. Milan, Venice and Florence are the only places (and Turin, perhaps,) where MSS. are, occasionally, paid for; but, even there, more than forty francs, per sheet, or one thousand francs for a volume of 500 pages, is seldom given. Monti's translation of the *Iliad* brought him only 400 francs, and Parini was considered exorbitant in his demand of 150 *zecchini*, or, 1,792 francs, for the reprint of his poems, "*Il Mattino*" and "*Il Mezzogiorno*," to which he added "*La Sera*."

The first edition of Manzoni's beautiful tragedy of "*Aldechi*" never paid

If there is not much to be anticipated for Italy in the regenerative power of its modern literature, may we not find something in that other great social element of the world's purity,—the Italian ladies? We fear that there is a good deal of the decadence of Italy to be fairly ascribed to the want of character in its *beau sexe*. Let us refer to a *lady* upon this subject, whose judgment, we would suppose, would naturally be the fairest, if not the most lenient towards her sisters.

"The Italian ladies," says Miss Waldie, in her Rome in the Nineteenth Century, "encourage liberties of speech which would offend and disgust our country-women; and the strain of uniform gallantry, hyperbolic flattery, and unadulterated nonsense of the worst kind, in which the men usually address them, and which they seem to like and expect, is a very decisive proof of the difference between the female character here and in England. *Until a very decided change takes place in the Italian women, there can be no improvement in society at large; and I regard the system of Cavalieri Servienti as destructive of the morals, the usefulness, and the respectability of the female character.*

"It is true that it is considered necessary here, if a lady visit at all, that she should be attended by her *Cavaliere*; and if her husband should escort her, she would inevitably be laughed at. But who are the imposers of this necessity, and who the laughers? The ladies themselves!

* * * * *

"A man *may* fall in love in Italy, and marry in Italy; but it is a rare occurrence. *Both sexes, generally, marry without love, and love without marrying.* The lady sooner or later looks out for a *cavaliere serviente*.

"This privilege is not, indeed, as it has been pretended, stipulated in the marriage contract, for that would be quite unnecessary; no husband ever dreams of opposing this just right, and if he did, he would be exposed to universal derision. In general, he seems quite reconciled to it,—and the lady, the cavaliere and the husband form, what a witty friend of mine once called, *an equilateral triangle.*"

The attachments between married women and men in Italy, may be very platonic, but we imagine it is of that kind of Platonism which the Dutchess of Newcastle alleges to be the "bawd of adultery."

It must not be supposed that this description of Italian

its expenses, and his popular "*Promessi Sposi*" did not produce him more than 1,000 francs for the first large edition.

Silvio Pellico received the same amount for the only Italian edition of his *Prigioni*, from a Turinese bookseller. The first lyric poet of Italy, Guiseppe Borghi, lost money by publishing his hymns, which reached twenty-six editions. See For. Quar. for July, 1842.

society includes all ranks of life, or, even, that it exclusively pertains to the higher orders of the people. We imagine that the middle and lower classes are as free from the vice of *cicisbeism* as similar orders in other countries; but we cannot doubt that among the wealthy and noble, it is quite as extensive as when it flourished during the palmiest days of idleness in Italy. It is a sad condition for young men and young women to be possessed of fortune and at the same time to be the citizens of a country where no object of existence is proposed except to "kill time." The church, the state, the army, and the life of a recluse, are the only legitimate subjects of adventure to an Italian. It is difficult to find anything that you may lawfully do, if you have an aversion to fighting, saying mass or copying despatches in a government office. Thousands of young men are, therefore, forced into the "*dolce far niente*," and thousands of young women are readily found to keep them company. To the former is denied the high privilege of free inquiry, or of expressing free opinion; to the latter is denied the equally high privilege of reading anything but the trashy poems of new operas or the vile translations of libidinous romances. We cannot, therefore, but believe that a radical reform must take place in the social life of Italy before political regeneration shall take firm and wholesome root in the land. When her women become better, her men will become nobler; but until the reciprocal corruption of the sexes ceases, we shall fail to discover the germ of that progress which can flourish alone in the soil of morality.

Since the general peace in Europe, Italy has, apparently, sunk into lethargy.

"Italy," says an exile, "in modern civilization the eldest of countries, exhibits in her outward aspect the long ravages of age. Ruins of forums and aqueducts, arches of bridges and mausoleums, gothic castles and temples, nunneries, dungeons, Madonnas and Venuses, the wrecks of all worships and governments, crushed in a common heap, mouldering in a general dissolution. Such is old Italy. But among those ruins a few warm, confiding hearts may still be seen, impatient of that lingering decay, hastening the work of time, trampling those remains with disdain, to level to the ground, a basis for new edifices; *young believers*, firm in the opinion of an approaching redemption, *young thinkers* exulting in the reproduction of all things. Such is young Italy; the elements of Italy in time to come.

"It is not difficult for a candid observer to recognize in that country an age of transition. Such is, in fact, the condition of all Europe;

but in other countries it is a question of democracy, or aristocracy, of reforms and constitutions; in Italy *it is a question of existence*. The revolution of Italy must be a total subversion of all social order; it is not to be effected by sects or conspiracies; not by fortuitous incidents of wars, or changes of dynasties; it must arise from the recasting of the individual and national character, from the enlightened resentment of masses; from the sympathy of an immense compact population, from the resources of a rich soil, from the seeds sown by a liberal, refined civilization, *developed in several unsuccessful attempts, and strengthened by insane persecutions.*"

We believe, sincerely, that the tendency of Italy is towards free institutions, and that the substantial qualities of her men of genius are quite as eminent as ever; but her poverty, her corruptions, the influence of her church, and *the habit of being ruled*, (to which she is becoming accustomed,) are destroying her nervous energy.

Italy, as we have seen, has no union within her borders, as France had; but is cut up into petty sovereignties and dukedoms, without a national assembly, where all the revolutionary elements might be effectually concentrated. She is under the *surveillance* of foreign power. Swiss soldiers control the Neapolitans, and Austrian bayonets are stationed throughout Tuscany, Lombardy, and the Roman States. She has never shown, in any of her revolts, that indomitable resolution which, at once, separates the people from their ancient allegiance, and makes them regardless of every thing but liberty and progress. Independently of a lack of union and sympathy in the Italian states, there is, among them, a jealous and bitter emulation for sovereignty. And, lastly, the Italians have not yet reached that degree of degradation, when common humanity revolts against the tyranny of a merciless oligarchy. They have not yet descended so low in the scale, as to become the mere serfs of their rulers, which is even the end of feudalism and the beginning of modern liberty. A country must be very new, or very old, to achieve its freedom. It must be at the beginning, or at the end of the vicious circle of human fate.

Situated on a narrow peninsula, whose neck is commanded by Austria and Bavaria,* the German powers must, neces-

* Some years ago, when we desired to cross the Danube at Ulm, and pass into Bavaria, the Bavarian sentinel stopped us and sent back our travelling equipage, because our passport had not been *visé* at Berne, in Switzerland, by the *Austrian Minister*. We showed the *visa* of the *Bohemian* authorities, and, protesting our intention of not proceeding farther than

sarily, control the destinies of Italy, by mere physical force, as long as the general peace of Europe is maintained. A late Emperor of Austria was King of Lombardy and Venice ; while his father-in-law, was King of the Two Sicilies ; his brother, Grand Duke of Tuscany ; his daughter, Duchess of Parma ; and the Pope was elected under his influence ! But, should the peace be disturbed, or, these interlacing alliances be broken, and should Germany become the theatre of war, we shall then see whether the volcanic fires of the Italian heart are extinct, or only smouldering.

Italy is a revolutionary hot bed ; but her outbreaks are rather those of petulance than passion. They want the sustained energy of lofty indignation. It is alleged, that it requires other powers to keep the States of Italy from quarrels, and, perhaps, destruction ; and the great question of the "balance of power" is so vital in European diplomacy, that it is impossible to suppose that Austria will ever let the peninsula fall into the grasp of a western or northern progressive and maritime nation, which would command the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and the Archipelago. Weak powers, in this age of "balances," can only be free from usurpation, if their geographical position renders them insignificant. Nations, in Europe, are not permitted to do as they please. If Austria abandons Italy, who shall take her when the States begin intestine quarrel ? Shall England possess her ? No, say France and Russia. Shall Russia ? By no means, declare England and France. Shall she pass under the yoke of France ? Certainly not, exclaim England and Russia. Can the States, if left to themselves, maintain their independent sovereignties in political tranquillity ? Austria thinks it extremely doubtful. Elevate them into *one* nationality, *one Italy*, one vast federative kingdom, "surrounded with republican institu-

Munich, we desired to know how it was that a sovereign power, like Bavaria, could require an inspection of foreign passports by an *Austrian Ambassador*, and thus convert her territory into a mere police office for the Emperor ? The sentinel said those were state affairs which it was not his duty to argue ; but that his orders being imperative, he must command us to return. We did so, and, by obtaining a *provisional passport* at Ulm from the authorities of Wurtemberg, which was to avail us only for thirty days, we were permitted to visit Augsburg and Munich. We could not have crossed the *eastern* frontiers of Bavaria and gone to Vienna, unless we had sent our passport, *by a courier*, to Berne or Stuttgart for the *visa* of the Austrian Envoy !

tions," and would it not explode by the centrifugal force of internal discord?

These are all grave questions, which it requires not only an intimate knowledge of European politics and Italian character to work out; but which, even with all those advantages, must be solved more by the progress of events than by the forecast of wisdom. We have endeavored to paint this country as it is, and have not entered upon the perilous field of prediction. Time alone can lift the veil from the statue of the future Italy. Whether it shall be that of a Laocoon struggling and dying in the folds of the serpent, or, that of an Apollo, radiant with knowledge and beauty, we, or perhaps even the men of our age, shall never know. It is only permitted for us to love Italy, and to hope for her with the true sympathy that generous minds must ever feel for greatness in affliction.

B. M.

ART. V.—THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

Introductory Lectures on Modern History. By THOMAS ARNOLD, M.D. Edited by HENRY REED, M.A. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

WE know of no historical work better fitted to give the mind a clear conception of the grand features of history, and of the various stirring questions which in modern times, have agitated the human mind, than that which we have named at the head of this article. The mind of man is extensive and inquiring; and, from its own depths, is constantly evolving propositions which require profound and varied information to solve, and settle upon a solid foundation. Progress is a law of our nature. This truth is so generally asserted and believed, that it would exhibit considerable hardihood to deny it. It is under the view of the progress of man,—of the race,—that the study of modern history becomes peculiarly important and interesting. One sweeping glance at the history of modern times, exhibits to us the rise and consequence of the people in government. The serf, the vassal, the villein of the middle ages, are now en-

tirely lost in the view, that regards man as the great object of government,—man in his humanity and nature. To develop the hidden powers of that nature, and to place man in a position in which he can enjoy all the blessings that can be extended to him for his improvement, both physically and intellectually, are high and noble objects,—worthy the attention of the greatest statesmen. To secure the people in the enjoyment of privileges, which are consistent with the objects just stated, should be the purpose of all government. Without this aim, despotism would control and govern, without conducing to any thing but its own unrestrained will.

History opens to the ingenuous mind a wide and fertile field, in which it may expatiate, and gather treasures which may be happily applied to almost every emergency. The experience of the past, affords maxims of wisdom and prudence for the present and the future, and will enable the statesman, in many difficult and trying circumstances, to guide the ship of state safely through the troublous ocean of political strife. The lights of the past, shine upon the present, and illumine the pathway of the future. The practical statesman who has made himself conversant with the history of parties, can understand the influence which these parties have respectively exerted, and, from this experience, can point out the errors of principles which, if adopted and acted upon, would lead to the destruction of law and the subversion of stability in government. Hence it is desirable that history, and especially the history of modern times, should be carefully studied, not only in the account of the battles, the strategy, the conquests, the victories and successes and defeats of the nations engaged in wars, but also in the laws, the structure of government, its constitution, the distribution of power, the influence of climate, soil and mode of living, and especially the intellectual improvement and progress of the people.

We are not extensively acquainted with the different works of Dr. Arnold; but we express it as an opinion that those "Lectures" are worthy of being made a text-book in this department in our colleges and universities. Our young men may learn from them how to read history, and to understand what they do read,—how, in a word, to think and to think justly. Nothing so much aids the mind, and sharpens the intellect for the stern conflict, and hard strug-

gles of mental discipline, as to be thrown upon its own resources. These Lectures are eminently suggestive; they lead one to investigate first principles.

One remarkable characteristic prevails in the whole work: the reader, a student, is always induced to draw reflections from the observations of this author—and as no dogmatism prevails, he is prepared to receive his suggestions with the greatest confidence—firmly believing that whatever the author says is dictated by the kindest spirit and most enlarged liberality.

The first Lecture is taken up with directing the attention of the student to the sources from which he may derive his most correct information. An historian, contemporary with the transactions recorded, should be consulted: and, after this is done, one on the other side should be used. By this means he would, at once, be put in possession of the views entertained by both writers. But the labor does not end here. A modern historian should now be consulted, so that the light which discoveries have made, since their time, may be converged upon the facts they have related. In this way, the transactions of former times may be received through the medium of the present modes of thought. Other sources of information are to be resorted to; such as compilations of laws, which show the spirit of the time and the different treaties made by nations, regulating and establishing intercourse between them. This appears to be enough to dishearten the student of history, who may ask himself, if it be possible that he must search into the musty volumes of legal learning, and turn over the huge folios of treaties which seem to be interminable? To this our author would reply, that he must do no less than what is here recommended. No one should despair of doing this; for by persevering in such a course, if he undertakes it, great benefit will redound to him. Here we may notice what Chancellor Kent says of Rapier's History of England in 10 quarto volumes, in his course of reading, drawn up for the use of the members of the Mercantile Library Association, of New-York:—"In the year 1782, when books in the country were exceedingly scarce, (for it was in the midst of the American war) he deemed himself fortunate in meeting with a huge folio edition of Rapier, and he forced his way through with much resolution; and large notes which he then took of the early part of that history, are now lying before him." That

work would be a terror to all those who are accustomed to use outlines and abridgments of history. We trust however, that a better spirit will prevail, and that such elaborate works will be properly appreciated, and that the example of the venerable Chancellor will stimulate many to adopt his plan and unremittingly pursue it.

The history of parties, in modern times, cannot be clearly and properly understood, without a knowledge of the past. Human nature is the same in every age,—and it is exhibited in its freedom, and in its operations, more fully in the Grecian and Roman republics, than in any other people of ancient times. Their historians were competent to the faithful discharge of the duty which devolved upon them. The moderns, by consulting them, enter into the spirit which animated them, and are thus prepared to draw such parallels between the affairs of the two, as will show in what particulars they differ from each other, and in what they agree. By thus presenting the agreement and difference of the ancients and moderns, invaluable lessons of instruction may be deduced: for if, in those things in which they agree, good has resulted to the former, the presumption is reasonable, that good will result to the latter; if evil has been the consequence, it would be rashness itself to pursue a similar course now, without a thorough investigation of the causes which brought about that result, and a perfect satisfaction that it is not legitimately to be traced to the cause supposed to be its origin. This of itself connects the study of ancient and modern history together, and shows the importance of both, and the dependence of the latter upon the former. We have thus presented what we conceive to be the true meaning and intent of Dr. Arnold, when he insists upon the connection of ancient history with modern, as elucidating and unfolding the importance of history. To understand and to appreciate history, we must blend ancient and modern, and especially regard them both in the light of modern modes of thinking.

It not unfrequently happens, that great injustice is done to the actions and opinions of past generations, by making garbled extracts from the writings of contemporary authors. In this way, men are represented as acting and uttering thoughts which they never conceived. The remarkable instance which our author gives, on the 105th page of the edition we have before us, from the ecclesiastical historian

Mosheim, is a fair illustration of what we mean. By making the reference, the reader will perceive, how far the Christians of the seventh century are misrepresented. Some years since we had occasion, while reading Smyth's *Lectures on Modern History*, to refer to the history of England by Hume, in which he was stated to have misrepresented the transactions of certain events: and by referring to Clarendon, we saw that, by making garbled extracts, he had contrived to give an entirely different aspect to the transactions, from that which they bore in the history to which reference was made as authority. We believe that it is now settled that Hume, though charming and elegant in style, and philosophical in many of his deductions, is unfaithful and partial as a historian.

Dr. Arnold says, that "to know all history is impossible." Hence he advises, that a particular portion of history be taken up and studied. By reading the views of contemporaries of both sides of the parties, we become acquainted with, and enter into, the feelings which governed them. We form a part of them, as it were, and our feelings are enlisted, on one side or the other. To prevent the influence of our biases or prejudices, we should hold our minds in suspense until we have informed ourselves fully on the subjects which divided them, and then we shall be able to form an opinion which will be predicated upon something approximating near to truth, if not the truth itself, and which will be satisfactory to ourselves.

We shall not, as we have already said, endeavour to give a strict analysis of the "Lectures" of Dr. Arnold: but shall present our thoughts on such points as are most striking in the volume itself; so as to bring to view the principal topics of interest treated of by our author. In the second lecture, he divides modern history into two periods, which demand attention, and ought to be investigated thoroughly, if we would know the important changes through which the human mind has passed. These periods are thus separated,—before, and after, the reformation. A few remarks on these periods, and on the Reformation, are all that we can devote to this lecture. In the first period, a state of things existed entirely different from that which prevails now. Then kings, nobles, knights, barons, lords, and the whole train of rank established by the feudal system, are to be found in every page of history; and these constitute

the main subjects about which the pen of the historian is employed. Order prevails—the mandate from the throne goes forth, and thousands of obsequious vassals obey with eagerness, and deem it treason to resist, or even to express dissatisfaction. “The king can do no wrong,” and “the king never dies,” are two maxims which secure the stability of thrones, no matter how gross the violation of the rights of the people may be. In this period, it was folly to speak of the rights of the people; and no power stood forth to check the presumption and excesses of regal domination, except the Church. Notwithstanding the abuses heaped upon the Church, during the period which we are considering, she was the only power that stood up on the side of the oppressed. Well was it for the cause of truth, of government, and of human liberty, that a power did exist, which could command respect, and awe the tyrants of Christendom into obedience and submission. Without it, despotism, death-like and hopeless, would have governed man, and closed up every prospect of future amelioration. We feel it our duty to say thus much in vindication of that much-abused Church whose seat and head is in the Eternal City.

The second period presents a different scene from the one first contemplated. The human mind is let loose from the moorings to which it had been heretofore secured, and, in the exultation of its unrestrained freedom, expatiates, without restraint, over the vast field of theology, politics and literature. Sir James Mackintosh, in his *History of England*, has made this wise and truthful remark: “Every reformer has erected, and all his followers have labored to support, a little papacy in their own community. The founders of each sect owned, indeed, that they had themselves revolted against the most ancient and universal authorities of the world; but they, happy men! had learned all truth; they therefore forbade all attempts to enlarge her stores, and drew the line beyond which human reason must no longer be allowed to cast a glance.” The truth of this quotation has been verified, by the conduct of the different denominations of Christendom, from the period of the reformation to the present time: and though the cry of persecution is quickly raised, yet pure, enlightened toleration is rarely found to exist. The principle once started, could not be restrained within such bounds as many of the

reformers thought proper. They had conjured up a spirit from the depths of the human soul, which would not obey their bidding, for it will not obey the will of man ; it can only be controlled by God. Grattan, one of the great men of the Emerald Isle, in his powerful speech on Tithes, said, that philosophy had done for the Catholics what the reformation had done for the Protestants. This power has gone abroad into the various departments of literature, and has investigated the foundations of governments. The people are rising into importance and influence in the old despotisms of Europe, whose time worn and hoary institutions can not much longer withstand the bold and uncompromising attacks of enlightened minds.

Our author also refers, in this lecture, to the miracles that are related by the monkish historians, treating them as unworthy of credence, and enters into an acute argument on the subject of miracles and faith, in which we have neither time nor inclination to follow him. We recommend this lecture to the reader. We take occasion here to say, that the world owes a great debt to these same monks ; for, amidst the flood of barbarism that swept over Europe, between the sixth and twelfth centuries, they alone were seen with the fragments of literature which they had snatched from the general wreck. Had it not been for them, nothing of the treasures of Greek and Roman learning and greatness would have been preserved.

The people have become a power in every kingdom of Europe, and are daily becoming of more and greater importance. Too much information and intelligence are abroad then, to be forever concealed and kept from the people. Constitutions defining their rights, have been brought into existence within the last forty years : so that every man may know and learn what the government is, under which he lives. From this we argue good ; for it is an undeniable fact, that when power or knowledge has once passed to the people, it can never be taken from them.

A few remarks upon the reformation itself, and we have done with our views suggested by the perusal of this second lecture. A new order of thought has sprung up since this period. Contests of a moral nature, such as mankind had never before witnessed or thought of, have engaged the mind, and have elicited discussions and principles which now govern a great portion of the enlightened world. His-

tory was formerly a dry detail of facts : now it is the investigation of the principles which lie at the bottom of these facts. Nothing of greater interest than this, has ever engaged the attention of the learned, the wise and the good. By these means, we learn how the progress of man has been affected by the principles of government, and the laws by which they have been carried out. But a principle far more powerful is in operation : it is that of religion, which has seized upon the minds of men, become predominant in them, and has moulded the institutions of the different nations in the enlightened portions of the earth. That at one time the Church was corrupt, or rather, that bad men have wielded her power, is not denied : and in proportion as the subject of ecclesiastical power has been investigated, many usages, which were once condemned as frivolous, are now regarded as having been very useful during the times of their prevalence. Though we have been conversant with some of the most enlightened men of the Catholic communion, and have heard them explain their views, and listened to them with the greatest pleasure, yet, with the knowledge we now have, we are constrained to express our opinion, that the human mind has been enlightened by the principles of the reformation ; and that although the unity of the Church has been destroyed by it, yet the unity of faith still stands upon a rock, against which the tempestuous waves of the ocean will forever beat in vain.

In the third and fourth lectures, our author takes up the subject of external history,—those outward circumstances, which certainly exert considerable influence upon the character of any people. He makes this very striking remark, that “the whole character of a nation may be influenced by its geology and physical geography.” This, in connection with the laws by which a people are governed, and the institutions under which they live, is strictly true. But we shall take the remark of the author as it stands ; and we shall see that it is in the main true. If we have not read history, with incorrectness, there is a striking difference between the Highlander and Lowlander of Scotland ; the former is hardy, brave, patient of toil and fatigue, and capable of great endurance,—the latter possesses the same qualities but in a less degree. The Swiss peasantry who dwell amid their cliffs and mountain crags, are hardy and brave ; the battle of Morgarthin tells what they have dared in the

cause of their country ; and the many bold attempts they have made to resist the invaders of their snow-capped mountains, show that their land is a fit abode for liberty. This is the characteristic of all people who live in mountain fastnesses. The influence of a mild climate has a tendency to deteriorate : warm climates always produce relaxation, and this has a great effect upon the habits, manners, and energy of the inhabitants. Luxury is known to destroy the energy of the people, and make them effeminate,—but it is generally found to prevail where the climate is enervating.

Another fact is noticed by our author, in which we agree with him,—that the tendency of the last three centuries, ending about the close of the year 1800, has been to consolidation ; and this he shows by referring to several instances in the history of Europe. By consolidation is meant, the union of several countries under one government, which were formerly separate and independent. But the great danger in Europe was the centralization of power in the hands of a few. Here lay the mischief ; and after the power of the church was broken, so as to be helpless and unable to curb the reckless ambition of rulers, the only power which could check them, was the spirit of independence fostered by the principle of freedom of thought. During this period, Europe was devastated by bloody wars. A Louis XIV, a Gustavus Adolphus, a Tilly, a Marlborough, a Eugene, a Montecuculi, and others equal to these, obtained immortal renown amid a prodigal waste of life, and an immense expenditure of money. Here then the student of history has his attention directed to the true economy of the administration of government. The armies by whom wars are carried on, and all the glory won, must be supported,—the means of sustenance must be procured,—and this requires great resources not only in the nation, but in the commander. This necessarily occasions some considerable outlay. If the nation has no large surplus at command, the deficiency must be supplied by direct taxation or loans. This is one of the most difficult questions of political economy. If direct taxation be resorted to, the very people who bear the burthen of the contest and endure all the suffering produced by it, are compelled to pay for the whole, when perhaps, they are contending for a point of national honor, in which their posterity are as deeply interested as them-

selves; if loans be adopted, posterity is taxed for the support of a contest in which they had no direct interest. Here then is presented one of the most difficult questions for the student of history to decide, and, while examining modern history, he should remember that this very question is intimately connected with it. For although it may seem to him to be a clear proposition, that posterity should not be taxed for the expenditures of their ancestors; yet he must remember, that the ablest statesmen have entertained different opinions and pursued a different course. This should lead him to reflect that this proposition, which he may have deemed clever, is not so free from difficulty as it was supposed to be, and should induce him to study closely the principles of political and national economy.

Our author considers, in the fourth lecture, some other principles which regulate the affairs of external history, such as the campaigns of great generals, and the course adopted and followed by them in order to carry out the objects they contemplated. And here, to step aside a little from the thread of this subject, we may see the effect of prejudice on even so great a mind as that of Napoleon. He declared that there were only four generals in modern history, whose campaigns were worth following in detail; namely Turenne, Montecuculi, Eugene of Savoy, and Frederick of Prussia. He omitted to mention the Duke of Marlborough. The reason may easily be perceived. Marlborough was an Englishman, and Napoleon disliked every thing that was English. To the list may well be added the name of Napoleon himself. Invaluable instruction may be derived from the study of the campaigns of such generals as those named above. Of these none will be studied with so much interest, as the campaigns of that man whose military genius and talent shook the thrones of Europe, and caused those who held them by right of hereditary descent, to tremble not only for their kingdoms but for their own safety.

The superiority of discipline over enthusiasm is another subject which deserves to be noticed and closely observed by the historian. Here it may be objected, that the American Revolution stands opposed to this view. It is known that our fathers entered into this struggle, animated by a large portion of enthusiasm,—but it is also undeniable, that enthusiasm did not, unaided and alone, sustain them in that

contest. They really became disciplined and well-trained soldiers, before the conclusion of the war. The assistance given by France, contributed much to their aid, and no doubt brought the war to a speedier close, than would have otherwise terminated it. The sparseness of the population and the difficulty of keeping the country in subordination, even after the king's armies had gone through it, show how difficult it is to subdue a people, who are accustomed to roam the land without restraint.

Our author contends, that there is little difference between one man and another, and that culture and training make the distinction, as the reader may learn by consulting the fourth lecture. He refers to several struggles of importance, bearing upon this point, and maintains that this difference is to be traced to accidental and temporary causes; because he thinks that were it otherwise, national virtue would be subjected to too great a temptation, and might swerve from the strict law of rectitude. This is rather a novel topic and should receive much more attention, than, so far as we are aware, has been bestowed upon it. We recommend it to the attention of the careful student of history.

The laws of war, by which the conduct of armies is to be regulated, also deserve attention. In the wars of ancient times, these struggles were nothing more than expeditions for plunder. What was the object of the famous Argonautic expedition? Under the guise of being an expedition for the recovery of a golden fleece, its real object was little else than plunder on the fertile shores of Colchis; and this, we believe, is the conclusion to which the learned antiquaries, who have investigated the subject, have arrived. Belligerent armies are the proper objects of war, and not the citizens who are engaged in the pursuits of agriculture. If this be once settled as the rule of war, then the calamities and terrors of war are mainly dissipated. Under such a state of things, the rights of the people, even in an invaded territory, will be regarded—and their property respected, and held sacred and inviolable. War is, or ought never to be made, upon defenceless subjects, and their property—its legitimate object is, to compel a nation, that has done a wrong, to repair that injury, and it can be justified upon no other principle. Connected with this portion of our subject, arises the question of sacking a besieged or blockaded city. Nothing can more grossly violate and shock all the proprie-

ties, decencies and rights of life and social feeling, than to turn an infuriated soldiery, incensed by long and brave resistance, upon helpless inhabitants, weakened and worn down by fatigue and incessant struggle. How deep the reproach upon the proud escutcheon of England is that motto, "Beauty and Booty," which fired her soldiers when they attacked New-Orleans! It is to be hoped that such another incentive is never to be placed before civilized and enlightened soldiers. Reference is made also to the importance of amending the laws in relation to towns that are in a state of blockade. The siege of Genoa, in 1799, is described in plain and simple, yet eloquent language, by our author, so as to bring vividly before the mind the extreme suffering and excruciating tortures of the citizens, and of the French army enclosed within its walls. Our author then puts the question in this way.

"Now is it right that such a tragedy as this should take place, and that the laws of war should be supposed to justify the authors of it? Conceive having been a naval officer in Lord Keith's squadron at that time, and being employed in stopping the food which was being brought for the relief of such misery. For the thing was done deliberately: the helplessness of the Genoese was known, their distress was known: it was known that they could not force Massena to surrender: it was known that they were dying daily by hundreds: yet week after week, and month after month, did British ships of war keep their iron watch along all the coast; no vessel nor boat laden with any article of provision could escape their vigilance." Page 197.

No one can read the extract without coming to the conclusion, that one or both parties were guilty of crime—of deep crime. Twenty thousand persons, it is supposed, perished by famine. Who were guilty of this horrible enormity? Were the besiegers acting according to the laws of war? Such laws, tolerating such horrible atrocities, ought to be amended; and amended too in such a way, that their observance would be secured. Instances have occurred in this western world, which have shocked the feelings of humanity; and in the moment of excitement, vengeance was invoked upon the perpetrators of such horrors. Witness the massacre of Fanning's corps in Texas! Such atrocities are disgraceful to any civilized people,—and Santa Anna has never been able, nor will he ever be able, to justify his reckless disregard of plighted faith on that occasion.

The fifth Lecture commences the investigation of a subject of importance—what is the true view of *internal* history;

for as history which is *external*, gives the account of events that have actually occurred,—so history, which is internal, unfolds the principles and movements which gave birth to those outward acts. Dr. Arnold divides the last three centuries, beginning at the year 1500, into two periods,—“the first, extending to the middle of the seventeenth century—and the second, from 1650 or 1660 to nearly our own times.” Now suppose that the struggle in Europe, during all this period, has been a political one—and various important questions are at once presented for discussion. That of the ascendancy of the many or the few, is the political question which presents itself, as of grand and paramount importance, involving the whole structure of government, connected with that other question of equal importance, by what right do those who govern, exercise that control? and what are the rights of the governed? It is obvious, that the conclusions of inquirers will be different, according to the point of view from which they may examine these questions. We recommend the remarks of our author on this subject to the student of history, for though he may not altogether agree with them, he will yet perceive that much may be said in favor of those views which he may be disposed to condemn. They, who are afraid to trust the people with the power of choosing those who are to make and execute the laws by which they are to be governed, will find ample and sufficient reasons for all the apprehensions they may entertain; in the very course of reasoning upon the facts which our author has presented. The grand principle upon which all government rests, is its absolute necessity, made so by the very constitution of our nature, and must ultimately be resolved into the will of God. To this complexion we must come at last; for as we believe that there does exist a moral governor of the world, we know also that we were created with moral natures adapted to the circumstances in which we were placed—and from these very facts, which are ultimate ones, is to be traced the absolute necessity of government.

During this period, we perceive other questions of equal importance with the political, rising to view, which, have indeed changed the face of the moral world; those namely of a religious character. The religious sects that then arose may be divided into three classes. The first class sustained a system of church government. Though they

differed on many points, they all agreed in this,—opposition to the power of the Pope, and the assertion of national independence in ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs. Upon this principle, as we understand it, the church of England stands. The second class may be comprehended under the term Puritan. The followers of this system rejected Episcopacy, believing that they found no warrant in the Scriptures for such a form of church government; and they adopted that principle which leads, as we believe, to congregationalism, viz:—that each body of believers has the right, as composing a portion of the mystical body of Christ, to establish such rules for the regulation of their conduct as they may deem fit and proper. This is carrying the principle of religious freedom to the utmost possible extent. It may be found very fully unfolded in Archbishop Whateley's "Kingdom of Christ delineated." The third class embraces that large body of Christians who still adhere to the ceremonies and institutions of the venerable Church of Rome.

It is interesting to inquire into the effects produced upon the human mind by that mighty revolution in religion,—the Reformation, during the sixteenth century. The very foundations of civil government and of society have, in consequence, been probed to the bottom: the evidences of Christianity have been examined and scrutinized with a keenness and tact and skill, to which no institution has ever been subjected—and even at this time, the pillars of the temple are shaken by some who go to worship in its shrine. One who is styled a "Minister of the Church," has published his "Discourse of Religion" which we believe is nothing more than a reiteration of the opinions of the celebrated Strauss of Germany. When such things are transpiring, it behooves the wise and the good to penetrate history to its very core, and draw thence materials and weapons for the defence of all that is good and true. Strong men and valiant, must buckle on their armour, and go forth to meet the enemy. Giants are at work; but a David with a smooth stone from the brook will prevail in this contest.

An analysis of the philosophy of English history from the time of Queen Elizabeth down through the reign of George the Third, is given, commencing in the latter part of the fifth, and continued through the sixth and seventh Lectures. We shall not pretend to give an analysis of our author's

views on this subject, but we commend them to the student of history : not only the young man, who is preparing himself for usefulness in after life—but the man of mature mind and well cultivated intellect, is essentially benefitted by the careful perusal and study of these Lectures in particular. They embrace a period of great interest in modern history. The struggles of the people against the excesses of the royal prerogative, which succeeded the accession of the Stuart family to the throne of England,—the sacrifice of the Earl of Strafford, the favorite of the first Charles, notwithstanding all the efforts of the King to save his life, were but the beginning of that contest which arrayed the parliament against the sovereign, and brought on one of the bloodiest and fiercest wars which is recorded on the page of history, which finally terminated in the death of Charles by the hand of the public executioner. The establishment of the commonwealth, and the ascendancy of that remarkable man, Cromwell, followed, who raised England to a height of glory and of respect, to which even now in the very pride and pomp of all her power, she can scarce aspire. The commonwealth terminated, after the Protector ceased to hold the reins of empire ; and the weakness and timidity of his successor, induced the kingdom to recall from exile the son of the monarch who had been decapitated. Luxury, vice, effeminacy prevailed at court during the reign of Charles II. Discontent grew up in the minds of the people, and that discontent rose to such a height as to compel James II. to abdicate the throne. Then the act of settlement was passed and the Protestant ascendancy was established. No adherent of the Church of Rome, as long as that act of settlement remains, as it is one of the fundamental principles of the realm, can ever ascend the throne of Great Britain. After this, follow wars to confirm the Protestant succession,—to restrain the ascendancy of France under Louis XIV. amongst the powers of Europe,—to preserve the balance of power, and to assert the authority of England over her colonies in North America, which caused the dismemberment of her empire. All these things are a portion of the history of the times, embraced in the last three Lectures referred to above. Hence may be seen, what a wide field is here presented for investigation, thought and reflection. It would lead us too far from our object, to enter into the many sub-

jects which are crowded in this period ; but we specially recommend the observations of our author to consideration.

We now approach the last lecture in the series. The credibility of history, is the principal topic discussed, and its importance may be perceived, when we recollect, that it is only by its means, that we can connect ourselves with the past. This can only be done by that knowledge which is historical. If no reliance can be placed upon the records of the past, we are confined to the present ; the span of our memories is the extent of our knowledge ; and even our memories are so frail and weak, that they cannot be trusted. If this be true ; if our doubts are to be pushed to this extremity ; then it will be utterly impossible to determine the bounds of what is to be believed and what is to be rejected, inasmuch as we have often been deceived by incorrect accounts of the past, by the testimony of those who often have been deceived,—of those who often have deceived, and of those who have been both deceived and deceivers. Now since this may be and has been true, can there be a criterion formed upon which reliance may be placed, as to the truth and correctness of history ? Dr. Arnold thinks that there is such a criterion, which he places *"in the instinctive tact of those who are much conversant with the narratives of early times, and with the character of undoubted history, and who feel at once when they have history or apologue,"* &c. This criterion depends for its correctness and applicability as a test, upon the strong aversion which the human mind, left to its own calm, undisturbed conclusions, has for error. It is well known, that external appliances, such as seasons of extraordinary excitement, sometimes interest, and sometimes one thing, and sometimes another, operate powerfully to influence the mind in its judgments and conclusions. But if there were not an instinctive love of truth in man, no dependence could be placed on human testimony. Another criterion of powerful force, is the naturalness of truth ; it requires no artifice to tell it, it requires no glosses to recommend it, for it carries its own recommendation with it, and establishes itself by its own internal evidences which secure conviction.

A writer contemporaneous with the event, will always give us some important information of his times. This he cannot possibly fail to do ; for no matter how prejudiced

against one party he may be, or how biassed towards the other, he will present us the views entertained by those whom he may favor. This evinces the importance, nay the necessity, of studying both sides in order to obtain a full and comprehensive view of the particular portion of history, to which investigation may be directed. An historian not contemporary with the events which he details, may speculate more profoundly upon these events, than the contemporary; but he will scarce be able to give as graphic and stirring descriptions. The very prejudices of an author will cause him to lean towards his party, representing favorably their principles, and glossing over their errors, and though this may be regarded as faulty, and is highly censurable, yet much of the truth, if not the whole truth, is sent forth, and cannot be recalled. This is valuable to all who would search for truth; for when the transactions of any party are highly colored, that instinctive love of truth, which is natural to man, will be on the alert to search into the causes and reasons of these things, and the result will be, that the truth, that is, all essential truth, will be brought forth tried and purified by the ordeal, through which it has passed.

The highest, and noblest qualification of an historian is "an earnest desire, a craving, after truth, and an utter impatience not of falsehood merely, but of error." This is much higher in its nature than an absence of dishonesty and partiality. A story may be told so as to create a false impression; and it is so told, because the narrator has not that impatience of falsehood and error, to which reference is made. Now this very desire for truth, and intolerance, if we may so express it, of error will lead to investigations, which, if they do not, in the hands of the writer himself, discover the truth, will enable others, in pursuing the same object, to attain the end of their researches; and should it not be attained, yet the errors and misrepresentations which have been connected with it, will be dissipated; and the mind will not be trammelled by factitious circumstances.

History has its laws; and this course of Lectures is a good commentary on them. Though these laws are not regularly set forth in didactic order, yet there is so much in these lectures evolving and unfolding them, that we have though feebly, and not with full justice to our author, endeavored to give some of his views to the reader, together

with such reflections as are the result of our own reading and study.

The Inaugural Lecture, we now take up, making that which is first in order in the volume the last topic of our remarks. With this lecture is the appendix, both of which contain much important matter; and as richly deserve close attention as any other portion of the volume. The philosophy of all history is contained and explained, so far as leading principles go, in this lecture. History is said to be the biography of society. Society is composed of individuals—and the biography of an individual who has exerted a wide influence in the community of which he was a member, is actually the history of that community. History is more difficult to write than biography; because the former has reference to those measures and institutions which interest a whole people, while the latter only details the actions of an individual. We like the definition of history given by our author; “we may describe it not simply as a biography of a society, but as the biography of a political society or commonwealth.” The very nature of history necessarily divides it into the life of a commonwealth, as that of an individual, partly external, and partly internal. “Its external life is seen in its dealings with other commonwealths, its internal life, in its dealings with itself.” This external life is manifested chiefly by its views, and its dealings with other nations. Here sometimes are exhibited such courage, devotion, valor, perseverance, patriotism, as to cause us to admire the people who could display such noble qualities. In the narration of these things, histories are generally faithful and can be relied upon; and it is not to be denied that from the education of mankind the details of such events are more attractive than any other. The defence of one’s country is a duty—unjust wars ought ever to be resisted; that people who will tamely submit to oppression and wrong will not live to work out the problem which each people, under their own peculiar institutions, ought to exhibit. We perfectly agree with the following remark of our author, in reference to a nation’s securing its existence, or increasing its power, believing that the question embodies the essence of the highest wisdom.

“We know the heroism shown in accomplishing these objects; but power, nay even existence are not ultimate ends; the question may be asked of every created being why he should live at all, and no

satisfactory answer can be given, if his life does not, by doing God's will consciously or unconsciously, tend to God's glory and to the good of his brethren."

The internal life of a nation must be determined by its ultimate end. Every nation is sovereign, and can have no other legitimate object, than that which is the highest object of every individual in it; were it otherwise, the sovereign power would become "the dominion of an evil principle." The securing a nation's highest happiness, or the greatest good of the greatest number is, or should be the ultimate object of all government. Government is not established, except for the good of man; as we have before observed, it is the result of necessity; and can only be known as producing this end by its *institutions and laws*. By institutions our author means, all such usages, customs, offices, settlements of property, &c., as do not owe their existence to any express law, but as having originated in periods of antiquity "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary;" by laws he means "the enactments of a known legislative power, at a certain known period." From these, may be learned how far the people of a nation are or are not under the influence of principles which will tend to the development of their highest good. These institutions and laws are subject too, to a great variety of influences; some of them accidental, and some woven into the frame-work of society itself. We may say, for instance, that the discovery of gunpowder, of printing, of the mariner's compass were accidental; yet can there be brought to view any events in the whole range of history which have exerted a more powerful and deep-felt influence upon mankind? The intercourse of nations, extending their blessings to each other; the diffusion of knowledge amongst all ranks; the opening of the rich treasures of ancient lore to the inquisitive mind, thus rendering almost every kind of useful information accessible to all; and the diminution of the horrors of war, are to be traced to these three discoveries. This will suffice to show what we mean by accidental influences. Now as to those which are woven into the frame-work of society. The different kinds of civilization which existed in the ancient world, were the Jewish, the Grecian, and the Roman. The first had but little influence, until, conjoined with the genius of Christianity, it operated so as to bring together and fuse into one body the discordant materials,

which Grecian and Roman civilization were unable to mould into form. After the last two had governed the destinies of man for centuries, and had warred under the power of the barbarian, a new element is brought into, and mixed with these three civilizations; in the sternness and robustness which characterize the German or Teutonic race. Our author supposes that this is the last great element that is to be mingled with the history of our race. As there is not a people or a land which is not known to the civilized world, we are thus acquainted with all the elements of civilization, and we now know of none so different from that which is already known as to lead to the belief that any great change can hereafter be effected in the ordinary course of things. So that from this position, which is certainly occupying the high table land of history, we may safely infer, that modern history, as now presenting its rich stores of information, is the last phase which history will reveal to man. Here is an element—the German—which mingles with all Europe, and all the enterprize of Europe under the burning zone or frozen pole—which Greece and Rome, in their palmiest days never knew, and to which all their pride and power were compelled to yield. What an ample field for speculation is here opened, in which the daring student may enter, and expatiate to his heart's content, upon the greatness and excellence of our race!

We promised some observations upon the appendix to the inaugural lecture; but as we have it in contemplation, at no distant period, to make public our views on the subject of toleration in religion, we shall defer our remarks upon the appendix till that time. The subject here embraced is one of the most intricate that can engage the human mind, when considered in connection with church authority, and hence should be approached upon very mature deliberation. It is one on which the human mind is more sensitive than upon all others; and unquestionably, from its importance, deserves all the attention which it has ever received. We have already extended our remarks upon the volume farther than we intended when we commenced. We must conclude. The student, and reader of history, who wishes to lay a good foundation for his future acquisitions of knowledge in history, is advised to procure this volume, and make himself familiar with its contents. It is the production of a finished and profound scholar and a good man.

The good of his race is conspicuous in the whole of the work. Dr. Arnold deserves, and, when these lectures are generally read, will receive the noble plaudit of "Well done thou good and faithful servant."

ART. VI.—THE CONDITION OF WOMAN.

Woman in the Nineteenth Century. By S. MARGARET FULLER. New-York: Greely and McElrath. 1845.

IN nothing, not even in its rail-roads, its steam-engines or its telegraphs, is the world more changed than in the estimate that woman is putting upon herself, and the position, social, literary and political, that she is demanding that man shall accord to her. The solitary traveller of former days "wending his weary way" along the rough road, or stopping from time to time, to bait his horse and refresh himself at the way-side inn, whose jolly Boniface gives good token of the cheer within, offers not a greater contrast to the crowded car, rolling with lightning speed, and accomplishing in a few hours what was once the journey of as many days, than the woman of by-gone times, obedient and submissive, unlettered and unassuming, presents, when compared with the woman of our age, accomplished, learned and philosophic—now dabbling in politics and dictating to statesmen the policy they should adopt; now mounting the rostrum, and teaching the truths of science with all the dogmatism of a Plato or a Pythagoras; now entering the sacred desk, and engaging with all the skill of a Duns Scotus, in the discussion of polemical theology.

The social position of the female has always been a varying one. In all ages, and in all countries, she has been subjected to the influence of certain external causes, which have given her a condition sometimes of command, sometimes of servility, and bestowed upon her, in one state of society, the treatment of a mistress, in another that of a slave.

These changes and the causes that produce them are important matters of history—not history, merely chronological, but philosophical and psychological. They belong to

the record of man's mind—its secret springs, its unseen influences, and as such, an investigation of them will not perhaps be a labor without its reward. We propose, therefore, on the present occasion to enter upon a brief historical and philosophical enquiry into the condition, character and claims of the female sex. We say *historical*, because one of the first objects of this enquiry should be to determine what, in the different ages and conditions of the earth, has been the moral character and political and domestic position of woman; and *philosophical*, because we should endeavor to trace the modifications which are continually occurring in this character and position to their proper causes, and to deduce from them those results which can alone render our inquiry pleasant or profitable.

We commence then by laying down the propositions that to every different state of society must of necessity pertain a peculiarity of manners and customs, and that while these affect the character and position of the female, she, by a reflective operation of moral causes, equally affects the state of the society in which she exists. Where, for instance, from the manners of a race, a nation, or a tribe, the female is made to occupy the lowest grade in society—where she is cast into a degraded state of vassalage, and is called upon to perform the ignominious duties, not only of the slave, but of the beast of burden, her unnatural position exerts its powerful influence, and man is there found without any of those ennobling sentiments and inspiring feelings which elevate him above the brutes that supply his scanty and precarious subsistence. By a species of retributive justice, as he has degraded her the helpmate of his life, by her he has been degraded too. The domestic labors which she performs, and the language in which he commands her, alone distinguish such a savage and his slave wife from the brutes of their native forests.

On the contrary, in that more elevated state of society, where the female assumes a nobler rank—where she is never the slave—sometimes the mistress—but more generally the companion of man; where she instructs his youth, and is destined to become the cherished wife of his bosom and the respected mother of his children, the influence of her position is still exerting itself, and we now find man partaking of the elevation to which woman has been exalted. We see him seeking in her smile for encouragement, and dread-

ing her frown as the worst of evils. We find him cultivated, honorable and chivalrous, because without cultivation he cannot please her, without honor he cannot deserve her, without chivalry he cannot defend her. It is only in such a state of society that a poet could exclaim,

“—— Without our hopes, without our fears,
Without the home that plighted love endears,
Without the smile from partial beauty won,
O! what were man? A world without a sun.”

To an Australian savage the sentiment would be unintelligible, and the feeling that dictated it, contemptible. With a cultivated European, the praise of woman constitutes the finest theme of the poet; with the rude Indian, the deadliest insult that can be offered, is to compare him to a female.

But between the two states of society just alluded to, the extremes of barbarism and civilization, there are many intermediate degrees, in which woman assumes different positions, and exercises peculiar influences. To investigate them all would transcend the limits we have allotted to this subject. We must be satisfied with a view of the most important and dissimilar types.

Australia, whose discovery has given so many wonderful subjects of inquiry to the geologist and the naturalist in the innumerable islands, the astonishing production of a minute insect which cover its ocean; in the gorgeous plants that blossom in its deserts; and its uncouth animals whose structure finds no correspondence in the growth of the older world; has supplied the anthropologist with the instance of a race of beings scarcely distinguishable from the brutes around them in aught save their human form. It shall furnish us with the first type of woman. The Australian is of the whole human race the least human, of all savages the most savage. With a language, or rather a jargon hardly competent to clothe his scanty ideas, and an intellect unable to appreciate the use of the simple tools presented to him by his European visitors, he bears the outward semblance of a man, with the internal qualities of a beast. His wants are those of his native kangaroo—hunger and thirst—and his capacities of gratifying them are scarcely superior to those of that uncouth quadruped. His passions, his feelings are all purely animal. The social relations are scarcely known, or

if known are never recognized. Children pay no respect to their parents, and parents have been known to barter their children to a stranger for a few glittering toys. In such a state of society, (if that can be called society, where there exists neither fixed residence, nor laws, nor government,) the female, as it may be supposed, is in a condition of the most abject degradation. The husband claims over his wife, by a double tenure, that of liege lord and captor, the power of life and death. We have said of captor, and in order to comprehend the expression, we must detail the mode in which an Australian beau is accustomed to pay his addresses to the chosen fair one.

"A courtship in Australia," says Mr. Taylor, in his admirable work on the Natural History of Society, "is a very striking affair. The lover selects for his mistress, the maiden of another tribe, and watches her incomings and outgoings with all the pertinacity of affection. At length he tracks her to some retired spot, the solitude of which, seems to afford a favorable opportunity for the declaration of his passion; he rushes forward, strikes her to the earth with a club or wooden sword, and continues beating her about the head until repeated blows have rendered her senseless. After this very impressive and feeling commencement, he drags the victim streaming with blood, to the haunts of his own tribe, where she is forced to confess herself vanquished by such strong proofs of love, and to become his wife."*

Well may we exclaim in the words of the crook-backed tyrant,

"Was ever woman in such humor wooed?
Was ever woman in such humor won?"

This method of obtaining a wife seems, however, to be confined to the Australians. Other savages practice a less energetic mode of courtship, and the course usually adopted is that of barter and sale, where the beauty and capacity for labor of the bride, enhance her price, just as the experienced jockey demands a proper equivalent for the fine limbs and strong sinews of his steed. The wife thus purchased can of necessity be nothing but a slave. Her services are demanded because they have been paid for, and if she is refractory or disobedient, she must expect to receive a slave's treatment, blows and ill usage. Now as there can never exist between the slave and her master that mutual forbearance and esteem, that love and confidence which should

* Taylor, Nat. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 48.

ever control the thoughts and actions of a wedded pair, we must not expect to find these virtues existing in an Indian wigwam. There no love has nurtured, no confidence sustained, no tenderness cemented, the ill assorted union. There the husband marries because he wants a servant, the bride because she has been fairly bought. It is notorious that the savage determines the number of his wives according to the scarcity or abundance of his food. Polygamy exists only among those tribes which reside on the banks of rivers which abound in fish, or amid forests where game is in plenty. The savage who is confined to more inhospitable climes, where the blubber of dead whales, or the chance fortune of a hunting expedition, supplies a scanty and precarious provision, alternating from satiety to famine, contents himself with a single wife. The reason is obvious. Where fish and game abound, the hunter needs more slaves to dry his salmon or prepare his venison. Where they are deficient, such services are not required. The home of a savage is like the mansion of a fashionable pair, untenanted by the warm affections. Marriages of convenience bring with them in all states of society the same just punishment. The social relations are utterly destroyed; the bonds of domestic attachment are scarcely known, and husband and wife, parent and child endure each other's presence, only while necessity demands such endurance. "In an American hut," says Father Charlevoix, "a father, a mother and their posterity live together like persons assembled by accident, without seeming to feel the obligation of the duties mutually arising from this connection." Partly from the scarcity of food to which nomadic tribes are continually subjected, but more especially from the absence of a coercive principle in the powerful influence of the social affections, the crime of infanticide prevails among savage nations to a horrible extent. The mother, looking upon her new born infant, not as a pledge of the most sacred of ties, but rather as an unbidden guest to a feast already filled, and as one whose prolonged existence is to entail upon her an extra share of labor without an adequate return, and unchecked by those holy aspirations of a mother's love, which must first find their birth in the fond bosom of a cherished wife, feels no "compunctious visitings of conscience," when she sacrifices its life as an immolation to her own convenience. It would be needless to shock "ears polite" by a

recital of all the horrid details, through which we have been reluctantly compelled to wade in the prosecution of our researches on this painful subject. A single instance may suffice to show to what degree the refinement of maternal cruelty can extend, when woman's purest and noblest sentiments are extinguished by her social degradation. Among the Rajpoots of India, this crime is exceedingly prevalent, and all the humane efforts of the British government to abolish it, have met with greater resistance from the mothers than from the fathers of the children. To shade the horrible picture with one deeper tint, we are informed by a late female traveller, that the poison with which the child is destroyed, is rubbed upon the mother's nipple, and thus, those "sacred fountains of the human race," whence the helpless infant was destined to draw his nourishment, and strength and life, become the polluted instruments of crime and death.*

With this account of the character of savage woman before us, we are better prepared to look at its cause, her social and domestic condition, the best example of which may be drawn from one of our own North American tribes. The Hon. Mr. Murray, one of the latest and most interesting because most truthful of the British travellers who have visited our shores, thus describes the daily occupations of a Pawnee female, when her tribe or village is on the march from one hunting ground to another.

"She rises an hour before daylight, packs up the dried meat, the corn and other bales, strikes the tent, loads and saddles all the horses and mules, and at dawn the march commences; they generally go from 12 to 15 miles before the mid-day heat; the husband rides, some animals are loaded, many run loose; she travels on foot, carrying on her back either a child or a package of considerable size, in one hand a bundle or a can of water, with the other leading one or two pack horses. On arriving at the camping place she unpacks the animals, and proceeds to pitch the tent or lodge. But in order to appreciate the extreme labor of this apparently simple operation, it must be borne in mind, that she has to force 8 or 10 poles sharpened at the point, into ground baked nearly as hard as brick by a vertical sun;

* There is a tradition among this tribe that one of the Rajpoots began the practice of female infanticide in consequence of an ancient prophecy that through a female the succession to the crown would pass out of the family. But this is merely a tradition. There is no doubt that the custom found its origin in the burdensome expenses attending the support and marriage of girls, and was excused if not sanctioned by the low estimate placed in India upon the female character.

they require to be driven at least six inches deep by the mere strength of her arms, as she is not assisted by the use of any iron pointed instrument or any mallet. As soon as the tent is pitched and arranged, she goes in search of wood and water; the latter is generally within half a mile of the camping place selected, but the former I can positively affirm from my own observation, she frequently has to seek and carry on her back three or four miles.

"From mingled commiseration and curiosity, I have once or twice raised these wood bundles thus brought in, and am afraid to hazard a conjecture at their weight, but I feel confident that any London porter would charge high for an extra load, if he was desired to carry one of them half a mile; she then proceeds to light a fire, cut up the meat and pound the corn, for which latter purpose she is obliged to use a heavy club round at the extremity, and a mortar hollowed by herself from the trunk of a walnut. As soon as the meal is finished, she has to strike the tent, reload the horses, and the whole foregoing work is to be repeated, except that the afternoon walk is generally not more than eight miles.

"This is the ordinary routine of a travelling day; but on the day of a hunt, and on its successor, her labor varies in kind, not much in degree, as besides bringing wood and water, cooking, &c., she has to cut up all the meat into thin flakes or layers to be dried in the sun, to dress the skins and robes, to make the moccasins, leggins, and in short whatever clothing is wanted by any of the family. Lest it may be supposed that in the permanent or winter lodge they enjoy more rest, it is as well to mention, that in addition to their domestic duties, the whole of the agricultural labor in their coarse system of raising maize falls to their share."*

Thus betrothed a slave, and treated throughout her matrimonial life as a slave and a drudge, is it either strange or unnatural that the Indian female seldom knows the proper feelings of a wife or mother?

But happily for the honor of human nature, if we look back some eighteen centuries, we shall discover a race of barbarians who offer a remarkable exception to this general depravity of savage life. We allude to the ancient Germanic tribes, a race peculiarly interesting to us, as furnishing in their speech and government, the first germs of the English language and constitution. From the admirable descriptions of their manners and customs which have been given to us by Cæsar and Tacitus, we may readily make ourselves acquainted with the state of the female sex among them.

Though their love of enterprize and plunder, their indomitable courage in war, and their sensuality and sloth in

* Travels in North America in 1834-35-36, vol. i., p. 219-220.

time of peace, afford us a remarkable evidence of the general uniformity of savage life, they nevertheless exhibit instances of generosity, humanity and virtue, which mark a wide difference between them and the modern Indians and South Sea Islanders of whom we have already spoken. Notwithstanding that they were in fact nomadic tribes, they cultivated the earth for its productions, and kept flocks and herds to supply them with food and clothing, not depending, as savages usually do, upon hunting and fishing alone, for a precarious subsistence. Poetry had elevated itself among them to something like a respectable rank, for they had a separate class called *bards* whose duty it was to recite in rude and unpolished strains, the military songs with which they inflamed the ardour of their warriors and in which they recounted the deeds of former heroes. They admitted the distinction of ranks in government, attempted a species of military discipline, had an order of priesthood, established a system of rewards and punishments, and were in short, in possession of many of those political improvements and practised many of those social virtues which indicated, if not a near approach to civilization, at least the existence of considerable refinement in savage life. Now, in such a state of society, what was the condition of the women? Undoubtedly one as different from that of the American squaw, as the state of the German barbarian differed from that of the American Indian. The influence of the female had here advanced a step. She was no longer the beast of burthen. She had become in some sort the participant of her husband's councils,—the sharer of his dangers, and the applauder of his prowess. The connubial state was one of constancy and affection. The virtues of the wife were respected and preserved. Polygamy was not encouraged and but few instances of it existed. The bride brought no dowry to her husband, but the bridegroom presented her, not with dresses and decorations that might feed her vanity, but with horses, with oxen, with weapons and a shield. She in her turn bestowed upon her lover, a gift of arms, and by this mutual interchange of kindness, the marriage ceremonies were concluded. She was taught that, in entering into the connubial state, she was to become the associate of her husband's labours and his dangers; that with him she was to suffer in peace and dare in war. This equality of rank, produced its certain and necessary result.

With one husband, says the Roman historian,* as with one body and one soul the woman lived content; in him her happiness was centered; her desires extended no further, and there existed at once a respect for the married state, and a reverence for her husband's person.

It is painful to leave this pastoral picture of domestic happiness, which, like a green oasis of the desert, sheds the fragrance of its beauty over the dark scenes of degradation we have already witnessed. But we must turn to a semi-barbarous nation of our own day, and view woman once more debased to the level of a slave.

The Chinese, who are perhaps the vainest and most arrogant people that ever existed, and who, while in the exuberance of their self-esteem, they have but one word to signify a demon, a barbarian and a stranger, present, at the same time, the remarkable and humiliating instance of a nation which, in eighteen hundred years, has made no alteration in its customs, no improvement in the arts or sciences, and not one advance in civilization, exhibit the proof of their degradation in the rank allotted to their females in society. In China woman has always been treated with marked contempt. Her employments are the most dishonorable; her feelings and affections are never consulted; and the sum of all her duties, as laid down by the sages of the Celestial Empire, is implicit obedience. As a bride she is a saleable commodity; her marriage is a mere matter of bargain and traffic, in the conclusion of which she is entirely passive. The tiny feet of the Chinese ladies, which have been so much the envy of western belles, by making her a cripple, ensure her security as a prisoner, and the malformation is actually produced simply for the purpose of more certainly confining her to the house. Female infanticide is with them a crime of every day occurrence, and when reproved for its commission by Europeans, their answer, according to Mr. Roberts, a sensible traveller among them, is, "It is only a female." The birth of a daughter in China is a source of grief and mortification to its relatives. Pan-hio-

* Sic unum accipiunt maritum, (says Tacitus,) quo modo unum corpus, unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium ament.— *De Mor. Germ. c. xix.* The same sanctity of marriage existed among the Saxons, the Visigoths, the Vinedians and many other nations whom the divorce loving Romans called barbarians.

ny-pan one of their historians, (herself a female,) has thus described the reception of a female infant into the world by its disappointed parents. "Anciently the female infant was thrown upon some old rags by the side of its mother's bed, and for three days was scarcely spoken or thought of. At the end of that time, it was carried to a temple by the father, accompanied by attendants with bricks and tiles. The bricks and tiles," says the annalist, in her commentary on this fact, "signify the contempt and suffering which are to be her companions and her portion; bricks are of no use except to form enclosures and to be trodden under foot; tiles are useless except when they are exposed to the air."

When a daughter is born, says one of their venerable books,

"When a daughter is born
She sleeps on the ground,
She is clothed with a wrapper,
She plays with a tile,
She is incapable of either evil or good."

The last assertion they thus explain: "If she does ill she is not a woman; if she does well she is not a woman; a slavish submission is her duty and her highest praise."

Now what has been the result of such opinions and such treatment on the character and condition of the Chinese female? Precisely what was to have been expected according to our theory. They have no enjoyments if wealthy, and labor incessantly if poor. Mere cyphers in society, they vegetate rather than live. They are without education, without companionship; pale and emaciated from their constant captivity, they spend their hours in sleep, in listless idleness or in the embellishment of their persons, save when poverty, that unrelenting task-master, drives them to the performance of the most menial and laborious occupations.

Thus far we have enquired into the condition of the female among savage and barbarous nations, and we have found it with one bright exception a servile and degraded one. And the cause of this oppression is as evident as its effects. In savage society physical strength and personal prowess are the only bases of power and the only object of respect. It is the tendency of the civilized state to equalize the condition of the sexes, because there the force of mind and energy of intellect overcome the influence of

* See Roberts' Embassy to Cochin China, &c.

mere muscular superiority. And hence the progress of civilization in a country is always marked by a gradual diminution of the estimation in which the rude powers of the body are held, and an inversely proportionate elevation of the position of the female sex.

Let us test the truth of this proposition by an examination of the condition of woman in some of the civilized states of the ancient world.

Of all the ancients, the Greeks were considered the most polite, and yet such is the improvement among the moderns in the estimation of female character, that we must not be astonished if we find the Grecian women in a position which is scarcely compatible with the Grecian claims to refinement. The sex was among them in a state of subjection which, if not as completely slavish as among their barbarous neighbors, was certainly great enough to subvert many of those important moral influences for which woman was undoubtedly created.

To the wife the household duties were confided; she was (before marriage especially) confined to a particular part of the house, *γυναικῶν*, which, (for the Grecians seem not to have known the modern proverb, that "Love laughs at locksmiths") was barred and bolted to prevent the too frequent indulgence in the female amusement of gadding.

Within this sacred enclosure they were strictly confined, at least before and for some time after marriage. To pass beyond the door of the αἶλη or hall was considered as highly indecorous and unbecoming in a modest woman. Nor was this restraint upon their personal liberty relieved until they had fulfilled the important function of their sex, by becoming matrons, and hence the word *μήτηρ*, a *mother*, has been derived by the etymologists ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ τηρεῖσθαι, *from her being no longer guarded*. But the freedom they enjoyed was not demanded as a right, but conceded as an indulgence, and they were indebted for it not to the equity of the law but to the kindness of their husbands.

An Athenian husband in expounding to his young wife what were the duties she was to perform, thus sums up their full amount. She was to reside in the house; to send such of the servants as had out-door occupations to their daily labor, and to superintend those whose duties were confined to the house; all that was brought in, she was to receive; what was necessary for immediate use, she was to

distribute; to her foresight and caution, it was left to see that there was no waste; she was to attend too, to the converting of the wool into clothing, and to the preparing of all the provisions of the family. And lest all these multifarious duties of commissary of purchases and of issues, of steward and butler, of cook and sempstress, should not be enough to occupy one poor woman's time, and keep her out of mischief, as a climax to the list, she was also to nurse and attend all the aged, the sick and the infirm; an office by no means a sinecure, when we remember the immense number of slaves to be found in the house of a wealthy Athenian.

A Grecian wife, thus servilely confined to occupations which in modern days, the wealthy husband is content to impose upon his servants, was but seldom intelligent and never learned. She was scarcely the companion of her master, certainly not his adviser or friend, and was too often selected by the comic poets as a fit subject on which to expend their buffoon wit. Educated without a taste for literature, and debarred by the customs of her country from the acquisition of accomplishments, the Grecian matron settled down quietly into a mere housekeeper. Hence the favorites, the friends and the correspondents of the philosophers, the poets and the orators, were not the virtuous wives, who in the words of the epitaph, "stayed at home and spun wool,"* but the Laises and Asphasias, the Lamias and Phrynes who, at the price of modesty and virtue, had purchased the possessions of learning and accomplishments.

In Rome, from various causes, the female character was more elevated than in Greece. In the infancy of the city, the companions of Romulus were compelled to seek and obtain by force, their wives from a neighboring people. In the sanguinary war which was the result of this martial mode of wooing, the Sabine women, once the captives, but now the wives and mothers of the Romans, exerted over the hostile parties a salutary and pacificatory influence, which in after ages they seem never to have lost. Among the Romans, women were ever more respected than among the Greeks; were esteemed for something more than their domestic virtues, were often called into the counsels of their

* *Donum mansit,
Lanam fecit.*

husbands or their sons ; were sometimes, as in the instances of Lucretia and Virginia, the causes of mighty revolutions; and were sometimes, as occurred to Vertumnia and Verturia, called upon to exert their influence in averting an impending public danger. Hence the history of Rome abounds in examples of female virtue and female greatness which are seldom to be met with in the annals of Greece.

An approach to that equality of sexes which the refinement of modern manners has produced, appears in a portion of the marriage ceremonies which were practised by this warlike people. When the bride, accompanied by her friends and relatives, arrived on the morning of the wedding day at the door of the bridegroom's house, on being asked who she was, she replied, "Where thou art the master and the father of the family, I am the mistress and the mother."^{*}

Woman has gained something when she establishes her presence and her services, as necessary ingredients towards domestic happiness. This was the case in Rome. The Romans had a feeling of domesticity, and with their thoughts of home they mingled the idea of that virtuous mother who alone could make that home attractive. Horace in that beautiful epode in which he sings the praises of a country life and which the critics have not hesitated to pronounce of all his odes, "*Sanè longè pulcherrima*," paints with a poet's pencil the modest wife delighting in her home and her children, replenishing the exhausted embers for her wearied "good man's" return, drawing the nutritious food from the distended udders of her cows, and preparing the evening meal, which by one significant term, "*inemptas*," he indicates was not purchased from the market, but was prepared with her own hands, from the product of her own dairy and her own garden.

An ancient Roman thus enumerates the qualities of a good wife: "Virtue, beauty, fidelity and skill in spinning." Industry with them, as with the Greeks, was considered an important ingredient in the female character. Even the Emperor Augustus, the master of these masters of the world, seldom, his biographer tells us, wore any other apparel at home, than that which had been manufactured by his

* Briefly, "*ubi tu Caius, ibi ego Caia*." The reference is to that admirable spinster, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, whose distaff and spindle were preserved in the temple of Hercules.

wife, his sister, his daughter, or his grand-children.* But while women were lauded for their industry, and were also indulged in the pursuit of substantial knowledge, those polite accomplishments which are too often the proudest possessions of a modern fine lady, were held in utter disrepute. Sallust, it will be remembered, remarks of Sempromia, that "she played and danced more gracefully than became a modest woman."† The quadrille and the harp would both have been disdained by a Roman matron.

That women had begun in Rome to approximate to that position for which nature evidently intended them, is apparent as well from the language in which they are spoken of by the Roman writers, as from the illustrious part which many of them took in the incidents of Roman history. Pliny writes in language the most respectful, of his wife Calpurnia; we all know the affecting tones in which Cicero deploras the death of his Tulliola, "the only solace left him when deprived by faction of the ensigns of dignity and the occupations of public office." Cornelia had a statue erected to her on which was inscribed "the Mother of the Gracchi." And it was in Rome alone, that female Fortune was worshipped as a goddess and had a temple dedicated to her honor.

"Where are the jewels with which you adorn yourself?" said a Campanian lady to the noble Cornelia. "These," pointing to her children, who became afterwards so conspicuous in the history of the republic, "these are my jewels." Such language could have been uttered by no woman, who had not been prepared by the universal respect paid to her sex, for the reception of such exalted and honorable sentiments.

Still woman had not yet attained to all her prerogatives. There was a *privilege of sex* to which she was entitled, and which she had not yet received. Her individuality was to be merged in a generalization, and she was to be respected for her weakness as well as for her virtue.

But a new era was approaching, and the religion, whose mild and beneficent rays were to bring a new light and a

* *Veste* (says Suetonius,) non temere alia quam domestica nunc est, ab uxore et sorore et filia neptibusque confecta. *In vit. Aug. lxxiii.*

† The concise expression of Sallust, is "psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est probæ." *Bell. Cat. xxv.* A phrase, which like most of Sallust's sentences, conveys more to the mind than meets the ear.

new life into the world, was also to establish for woman a greater claim to man's respect than she had yet dared to assume. It would not be irrelevant to the present place, but it would occupy us too long, to enter into any very extended discussion of the influence of Christianity. This much, however, we may say; that among other causes, the republican equality, which appears to be of the very essence of the Christian religion, has been productive of that elevation of woman to the rank from which the Paganism of antiquity, and the Heathenism and Mohammedanism of our own times have excluded her. With the Christian, as with the patriarch of old, there is for woman and for man, but one place of worship, one heaven and one God. She is not denied, as among the followers of Islamism, a ready access to the temple of her Maker, or appointed to the performance of servile duties in a sensual paradise. She is not, as among the blind votaries of Brahmanism, immolated as a sacrifice upon the grave of her husband; but esteemed, with man, as the common work and care of the Creator, while she is acknowledged often to make a heaven of earth, she is permitted to claim an equal share of the heaven above. To this we may add, that the introduction of the worship of the Virgin Mary and the female saints and martyrs, must, necessarily have tended to elevate man's opinion of the gentler sex, of whom, these objects of adoration were such bright exemplars.

Miss Fuller, who is a sturdy defender of the claims of her sex, has not omitted to advert to the deep felt influence of the Madonna's position upon Christendom.

"Coming nearer our own time, we find religion and poetry no less true in their revelations. The rude man, just disengaged from the sod, the Adam, accuses woman to his God and records her disgrace to their posterity. He is not ashamed to write that he could be drawn from heaven by one beneath him, one made, he says, from but a small part of himself. But in the same nation, educated by time, instructed by a succession of prophets, we find woman in as high a position as she has ever occupied. No figure that has ever arisen to greet our eyes has been received with more fervent reverence than that of the Madonna. Heine calls her the *Dame du Comptoir* of the Catholic Church, and this jeer well expresses a serious truth.

"And not only this holy and significant image was worshipped by the pilgrim, and the favorite subject of the artist, but it exercised an immediate influence on the destiny of the sex. The empress who embraced the cross, converted sons and husbands. Whole calendars of female saints, heroic dames of chivalry, binding the emblem of

faith on the heart of the best-beloved, and wasting the bloom of youth in separation and loneliness, for the sake of duties they thought it religion to assume, with innumerable forms of poesy, trace their lineage to this one. Nor, however imperfect may be the action in our day, of the faith thus expressed, and though we can scarcely think it nearer this ideal, than that of India or Greece was near their ideal, is it in vain that the truth has been recognized, that woman is not only a part of man, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, born that men might not be lonely, but that women are in themselves possessors of and possessed by immortal souls. This truth undoubtedly received a greater outward stability from the belief of the church that the earthly parent of the Saviour of souls was a woman.

"The assumption of the Virgin, as painted by sublime artists, Petrarch's Hymn to the Madonna, cannot have spoken to the world wholly without result, yet, oftentimes those who had ears heard not."
p. 44.

In examining into the social and domestic condition of woman among the nations of Christendom, we must not neglect to weigh well the influence of another powerful instrument upon her destinies. The feudal system to which we owe our manners, as we are indebted for our religion to the plains of Palestine, acted as an enormous lever in elevating the position of the female; and this it did partly by borrowing its estimation of her character from the ancient Germans, among whom we have seen that she was an object of deep respect, and partly by the necessary operation of its own peculiar principles. Among these let us alone advert to the system of tenures, whereby the last descendant and only daughter of a noble family often became the mistress of the castle and baronial domains of her ancestors, and the liege lady of a multitude of followers. The possession of wealth and power and political influence necessarily brought with it dignity and a claim to respect. She, at the glancing of whose eye, a thousand willing spears were put in rest, and a thousand bright falchions leaped from their scabbards, must have received, and would have commanded, if she had not received, the respect of every proud baron around her. Thus in the days of chivalry three powerful influences were at work to elevate the female position. First, the spirit of a mild and equitable religion in which woman was considered as man's partner in sin and salvation; next the pure and deep respect for woman which had been borrowed from the Gothic and Germanic tribes; and lastly, the influence of political and personal power which she now, for the first time since the creation, began to possess. From these causes combined, resulted a state of society,

which modified as it has since been by a change of manners in all where change was desirable, by the introduction of a different and better policy, and above all by an extensive cultivation of the intellect, still forms the theme of many a modern story, and claims the admiration of every observer.

Let us look more closely into those times of gallantry and devotion, when knights were taught to fight for "God and their ladye's love."

We have seen among the savage tribes of Australia, the beauty beaten into acquiescence and the lover carrying off his mistress covered with bruises and blood. We have seen the wife among other uncivilized and semi-barbarous nations, made a subject of mere barter, and bought and sold as a Smithfield drover disposes of his cattle. We have seen the Grecian dame, secluded from society, confined almost as a prisoner to her home, and regarded only as an instrument which administered to the comfort and convenience of her husband lord. We have extended our enquiries to republican Rome and still we find her only a little elevated above the domestic slaves of her household, and though permitted to receive oblations of honor for her virtue and heroism, claiming no exclusive respect for her sex. But now we approach an age when woman was respected, admired, worshipped, as woman, and as woman alone; when the sex claimed that homage due to their beauty, their tenderness, and their weakness, which in all polite countries they have since continued to receive; when love usurped the place of cold philosophy, and the mistress became the theme of the troubadour's lay, and the motive spirit of the knight's achievements.

Women, who, heretofore had been the slaves, or at best the humble companions of man, were now at once invested with a rank above equality. The weaker sex now became elevated as Haslam observes, "by the voluntary submission of the stronger."* The knight commenced his apprenticeship to chivalry by becoming the page of some noble lady, and in her bower, while beauteous maidens were embroidering in the richest colors, the martial prowess and the

* Haslam throws this subject in a strong light by his allusion to the passion of love. "Love, with the ancient poets, is often tender, sometimes virtuous, but never accompanied by a sense of deference to inferiority." *Introd. Lit. Europe.* I. 176. A reference to the place cited will, however, show that we do not agree as to the causes which produced this effect.

gallant feats of some adventurous paladin, he listened to, and learned that catechism of love and honor, which in after days, was to constitute the creed in which he was to live and for which he was to die. No sooner had his skill in arms, and the accomplishment of some brave exploit entitled him to claim the spurs of knighthood, than he selected from among the high born dames around him, some lady as the object of his love. Henceforth in every deed of daring and of danger, she was the first invoked; for her he attacked the most dangerous enemies; for her he defended the most untenable positions; his blood was cheaply poured forth in her behalf; and the last moments of a life gladly lost to win from her a tear, were spent in calling on her much loved name. Under such an animating feeling the most incredible actions were accomplished, obstacles apparently insurmountable, were overcome, and difficulties which seemed insuperable were easily conquered. Woman, thus exalted to a position but little lower than an angel's, produced in return for her elevation an admirable moral effect upon the manners of men. Besides the indomitable courage of which we have just spoken, she infused into the manners of the age, a spirit of courtesy and honor, and love of truth, and generosity and nobility of soul, which must ever be the result of a virtuous woman's influence and a virtuous woman's love. Ennobled and elevated by the general homage of mankind, she leaped with instinctive ardour, from the ungenerous thralldom in which for ages she had been held, and filled the throne of sovereignty which had been erected for her, with all the grace and beauty and virtue, which are woman's heirloom and woman's only. As the necromancers of yore were said to mark a magic ring as a spell beyond which, no demon could pass, so woman in those halcyon days of her sex, threw around her person a holy circle of modesty and honor and purity, within which none but the brave, the courteous and highminded could enter.

Chaucer, quaint and sweet old Chaucer, he

“—— who in times

Dark and untaught, began with charming verse
To tame the rudeness of his native land,”

describes one of these knights, in language which proves that we have overestimated, neither the influence of the

female nor its effects upon the character of the male. For while he descants at proper length upon his worthiness in war, and speaks with just applause of the many mortal battles he had seen, he dwells with seeming delight upon his virtuous and honorable qualities. The whole passage is too long for quotation, but enough of it may be selected to illustrate the truth of our observation.

"A knight there was and that a worthy man,
That from the time that he at first began
To ride out, he loved chivalrie
Truth and honor, freedom and courtesie,
Full worthy was he in his lordis war,
And thereto had he ridden, near and farre.

* * * * *

And evermore he had a sovereign praise,
And though that he was worthy he was wise,
And of his port as meek as is a maide,
He never yet no villainie had saide,
In all his life, unto no man or wight,
He was a very perfect noble knight."

But the days of chivalry have passed away. Ladies no longer work in tapestry the deeds of gallant knights, and knights no longer tilt for the love of ladies' smiles. The ever rolling stream of time has washed into the ocean of the past the pomp of the tournament and the glory of the herald. But the sentiments of refinement which sprung up amid those scenes of love and adventure, the high honor which woman then received, the purity which then adorned her, and the deep homage which was then paid to her sex, have descended to our age, and like the great principles of truth, will continue unaltered to the end of time. No strife of nations, no sanguinary revolutions, no intolerance of fanaticism or licentiousness of infidelity, can henceforth erase from the heart of man that veneration for the female sex which the adventurous spirit of knighthood first implanted. Now it has grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength, and can never be obliterated. It is immutable and enduring. It is no longer a mere theory, but forms part and parcel of the human heart, and must be indestructible through all changes of men and times.

"Like the vase in which roses have once been distil'd,
You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will,
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."

Among the reveries of the Talmudists, is one which tells us that the bone of which Eve was made, was taken neither from the head nor the feet of Adam, but from his side, to indicate that woman should be the equal, and not the mistress or the slave of man. To that equality she has now been elevated in all things in which that equality was either practicable or desirable. She has been permitted, neither to command our armies nor to legislate in our senates, because for the one, she is incapacitated by her gentleness, and for the other, by her purity. Yet have there been some aspiring spirits of her sex, who have demanded for woman a full participation in all the prerogatives of man. They have claimed an equal right of representation, insisted on a share in our legislative councils, and contended for a similar mode of education.

"We would have," says Miss Fuller, "every arbitrary barrier thrown down. We would have every path laid open to woman as freely as to man." p. 26.

It is well for our sex's supremacy, that all women are not inoculated with this ambitious spirit ; else, considering the excitability and enthusiasm of the female temperament, and the proneness of man to yield, rather than contend with a female antagonist, we should long since have been dethroned, and the sceptre of our sovereignty exchanged for a distaff.

Perhaps the best mode of entering upon the investigation of this much mooted question, will be to take into consideration the peculiarities of the female temperament.

The temperaments of individual woman differ, much less the one from the other, than those of men. They all incline more or less to the nervous type. And thus we may account for almost all her peculiarities of mind and disposition. Women have much more excitability and enthusiasm than men. Hence every passion which springs solely from the heart, burns in them with a brilliancy unknown to the more phlegmatic constitution of men. Love which is, but an episode with man, forms the whole story of a woman's life. She carries its feeling into every concern of life, and extends it even to her religion and her politics, and when her piety or her patriotism are excited, worships her God with more fervor, and loves her country or her party with more energy, than falls to the share of

more calculating man. She has too, a nicer perception of minute circumstances, while she is often incapable of appreciating bolder and more striking points. This is well illustrated in the works of female novelists, where the writers often dwell on trifling and unimportant details, which the masculine genius of a Smollet or a Scott would have passed over in silence. Her sympathies are more lively, and hence arises the sweetest and most amiable trait in her character—her boundless humanity, her glowing compassion for the unfortunate, her unwearied attention to the sick, and her active benevolence to the destitute. The tear of pity which can scarce be extorted from the eye of man, flows unbidden down the cheek of woman, and while he doles out the meed of charity through some unfeeling steward, she becomes her own almoner, and bears to the hovel of poverty and wretchedness, not only the open purse, but the far richer gift of her kindness and consolation.

Again. In the sentiment of courage, man and woman widely differ. That of the former is active, of the latter passive. His courage is bravery, hers is fortitude. He rushes into dangers and engages in contests, from which she shrinks with instinctive timidity; she submits to privations and endures sufferings and pain under which his impatient spirit would bend and break. The unflinching fortitude with which females undergo the severest operations is familiar to every surgeon. It has happened more than once to our own experience, to see a delicate and feeble woman endure an amputation without a murmur or a groan, while a robust sailor in submitting to the same operation has required the strength of all the assistants to repress his struggles, and copious doses of laudanum or brandy, to lull his sensibility.

Imagination reigns predominant in woman. So great is her susceptibility that she rushes with facility from one feeling to another, and the eye still humid with the tear of grief, is often brightened by the light of joy, again to be extinguished by a gush of sorrow. Hence, that caprice and coquetry, which, when not carried to excess, furnish one of her most pleasing charms.

One of the distinctive characters of the female organization is a feebleness of muscle. Hence arise many of those peculiarities which distinguish her from strong and robust man. Hence in childhood her sedentary amusements and

in adolescence, her choice of unlaborious occupations. The boy trundles his hoop, and the girl dresses her doll in obedience to the law of physical organization. Compelled by the weakness of her frame to renounce those labors which require the exertion of strength, and incompetent to combat the turbulence of tumultuous crowds, she confines her attention to those employments which require only skill and taste for their accomplishment. Unfitted by the timidity of conscious weakness for popular meetings, she is never called to the discussion of public affairs, and for the energy of action and severity of reason which are there required, she substitutes a fertility of expedient and blandishment of manner with which ere now a Thais has conquered an Alexander, and a Cleopatra controlled an Anthony. But of all the effects of this muscular debility, the most important is the dependence into which it throws her upon man. It is this dependence which gives her the most marked of all her sexual peculiarities, and will ever prevent her from assuming that masculine position in society which her ill-advised advocates have claimed for her. "Woman," says Rousseau, "depends for all her wants on man." This sense of dependence inspires her with a strong desire to please. And she attains this object by the practice of all those virtues which give to her sex its true superiority. The reputation of these virtues is as dear to her, as is their possession. She knows that to be admired and respected, she must, like Cæsar's wife, be not only virtuous but beyond suspicion. Man may rest upon himself and conscious of innocence, brave the judgment of the world. But the "*mens conscia recti*," is to woman no brazen wall of defence. In doing well she accomplishes but half her object. Her virtue must be spread abroad. A great reputation often corrupts a man, but a woman's is never so safe as when she possesses it, and hence an eloquent French writer* has observed, that "reputation is among men the tomb of virtue, and among women its throne."

The exact measure and power of the female mind, has been made the subject of fruitful controversy by writers of both sexes, one side contending for woman's natural inferiority to man in intellect, and the other as strenuously claim-

* Author of the article, "*Femme*" in the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales*.

ing for her, an equality. But we must not allow ourselves to be led into a participation in this contest. At least not now and here. It involves too much in its results, and requires too much close consideration historical and psychological, to be mingled with any thing else. It deserves a separate article, and a separate article we will give it if we treat it all. Our object here is to speak of woman only as she exerts and has exerted an influence on society and society reciprocally on her. This influence is independent of any quantity of mathematics or political economy, that she may possess. It owes its power whenever it is exerted to woman as of a different sex—weak, dependent, timid, not to woman mingling with man in the pursuit of knowledge, assuming a masculine tone of mind, tracing out Greek roots like a Mad. Dacier, telescoping the stars like a Mrs. Somerville or settling the destinies of nations like a Miss Martineau. When woman begins to do this she is, *quoad hoc*, no longer a woman. She is unsexed, and though she may possess new power as a *litterateure* she has none as a woman. It is, therefore, nothing to our question, whether it be for want of capacity or from limited education, that woman has never been remarkable for the attainment of great knowledge. All we require to know, is that as to her actual condition, woman as a sex, is not and never has been learned; that the few examples of her proficiency in the branches of abstruse science are but exceptions to the general rule; and that she has always been less remarkable for her talents and learning than for her tenderness and timidity. Yet deficient as she is in those great attributes of mind by which man rules the masses for evil or for good, which give the statesman his influence in the senate, and the soldier his power in the field, which as they are directed, may produce a reformation in religion or a revolution in politics, she is yet not without her unseen, though not unfelt influence.

This Miss Fuller does not deny, for though she is continually complaining of the illiberality of man, who grants indulgences where he should concede rights, she is compelled to admit that woman, in a proper condition of society, has always had her share of power.

"Far less has woman to complain that she has not had her share of power. This, in all ranks of society, except the lowest, has been hers to the extent that vanity would crave, far beyond what wisdom

would accept. In the very lowest, where man, pressed by poverty, sees in woman only the partner of toils and cares, and cannot hope, scarcely has an idea of, a comfortable home, he often maltreats her, and is less influenced by her. In all ranks, those who are gentle and uncomplaining, too candid to intrigue, too delicate to encroach, suffer much. They suffer long, and are kind; verily, they have their reward. But wherever man is sufficiently raised above extreme poverty or brutal stupidity, to care for the comforts of the fireside, or the bloom and ornament of life, woman has always power enough, if she choose to exert it, and is usually disposed to do so, in proportion to her ignorance and childish vanity. Unacquainted with the importance of life and its purposes, trained to a selfish coquetry and love of petty power, she does not look beyond the pleasure of making herself felt at the moment, and governments are shaken and commerce broken up to gratify the pique of a female favorite. The English shopkeeper's wife does not vote, but it is for her interest that the politician canvasses by the coarsest flattery. France suffers no woman on her throne, but her proud nobles kiss the dust at the feet of Pompadour and Dubarry; for such flare in the lighted foreground where a Roland would modestly aid in the closet. Spain, (that same Spain which sang of Ximena and the Lady Teresa,) shuts up her women in the care of duennas, and allows them no book but the Breviary, but the ruin follows only the more surely from the worthless favorite of a worthless queen. Relying on mean precautions, men indeed cry peace, peace, where there is no peace.

"It is not the transient breath of poetic incense that women want; each can receive that from a lover. It is not life-long sway; it needs but to become a coquette, a shrew, or a good cook, to be sure of that. It is not money, nor notoriety, nor the badges of authority that men have appropriated to themselves. If demands, made in their behalf, lay stress on any of these particulars, those who make them have not searched deeply into the need. It is for that which at once includes these and precludes them; which would not be forbidden power, lest there be temptation to steal and misuse it; which would not have the mind perverted by flattery from a worthiness of esteem. It is for that which is the birthright of every being capable to receive it,—the freedom, the religious, the intelligent freedom of the universe, to use its means; to learn its secret as far as nature has enabled them, with God alone for their guide and their judge.

"Ye cannot believe it, men; but the only reason why women ever assume what is more appropriate to you, is because you prevent them from finding out what is fit for themselves. Were they free, were they wise fully to develop the strength and beauty of woman; they would never wish to be men, or man-like. The well-instructed moon flies not from her orbit to seize on the glories of her partner. No; for she knows that one law rules, one heaven contains, one universe replies to them alike." p. 49.

Oh! si sic omnia. At another time she quotes a dialogue between a husband and his wife, and quotes it with condemnation. She feels, having heard it, that "the holiest relations fail to instruct the unprepared and perverted mind."

"They were talking of education, and he said,

"I shall not have Maria brought too forward. If she knows too much, she will never find a husband; superior women hardly ever can."

"Surely," said his wife, with a blush, 'you wish Maria to be as good and wise as she can, whether it help her to marriage or not.'

"No," he persisted, 'I want her to have a sphere and a home, and some one to protect her when I am gone.'" p. 107.

But, bating, of course, the matrimonial speculation in the first paragraph, wherein lies the great evil of the principle here set forth? "I want her to have a sphere and a home." Is not this and ought it not always to be the destiny—the high destiny of woman? To have a sphere of usefulness in which she may exercise the talents which have been bestowed upon her, and a home which she may bless and sanctify by her virtues, of which she may be the ornament, as her husband is the protector.

But, says Miss Fuller:

"If this man, indeed, could have looked at it on the other side, he was the last that would have been willing to have been taken himself for the home and protection he could give, but would have been much more likely to repeat the tale of Alcibiades with his vials." p. 109.

True enough, if he had been taken for his home alone, for here would have been another matrimonial speculation, and against every thing that bears the remotest resemblance to a marriage of convenience, we enter our solemn protest. But is it not natural, and prudent, and praiseworthy in a father, to desire, that when death shall have deprived his daughter of her first, natural protector, she should find another in that endearing relationship which God himself has sanctified?

Miss Fuller, in contending for what she supposes are the rights of her sex, stops short of no claim which woman may make, to perfect equality with man, in every thing which man now does.

"But if you ask me," says she, 'what offices they may fill; I reply—any. I do not care what case you put; let them be sea-captains, if you will. I do not doubt there are women well fitted for such an office, and, if so, I should be glad to see them in it, as to welcome the maid of Saragossa, or the maid of Missolonghi, or the Suliote heroine, or Emily Plater.'" p. 159.

This cannot be. We cannot give her "the armor and the javelin." She may be worshipped as a deity, but it

must not be as a Pallas. If she is to possess power, (and who shall gainsay her claim to the possession?) it must be the power of her weakness. Her whole history, her physical and moral conformations, go to show that she can have no part in the strength, the rudeness, the impenetrability that gives man his domination. Endowed, like the partner of her race, with an immortal mind, an emanation of that holy original whence she sprang, she yet differs from man in that peculiar organization and its effects, which she owes to the immutable will of her Creator. Imaginative and susceptible, weak, timid and dependent, she looks up to and leans upon man, as the being who is to cherish, to support and to defend her, and unlike the ungrateful mistletoe which robs the oak to which it clings, of nourishment and life, she adds, by the claims of her dependence, a charm to the existence of her protector, and by the sweet influence of her virtues, leads him to better deeds and purer thoughts.

Woman thus timid, gentle and dependent, must yield to man the rough and rugged paths of life. She was not made for tumultuous assemblies, for the chicanery of politics, the turbulence of public office, or the bold and factious declamation of the legislative hall. It is among the Lares and Penates of her home, the domestic hearth and the household duties, that she claims our esteem and wins our love. Should she wander from this, her appointed path, she may, like some fiery and erratic comet, become the nine days wonder of the world, but it is only when revolving in her proper orbit as the obedient daughter, the affectionate mother, or the faithful wife, that she sheds around, the mild lustre of a planet which pleases by its regularity, while it charms by its beauty.

Those who would drag her from this modest retirement to which she has been appointed by the fiat of her nature, would rob her character of its fairest charm. In attempting to grasp the sceptre of an empire which her feeble strength can scarcely lift, woman loses the sovereignty of the heart where she has ever reigned with unrivalled sway. When like Omphale of old, she would don the lion's hide and wield the club of Hercules, like Omphale, her power must be based on love.

A. G. M.

ART. VII.—MR. CLAY AND THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

1. *Speech of Henry Clay in Defence of the American System, against the British Colonial System, with an Appendix.* Washington. 1832.
2. *Answers to Mr. Walker's Circulars.* Washing. 1846.

THE principles of free trade, and the injustice and impolicy of the restrictive system though fully made known, to the few, since the writings of Adam Smith did not become the objects of popular discussion, until a later period, when enquiries as to the rights of the great majority of the people of free governments, led them to look, without fear, into every evil and into every wrong. These discussions seem to have commenced almost simultaneously in Great Britain and America. They scarcely excited any public attention in the United States, prior to 1820. Such was also the case in England. Indeed, up to 1823, it is stated by an English writer, that its advocates were confined to students; "a small band standing alone." At that time, the Westminster Review, "consecrated to the cause of free trade," was established.

"The first effective step," says that Review, "towards an anti-protective movement, by popularizing the opinions of political economists, was that taken by Col. Perronet Thompson, in 1827, when he published and extensively circulated, in a cheap form, his 'Catechism of the Corn Laws.' A complete history of the late popular agitation, would be a record of untiring energy and devotedness to an object, never surpassed. We remember no former instance of a similar amount of physical exertion, absolute killing toil, voluntarily endured for a succession of years,—originating in and sustained only by the highest motives, to that which has marked the public career of some of the leading members of the League. Those can appreciate it, who have themselves sometimes aided in a similar work, and have remarked that in England, (as elsewhere,) no great question has yet been carried without popular agitation. Those may effect to scorn it, whose care has been, never to lift a finger that might compromise their own personal position, and who see nothing in self sacrifice, but self-worship." "The world would not be so backward as the nineteenth century finds it, on many subjects besides the corn laws, if there were less of that cold depreciating spirit among fellow-laborers, which has often chilled a generous impulse into egotism, and blighted the first impulse of a life of usefulness."

Every American co-laborer in this great cause, must sen-

sibly feel the full force of these remarks ; but, however bitter may have been his disappointments, and lukewarm his support from other quarters, we should recollect the amount of "physical exertion, absolute killing toil," and defeated hopes, which others have encountered in opposition to this great "power of mischief." Those interested in the plunder, may affect to question his motives, but the world must sooner or later see, which "loves not his neighbour as himself."

We have selected the speech of Mr. Clay, in the first place, for our comments, because he is the father of what he calls "the American System," and the ablest supporter it has ever had. We will take the bull by the horns, and see if his arguments are less vulnerable than those of the Carys, the Nileses, and other noisy advocates of this selfish and contracted policy. If we are not mistaken, we shall show that Mr. Clay was, or affected to be, as ignorant of the principles of free trade, as he was inconsistent with the principles he himself has acknowledged. The reader must not understand that we depreciate the talents of Mr. Clay. That he is "a gifted man," we fully admit. But to prove that there have been statesmen eminent in other respects, who are totally ignorant of the great principles of political economy, we need only cite Mr. Fox, and others, on both sides of the Atlantic. We cannot, however, pretend that it is not much more discreditable to display such ignorance at this time, than some sixty or seventy years back.

"There are two errors to which (we admit with Mr. Clay) gentlemen are sometimes liable ; one is to magnify the amount of knowledge which they possess themselves, and the second is to depreciate that which others have acquired."

We trust we shall not be guilty of the first, and have therefore, generally, while discussing this subject in a former number, relied upon the statements and arguments of our opponents, more than upon facts or arguments of our own ; out of their own mouths, shewing their inconsistencies, fallacies and absurdities. By their admission of to-day, we destroy their arguments of to-morrow. We shall endeavor to proceed, as far as it is practicable, by the same process. We confess the materials are abundant, and it only requires some industry to collate and oppose them, the one against the other. Without the powerful assistance

of Mr. Clay, the American system, would have been abandoned long ago,—and men of any pretensions to knowledge, such as Mr Webster, would have been ashamed to have their names connected with it. But the popularity of Mr. Clay, the influence of party and sectional feelings and the artful dexterity and management of wealthy monopolists, have given it a countenance, which it otherwise would have vainly sought.

In replying to the arguments of Gen. Hayne, Mr. Clay makes this bold and astounding assertion,—an assertion too outrageous to require the necessity of refutation, if there were not whigs in this country, ready to believe every thing that Mr. Clay ventures to assert, even were it, that black was white, or that 3 and 5 make 4.

“Gentlemen deceive themselves, (says Mr. C.) It is not free trade that they are recommending to our acceptance. It is, in effect the British colonial system that we are invited to adopt; and, if their policy prevail, it will lead substantially to the colonization of these states, under the commercial dominion of Great Britain!” “But I have said that the system, nominally called ‘free trade,’ so earnestly and eloquently recommended to our adoption, is a mere revival of the British colonial system, forced upon us by Great Britain, during the existence of our colonial vassalage. The whole system is fully explained and illustrated in a work published as far back as the year 1750, entitled ‘The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain, considered by Joshua Gee,’ with extracts of which I have been furnished by the *diligent researches* of a friend. It will be seen from these, that the *South-Carolina policy now*, is identical with the long cherished policy of Great Britain, which remains the same as it was when the thirteen colonies were part of the British empire.”

Here Mr. Clay quotes from Gee, various passages illustrating the colonial policy of Great Britain.

If Mr. Clay had not confined his knowledge of free trade and of the colonial policy of Great Britain, to the “*diligent researches*” of a friend, he might have found, that colony, is derived from the Latin word *colonus*, a husbandman, a bond slave, a number of people, taken out of some place, to be sent to dwell in another, planters, inhabitants, etc., and that, if we once belonged to England, South-Carolina did as much to throw off the yoke of that mistress, as she has since done to divest the country of the still more odious yoke which Mr. Clay has contributed so much to place upon her neck, and that she is equally intolerant of tyranny, whether imposed upon her by the mother country or by a monopolizing party at home. If he had read Adam Smith,

he would have learned that he was not the father of what he calls the American system. He would have found that while the baptismal name was changed, the child was the same previously known under the name of British colonial system. He would have seen that some of these States, and indeed, the great body of consumers in the whole United States, by his system, were placed in a similar relation to some of the other States and to the whole protected interest, as that of colonies to the mother country ; and in Smith he would have found that,

"The exclusive trade of the mother country, the object of the colonial policy, tends to diminish or at least to keep down below what they would otherwise rise to, both the enjoyments and industry of all those nations in general and of the American colonies in particular." That "it is a dead weight upon the action of one of the great springs which puts into motion a great part of the business of mankind. By rendering the colony produce dearer in all other countries, it lessens its consumption ; and thereby cramps the industry of the colonies, and both the enjoyments and the industry of all other countries, which *both enjoy less when they pay more for what they enjoy, and produce less when they get less for what they produce.* By rendering the produce of all other countries dearer in the colonies, it cramps in the same manner the industry of all other countries, and both the enjoyments and industry of the colonies." "It not only *excludes as much as possible all other countries from one particular market*, but it *confines as much as possible the colonies to one particular market* ; and the difference is very great between being *excluded* from one particular market when all others are open, and being *confined* to one particular market, when all others are shut up."

It would be a strange perversion of the English language, as well as of the well known principles of political economy, if, by "free trade," was meant the restriction of the planters and farmers of a country, to one market for the sale of their produce, and the exclusion of all others. If Mr. Clay had looked into Adam Smith, he would have found, that by the navigation act, England assumes to herself the *monopoly* of the colony trade, and by it, foreign capital then employed in this trade, was driven out, and English capital which had before carried on only *a part*, was now to carry on the *whole* of it.

"The capital which had before supplied the colonies with but *a part* of the goods which they wanted from Europe, was now *all* that was employed to supply them with the *whole*. But it could not supply

them with the whole ; and the goods with which it did supply them were necessarily sold very dear. The capital which had before *bought but a part* of the surplus produce of the colonies, was now all that was employed *to buy the whole*. But it could not buy the whole at any thing near the old price ; and therefore, whatever it did buy, it necessarily *bought very cheap*."

Smith proceeds to say that this monopoly *continually drew capital from all other trades to be employed in that*;

"And Great Britain having engrossed to herself almost the whole of what may be called the foreign trade of the colonies, and her capital not having increased in the same proportion as the extent of that trade, she could not carry it on without continually withdrawing from other branches of trade some part of the capital which had before been employed in them, as well as withholding from them a great deal more which would otherwise have gone to them. Since the establishment of the act of navigation, accordingly, the colony trade has been continually increasing, while many other branches of foreign trade, particularly of that to other parts of Europe, have been continually decaying. In consequence of the monopoly of the colony trade given by the navigation acts, the increase of the colony trade has not so much occasioned an addition to the trade which Great Britain had before, as a total change in its direction. The monopoly of the colony trade, as it necessarily drew towards that trade a greater proportion of the capital of Great Britain than what would have gone to it of its own accord, so by the expulsion of all foreign capitals, it necessarily reduced the whole quantity of capital employed in that trade, below what it naturally would have been *in case of a free trade*. But by *lessening the competition* of capitals in that branch of trade, it *necessarily raised the rate of profit in that branch*. But, whatever raises, in any country, the ordinary rate of profit higher than it otherwise would be, necessarily subjects that country both to an absolute and to a relative disadvantage in every branch of trade of which she has not the monopoly. It subjects her to an absolute disadvantage ; because, in such branches of trade, her merchants can not get this greater profit *without selling dearer* than they otherwise would do, *both the goods of foreign countries which they import into their own, and the goods of their own which they export to foreign countries*. Their own country must both buy dearer and sell dearer ; must both buy less, and sell less ; must both enjoy less, and produce less, than she otherwise would do. By raising the price of her produce above what it otherwise would be, it enables the merchants of other countries to undersell her in foreign markets, and thereby to jostle her out of almost all those branches of trade, of which she has not the monopoly."

He then proceeds to make an observation with regard to

the monopolists created by the navigation act, which is so applicable to the monopolists of our day, (the manufacturers) that we cannot refrain from quoting it.

"Our merchants [in our case, manufacturers,] frequently complain of the high wages of British labor, as the cause of their manufactures being unsold in foreign markets ; *but they are silent about the high profits of stock.* They complain of the extravagant gain of other people ; but they say nothing of their own. *The high profits of British stock however, may contribute towards raising the price of British manufactures in many cases, as much, and in some perhaps more, than the high wages of British labor.*"

It is in this manner, he states, that she had lost much of her European and Mediterranean trade, and adds that

"The most advantageous employment of any capital *to the country* to which it belongs, is that which maintains there the greatest quantity of productive labor, and increases the most, the annual produce of the *land and labor* of that country."

The effect of the monopoly of the colony trade, was to force capital from a foreign trade of consumption, carried on directly with a neighbor, to one carried on with a more distant country, and from a direct trade to a round-about one, and of course less profitable.

The corn law monopoly, which Great Britain is now rejoiced to get rid of, the injustice and impolicy of which, even the monopolists of this country can now see, and will scarcely deny, was one of the objects of the navigation act ; and that act was at the foundation of the British restrictive system, which Mr. Clay and his party have been pleased to call in this country the "American System."

And this colonial trade, this navigation act, this corn law monopoly, and the restrictive and oppressive systems of the most arbitrary governments of Europe, are, according to Mr. Clay "free trade,"—and "the long cherished policy of Great Britain," which remains the same as it was when the thirteen colonies were part of the British empire, "will be seen," according to this great American whig statesman to be "*identical*" with "*the South-Carolina policy.*" The admirers and friends of the restrictive policy of Great Britain, seem to regard free trade, or the South-Carolina policy, (as Mr. Clay has done that State and her statesmen, the honor to call it,) in rather a different light from Mr. Clay. Wilmer and Smith's European Times of February, 1846, now lies

before us, giving an account of a late debate on the corn laws, and the introduction of free trade into Great Britain. For the benefit of Mr. Clay and his disciples, and the students of political economy, I must beg leave to make the following extract.

"Sir Howard Douglass and the Colonies. I rise to make a few observations on this momentous subject, which Sir Robert Peel has brought forward ; and to explain and declare the vote which it is my intention to give against withdrawing protection from British agriculture, and against the extinction of the protective principle. I was brought forward for the representation of Liverpool on the colonial, and consequently on the protective principle."

The same paper, giving an account of a farther debate on the same subject, in the House of Commons, on the 20th of last March, thus repeats the speech of a *Mr. Hinde*.

"The proposed reduction would be productive of the most injurious effects upon the relations between this country and her colonies. If the house should adopt it, it might make a present to the United States, not only of Oregon, but of Canada and New-Brunswick too."

He concluded by putting this question to the ministerial bench :

"If you carry out the principles of free trade to their full extent, of what use will the colonies be to the mother country ?"

We might also refer Mr. Clay to the still later and more doleful lamentations of Mr. Isaac Buchanan of Glasgow, on the possible death of the restrictive or colonial policy of Britain.

When we look at the quotations made by Mr. Clay from Gee, to prove that the British colonial policy was the free trade of South-Carolina, it is difficult to believe him to have been in earnest, and not rather throwing out a sly quiz at his own party. The first quotation is to prove that Great Britain with her colonies, could live within themselves, without the assistance of foreign trade ; and he could by no means have avoided seeing that if there was any resemblance in the cases, it was that the agricultural, commercial and laboring interests of this country, stood in relation to the protected interest of the manufacturing monopolist, precisely as the British colonies stood to the monopolist of the mother country. It is the British colonial system, the

American protective system, which excludes foreign competition, and monopolizes the home market, at the expense of the many for the benefit of the few. Is it possible that Mr. Clay could have mistaken his system for free trade? The "little regulation" which he and Gee think can produce such beneficial effects, he surely does not mean to attribute to the free traders! Have the free traders ever proposed any law to *prohibit* the establishment of mills or manufactures, or to prohibit weavers from "the liberty of setting up looms?" Have they ever endeavored to confine the market to the home manufacture of hemp, or of iron, or of wool, or hats, or stockings, or leather of any kind? When Mr. C. made his extracts from Gee, did he really think that he had convinced Congress and the country that it was the free trade system which "tended to concentrate all the surplus of acquisition over absolute expenditure," to a home market, which was unable to consume it? Mr. Clay proceeds, by way of appendix, to make the following quotation from his favorite author:

"But as much as I am for making Gibraltar and Port Mahon free ports, I cannot yet be of their opinion, who are for having all the ports of England made free,—all our custom-houses demolished—and all the products and manufactures of the world brought in free of all duty, that we may send them out again, as free, to all other countries; alleging that this is the practice of Holland, the Hanse Towns, Hamburgh, Leghorn, etc., and that it is by these means they have worked themselves into so vast and extensive a trade," etc. "*But these notions are entirely wrong.*"

"But, what is of the utmost consequence to us is, that by laying *high duties* [italicised by Mr. Clay] we are always able to check the vanity of our people, in their extreme fondness of wearing exotic manufactures. *For if it were not for this restraint,* [italics again by Mr. C.] *as our neighbors give much less wages to their workmen than we do, and consequently, can sell cheaper, the Italians, the French and the Dutch, would have continued to pour upon us, their silks, paper, hats, druggels, stuffs, ratteens, and even Spanish wool-clothes,* (for they have the wool of that country as cheap as we; and are become masters of that business, by the great encouragement they have given to able workmen from other countries, to settle with them) *and thereby have prevented the growth of those manufactures amongst us, and so might have reduced us to the low estate we were in before their establishment.* And therefore, it will ever be a maxim, strictly to be observed, by all prudent governments, who are capable of manufacturing within themselves, to lay such duties on the foreign, as may favor their own, and discourage the importation of

any of the like sorts from abroad. *By this means* the French have, in our time, nursed up a woollen manufactory, and brought it to such perfection as to furnish themselves with all such woollen goods as they formerly bought of us to a very great value ; and are even become competitors with us in foreign markets."

Such are the quotations made by Mr. C. to prove that the free trade doctrines of South-Carolina are "*identical*" with the colonial policy of Great Britain. But by some strange confusion of ideas, he afterwards proceeds to say :

"It seems then, that at least so long as *one century ago*, the *modern doctrine* of free trade had its advocates ; and that France, *following the example of Great Britain*, and *rejecting this doctrine*, pursued what is called the *American system*."

What in the name of common sense does Mr. Clay mean by all this jargon ? Are these confused and contradictory ideas, those of a great statesman ? In the first place, at page 13, he says :

"But I have said that the system nominally called 'free trade,' so earnestly and eloquently recommended to our adoption, [by Gen. Hayne] is a mere revival of the British colonial system, forced upon us by Great Britain during the existence of our colonial vassalage. The whole system is fully explained and illustrated in a work published as far back as the year 1750, entitled, 'The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain, considered by Joshua Gee.'"

One cannot help thinking that the "friend" whose "diligent researches" furnished Mr. Clay with these extracts, was some witty wag, who served him the trick we once saw played upon a distinguished advocate, in retaliation of one played upon a friend. Whilst in the vehement and rapid argument of a criminal case, his friend handed him, as a case in point, a volume of Vesey, Jr., and it was not until he had rapidly read nearly a page to the court, and the bar was in full enjoyment of the joke, that he discovered he had been played upon. In Mr. Clay's case, as the protectionist members, no doubt, took it all for gospel, the joke was never discovered *in transitu*, not even in the breathing time allowed by an appendix, but like the novelties furnished by Joshua Gee's work are now left to the researches of others.

He first asserts that free trade and the colonial system are the same. He next calls that "modern" and "South-Carolina doctrine," which "had its advocates a *century ago*."

After proving that free trade and the colonial system are "identical," he then proves that France, rejecting the free trade doctrine, and following the example of Great Britain, "*pursued what is called the American system.*" His propositions stand thus: free trade is the British colonial system; the British pursued what is called the American system; *ergo*, free trade and the American system are the same. Things that are *identical*, are the same. Free trade,—the British colonial, or restrictive system,—and the American system, are the same. So all disputes may end,—Mr. Clay having proved the commercial millenium of the day. Perhaps Mr. C. meant all this as the basis of a new compromise:*

"Such were the opinions of a writer, (says Mr. Clay of Joshua Gee) "who looked with a keen and observing eye to the great interest of his country; and who, instead of being *mised* by the *wild theories* of the day, was influenced by *practical results*, and the experience of *ages*."

Adam Smith, we presume, had never been presented to Mr. Clay, in the course of the "diligent researches" of his friend, and therefore he could not have been aware that Smith too might have been influenced by practical results and the experience of ages, but must, no doubt, be filled with "wild theories of the day."

"I am not so ignorant or so presumptuous," (adds Mr. C.) "as to suppose that these quotations can add any thing to your information or research. But upon this engrossing question, I was desirous to contribute, if I could, an humble mite in support of measures upon which, I believe, depend the prosperity and happiness of the whole Union."

Mr. Clay is quite too humble in his estimate of his information and his friend's researches. He has done more "upon this engrossing question," to produce union and reconciliation, than all the statesmen and authors in the world. He has proved, that there is no difference of opinion; we are all republicans, all federalists; all free trade men, all supporters of the American System—and all "identical" in

* Was there ever any thing more strikingly out of taste, or more disreputable to a distinguished statesman, than Mr. Clay's letter of 1844, acknowledging his insincerity in the compromise act of 1832? It was worthy of a jockey at Newmarket. How anxious he was to save the lives of the nullifiers.

our desire to be forced again into the desirable existence of a colonial vassalage,—only changed from British into Yankee.

If Mr. Clay would be so good as to reconsider the subject, if he would take the trouble to read over again his extracts from Gee, he would find, that this writer was defending the colonial system of Great Britain, and urging upon her, a more thorough adoption of the restrictive system to her colonies, a system by which the home merchant and manufacturer were enabled the more thoroughly to plunder the unfortunate colonist. He would find that by Gee it was recommended, that a watchful eye should be kept over the colonies; that they should be restrained from setting up manufactures of their own, which could come in competition with those carried on in Britain, and that "any such attempts should be crushed in the beginning." That *if let alone*, like Ireland, they might manufacture their own woollens; therefore due care should be taken to compel them to furnish themselves *with all their necessities* from England. That they were not to be allowed to work up their own iron; mills and machines, looms and weavers, were to be prohibited or "put down," and they are assured by Mr. Gee, as Mr. Clay now assures us, that "this limitation will not abridge the planters of any privilege they now enjoy. On the contrary, it will turn their industry to promoting and raising rough materials," to supply the manufacturers in Britain.

Such has ever been the audacious and bare-faced plundering of the advocates of the restrictive system, and such the contradictions and inconsistencies of its advocates. While colonists, the planters were compelled to confine themselves to the cultivation of the earth and to the raising of the rough material for the monopoly of the manufacturers of the mother country, and now that they are free and no longer colonists, they are told, you now produce too much of the rough material for the home market. It is not the interest of the home manufacturer to allow you to seek a market abroad. It is for your interest that you should be confined to that "great influence," the "home market," cease the raising of so much cotton, and corn, and wheat, and set up cotton mills. Take your "share in the plunder," and as Gee says, "It is hoped that this method would ally the *heat* that

some people have shown." "A little regulation would remove all these jealousies out of the way."

"Such," (says Mr. Clay,) "is the picture of colonists dependant upon the mother country for their necessary supplies." He proceeds to tell us, that the effect was "to concentrate in *England* all the surplus of acquisition over absolute expenditure" of the colonist, (p. 13, 14, 15,) and afterwards he quotes a caution from Gee, that "*the planters should not be put under too many difficulties.*" Then, to show the generous spirit of this admired author and defender of his principles he further quotes:

"*New England and the northern colonies, have not commodities and products enough to send us in return for purchasing their necessary clothing, but are under very great difficulties; and therefore, any ordinary sort sell with them; and when they have grown out of fashion with us, they are new fashioned enough there.*" Mr. Clay could not "go on with such disgusting details. Their refuse goods; their old shopkeepers; their cast-off clothes, good enough for us! Was there ever a scheme more artfully devised by which the energies and faculties of one people should be kept down and rendered subservient to the pride and the pomp and the power of another! The system there proposed, differs only from that which is now recommended [free trade,] in one particular; that, was intended to be enforced by power, this would not be less effectually executed by the force of circumstances." (p. 15.)

The showing of Mr. Lee, of Boston, that the condition of Canada under the colonial system was not so onerous as that of the American people under Mr. Clay's restrictive system, is perverted by Mr. C. to express a willingness on the part of free traders to hasten "back to the golden days of colonial bondage."

If Gen. Hayne had made these declarations, concerning this "*artful scheme by which the energies and faculties of one part of the people were to be kept down and rendered subservient to the pride and pomp and to the power of another;*" if he had made these quotations, if he had given "these disgusting details," as illustrating the degraded and unjust position in which the "American System" had placed the agriculturist, the merchant and the mechanic of this country; if he had offered Gee's book in proof of the oppression and tyranny of this pretended American System, all would have been apposite and happy: but coming as they do, from Mr. Clay, they perplex one in drawing a conclusion whether they proceeded from ignorance, want of a clear

perception of his subject, or a wilful perversion in the audacity of his argument.

We submit to the candid reader, if Mr. Clay could have understood the work he quoted. He speaks of the writer as one who looked with a *keen and observing eye to the great interest of his country*; as one "influenced by practical results" and not mislead by "wild theories." He draws the picture of the condition of the colonist, he proposes "*little regulations*" to allay the *heat* that some people have shown; he proposes the prohibition of weavers, mills, machinery, the exclusion of all foreign competition,—the confining the colonies to one market, and to the production of raw material. All this Mr. Clay approves, and by his restrictive system urges upon the country. But when Gee speaks of sending to New England and to the northern colonies, old clothes "that had grown out of fashion," any "ordinary sort being good enough for them," Mr. C. becomes indignant, and can no longer proceed with the disgusting details. "Their cast-off clothes good enough for us! Was there ever a scheme (he exclaims,) more artfully devised, by which the energies and faculties of one people, should be kept down and rendered subservient to the pride, and the pomp, and the power of another!"

Is it possible that Mr. Clay did not perceive that the colonial and restrictive systems were the same. Had he never read on the subject, or was his reading confined to these extracts from Gee, which delivered to him in the hurry of debate, he did not properly understand, or apply? Can this be said of a great statesman in the 19th century? Mr. Clay however, being, in the vernacular of his party, a great "*practical statesman*," no doubt concurred with Chairman Tod,* in his report of 1824, in regarding Adam Smith and all political economists, "as so many conceited enthusiasts, with whose books neither Frenchmen, nor Britons [nor Mr. Tod] cared to meddle," and which created such horror in Mr. Tod, when he declined "to try his hand at disentangling their arguments."

We must be allowed here to quote the words of a distinguished writer of Massachusetts:

"Mr. Clay is unquestionably a man of ability. He is a splendid orator; he has great power over the men with whom he comes into immediate contact: but he is no statesman. He is ambitious, but short-sight-

* Report on Manufactures, 1824.

ed ; bold, daring, but incapable of appreciating general principles, or of perceiving the relation between effects and their causes, when these causes are not near at hand. Yet he is abashed by no inconsistency, disturbed by no contradiction, and can defend with a firm countenance and without the least misgiving what every body but himself sees to be a political fallacy, or a logical absurdity. Refute him, demonstrate with mathematical certainty that his proposition is false, confront him with names, dates, figures, and he stands unmoved, unconscious of what you have done, reiterates his proposition in a bolder tone, re-asserts it with growing confidence, and pours forth the full tide of his rich and suasive eloquence in its defence. You stand aghast. What can the man mean ? His insensibility confounds you, and you almost begin to distrust your own demonstration against him, though as certain as the demonstration of a problem in Euclid.

In regard to right and wrong, he manifests the same singular self-possession. He is no more disturbed by being convicted of moral insensibility than of intellectual absurdity. He sees no moral absurdity in determining right and wrong by parallels of latitude, and in declaring a thing to be right on one side of a given parallel and wrong on the other. A man of rare abilities, but apparently void of both moral and intellectual conscience, who finds no difficulty in withstanding, when necessary to his purposes, the eternal laws both of logic and morality.”*

Can it be possible that Mr. Clay, in making his extracts from Gee, in expressing his horror at the details which he furnishes of the disgusting operation of the restrictive system on the colonies, did not perceive that he was supplying argument and authorities against himself ? Could he not see that the consumers and agriculturalists of the United States, stood towards the manufacturing capitalists and the sugar planters, in the precise position of the American colonists to the British monopolists ? If a monopoly, or exclusive privileges, be granted to a particular class, will it render the burden less odious, or less unjust, that such class constitute individuals of the same country instead of monopolists of the mother country ? The object sought by the protectionists is exclusion of competition. The complaint of their opponents is, that it is robbing them, to deprive them of the benefits of competition, for the purpose of enabling others, their equals and fellow citizens, to sell their goods at a higher price than they could do, free competition being allowed to all. The friends of free trade, ask for no partial legislation ; seek no favors, no monopoly, no exclu-

sive privileges. To all needful and equal taxes for the support of government, they make no objection. They are the supporters of equality, order, and justice.

On the other hand, the friends of the restrictive system, not satisfied with the selection of their own employments, and management of their own affairs, wish to control and burthen those of others. The manufacturers of cotton, iron and wool, and the growers of sugar, not content with the profits of their own undertakings, solicit the government to tax the community in order to keep up those profits to the highest point their avarice may covet. Burthens upon others, are blessings upon them. "The whole tax imposed upon the people, (says the Secretary of State,) by the present tariff, is not less than *eighty one millions of dollars*, of which, *twenty seven millions* are paid to the government upon the imposts, and *fifty four millions to the protected classes*." They actually get double the amount received by a government notorious for its want of economy! Those of the community, not participants in the plunder, complain of this injustice, and for years have endeavored to rid themselves of the burthen. Because they would take the yoke from their necks, Mr. Clay complains of them as assailants of this favored class, by whom they have been plundered, in a sort of geometrical progression, from 1816 to the present day. "*Their present aim* (he says,) *is to break down our iron foundries, our woollen, cotton and hemp manufactories, and our sugar plantations*." As well might the robber, who would rob us on the highway, accuse us of a design to ruin him, in resisting his attempts. We would deprive them of no right. On the contrary, their success, were it not acquired by forced contributions from us, is beneficial to all. General thrift, is universal benefit. We ask no favors, unless it be, that they should keep their fingers out of our pockets. But *they* must fatten on the prosperity of others.

"For why? because the good old rule
Sufficeth them; the simple plan
That they should take, who have the power,
And they should keep, who can." .

Such an accusation on the part of Mr. Clay, shows rather the boldness of the party politician, than the candor of the great statesman. "Accusing, is proving (says the proverb) where *interest* and *power* sit as judges."

Mr. Clay gives us a glowing account, as though to excite our envy, of the rapid prosperity and growth of the north and west,—all of which he attributes to the wondrous operation of his American System. Others, not participants in its partial legislation, and who will be regarded by the world, as, perhaps wiser, at least more disinterested, witnesses, assign a very different cause for such happy results.

"Its beneficial effects," (says Mr. C.) "although they may vary in degree, have been felt in all parts of the Union. To none, I verily believe, has it been prejudicial. To the North, every where testimonies are borne to the high prosperity which it has diffused. There, all branches of industry are animated and flourishing. Commerce, foreign and domestic, active; cities and towns springing up, enlarging and beautifying; navigation fully and profitably employed, and the whole face of the country smiling with improvement, cheerfulness and abundance. The gentleman from South-Carolina has supposed, that we in the west, derive no advantages from this system. He is mistaken. Let him visit us, and he will find, from the head of La Belle Rivière (Ohio) at Pittsburg, to America, at its mouth, the most rapid and gratifying advances. He will behold Pittsburg itself, Wheeling, Portsmouth, Maysville, Cincinnati, Louisville, and numerous other towns, lining and ornamenting the banks of that noble river, daily extending their limits, and prosecuting, with the greatest spirit and profit, numerous branches of the manufacturing and mechanic arts. If he will go into the interior, in the State of Ohio, he will there perceive the most astonishing progress in agriculture, in the useful arts, and in all the improvements, to which they both directly conduce. Then let him cross over into my own, my favorite State, and contemplate the spectacle which is there exhibited. He will perceive numerous villages, not large, but neat, thriving and some of them highly ornamented; many manufactories of hemp, [that of Mr. C. especially,] cotton, wool, and other articles. In various parts of the country, and, especially in the Elkhorn region, an endless succession of *natural parks*; forests thinned; fallen trees and underwood cleared away; large herds and flocks feeding on luxuriant grasses, and interspersed with comfortable, sometimes elegant mansions, surrounded by extensive lawns."

Here, we not only have "flourishing *commerce*, *foreign* and domestic;" cities, towns and villages; cheerfulness and abundance; manufactures, mechanic arts and progress in agriculture; but forests thinned, underwood cleared up, herds and flocks feeding on grasses, houses, "elegant mansions," "extensive lawns," and even "*natural parks*," all the work of this great political talisman, this modern Aladin's lamp.

Mr. Alison in his work on Population, speaking of the rapid progress of the United States, says :

"We are informed by Mr. Tocqueville, that the population of the basin of the Mississippi, the richest part of America, has increased thirty fold, in the last forty years ; while during the same period the total population of the United States has tripled. This increase in the western provinces of America is probably the most rapid that ever was known on the face of the globe. It far outstrips the utmost possible multiplication of human beings from their own powers of increase, and is *mainly owing* to the prodigious horde of emigrants from the European States and the older settled maritime provinces of America. Nevertheless, not only is there no deficiency of subsistence felt, to provide for this enormous increase of human beings, advancing not as the square, but as the cube of time ; but the accumulation of *subsistence from the labors of the cultivators* has been so great, *that out of their immense surplus produce*, vast cities, and innumerable villages have arisen, and Cincinnati, Louisville and other towns on the Ohio and Mississippi, have, during the same period, multiplied above a hundred fold, and in fact, from obscure hamlets into splendid capitals."

"Tocqueville observes that the increase of population *ever since the British settlers landed there in considerable numbers in 1640, down to the present time* has been that of constantly doubling in every twenty-three years and a half.

"Not only has no want of physical necessities (proceeds Mr. Alison) been experienced in America during that period, *but the produce of the soil* has diffused a degree of ease and well being through the whole cultivators, unparalleled in the past history of the world ; and *from the surplus produce* of their labor after thus supporting the persons engaged in agriculture, in ease and affluence, *vast cities have been raised, an immense commerce nourished, and an amount of capital stored up* which has rendered the Americans second to none in commercial enterprise, except their parent State, and rivalled all but the vast accumulations of British industry."

"Not less than three hundred thousand persons, almost all in the prime of life, now yearly cross the Alleghany mountains, and settle on the banks of the Ohio or its tributary streams, and behind them another wave of more wealthy and refined settlers appear, who complete the work of *agricultural advancement*."

"The Ohio and the Mississippi and the numerous tributary streams which swell their waters, are covered with steam-boats. About 230 annually ply upon the Mississippi alone ; upwards of 500 are employed on the rivers, which *convey the vast stream of immigration* to the western provinces of the Union. Without *this mighty agent the progress of cultivation and the clearing of the forest* must have been comparatively slow ; *steam navigation* is to the great continent of America, what the

circulation of the blood is to the human frame, and the commercial wealth and paper currency of the great mercantile cities on the shore of the Atlantic, the moving power in the heart which sets the whole circulation in motion."*

This wonderful spirit of emigration, and desire to appropriate new lands "and the present state of that country (says Alison) could not be so well characterised in comparison with that of other countries, as by styling it the *Nomad Agricultural State*." All of which no doubt, Mr. Clay would have us believe is the effect of the wonder working American System, in protecting the interest of thirty cotton bagging manufacturers in Kentucky.

"If the backwoodsman of America," says Mr. Alison, "gets possession of three or four acres, and once succeeds in giving it even the most imperfect clearing, his fortune and that of his descendants is made, provided they have tolerable habits of industry. Long before his children have arrived at man's estate, they find themselves surrounded by rustic plenty, all flowing from their father's labors; and the experience of all later observers has confirmed the truth of Adam Smith's observation that the real want experienced in such circumstances is that of additional hands, not of additional ground to feed them."

Overlooking the peculiar situation of the west, and the immense advantages afforded by nature to her progress, the manufacturers in attributing to themselves the rapid improvements of these States, remind us of the vanity of the fly, who sitting upon the wheel of the chariot, boasted, what a dust he had raised.

Mr. Clay assumes for his favorite "American system" more than magic powers. It creates "natural parks," "extensive lawns," and feeds large herds and flocks on "luxuriant grasses." Mr. C. too, might have told us of its political powers;—how it inspires the ambition of village lawyers,—changes the principles of great statesmen, "god-like men," reviews and scholars, may make presidents† and wars, and may even prevent peace. Well may he say that "its effects

* Alison on Population, 1 vol. 38. 546. Chevalier, 2 vol. 23. Tocqueville, 2 vol. 274. See Mr. Waddy Thompson's Mexico, 206.

† "The general excitement produced by the presidential contest has divided and animated every state in the Union [1823] except Pennsylvania; all others have taken sides; she alone stands neutral, cautious, silent, balancing, uncompromised; all eyes are bent upon her, with fixed anxiety, to detect every appearance of inclination to one side or the other. We may

although they may vary in degree, have been felt in all parts of the Union." Even the rapid progress of that great commercial emporium, the city of New-York, is attributed by Mr. Clay to the all-powerful influence of his system. Had the progress of Mons. and Madame de Bonneville preceeded Mr. Clay's speech, no doubt that all the powers of mesmerism would also have been claimed, as the effect of this mighty system. Unfortunately, however, for Mr. Clay's theory, as to its effect upon the capital of New-York, it appears that so far from making progress with the rapid strides of protection, that the effect has been, as appears by statements published last summer, that the capital of New-York is falling off, while that of Boston, whose capitalists are the great recipients of the bounties of the tariff, is increasing. In effect, it has proved in this instance, as it must in all other cases, to be what our witty friend Warren R. Davis used to call it,—“the property-transferring policy.”

It has been shown that the country is taxed annually for the system \$81,000,000, and that two thirds of this sum, or \$54,000,000 is paid *exclusively* as a bounty in favor of the protected interest, to the great injury of the revenue. Can it excite wonder, that Mr. Clay, a manufacturer, should look with horror at any proposed repeal of this vast system of protection?

“We might well pause and contemplate, if human imagination could conceive (says Mr. C.) the extent of mischief and ruin which would ensue from its total overthrow, before we proceed to the work of destruction.”

This shocking proposition to “abandon,” this “total overthrow,” this “work of destruction” over which Mr. C. laments, was simply a proposition to reduce the tariff to a revenue standard. Such selfish pretensions must ever be the consequence, where private gains are permitted to intermingle in the legislation of the country. As well might we expect justice from a court, where judges and advocates were allowed to share in the spoils from convictions. Surely

imagine the genius of this great state, in the sober guise of a Dutch or Quaker manufacturer, standing before the candidates for the presidency, and offering to them Mr. Baldwin's bill, in one hand, and a blank ticket in the other. Thus is Pennsylvania, thus are the United States, offered for sale to the highest bidder of votes for the tariff.”—*Mr. Preston's letter to Mr. Brown.*

they would, as the proverb says, "set our houses on fire to roast their eggs."

Speaking of the monopoly which the late war and the restrictive system afforded the American manufacturers at their origin, Mr. Clay asserts that they were also "stimulated in their enterprises by every assurance of support, by public sentiment, and by legislative resolves,"—and that "it was about that time, that South-Carolina bore her high testimony to the wisdom of the policy, by an act of her legislature." This is about as true as most of Mr. Clay's assertions. What was this act of South-Carolina, showing her approbation of the American system? "An act to incorporate the South-Carolina Homespun Company," in favor of old Dr. Shecut and others, which, in the preamble, used some expressions favorable to manufactures, not to protection! (Acts of 1808.) South-Carolina has always contended that the states, and not the, United States, were constitutionally authorized to encourage manufactures. Such was the answer given in the convention at the time of the formation of the United States constitution, when it was proposed to give the general government such a power, and the proposition was rejected. South-Carolina has never been opposed to manufactures. She has always seen their benefit when not forced at the expense of the community, but undertaken and conducted by individual enterprise. When it becomes the interest of her citizens to manufacture, she has never doubted that they would have the enterprise and good sense to do so. She has thrown no impediments in their way, and has never seen reason for advancing one class of interests among her citizens, at the expense of the others.

This act of the Legislature of South-Carolina to incorporate a Homespun Company in 1808, is every tittle of evidence that Mr. Clay has produced to prove his assertion, that the manufacturers prior to the peace of 1815, had been "stimulated in their enterprises by every assurance of support, by public sentiment and by legislative resolves." Let every other State do as South-Carolina did, and incorporate as many companies as it pleases, we shall not complain, so long as Congress do not assume the power to grant them support.

South-Carolina has ever been consistent in her principles, and as early as the 14th year of George II. (1740) petitioned

the British Parliament against the corn law bill, and remonstrated against restrictions on the sale of her rice. Thus early commenced her troubles and her exertions in favor of free trade. At the same time that this petition was presented, the Parliament was thrown into great agitation, at the audacity of some one who had placed at the door of the House, a paper containing a charge of interested motives, against the law makers, and avowing principles worthy of Adam Smith. As the tenor of this paper is not inapplicable to our own times and circumstances, we may be excused for giving a few extracts from it. It directs the attention of the House to sundry contracts and documents, which it proceeds to say,

"If fairly obtained, will enable the House to judge, whether a care and tenderness to two contractors have not plainly been the sole and true cause, (whatever popular pretences are thrown out,) of all the severe measures, with respect to trade, already ruinously executed upon Ireland, and now projected for the whole nation." "For thus they become absolute masters over a great part of the land-holders in England, as over those of Ireland *who are obliged to sell at the price they please to give.*"

It then suggests, that it were well to consider

"Whether any great men were induced to favor this scheme from any private advantages?"

"Whether money be not the sinew of war; and whether to deny ourselves the profit of a very advantageous trade, be a natural way to prove successful against our enemies?"

"Whether one of the calamities of war, is not the interruption of our commerce?"

"Whether the Dutch, the wisest nation in the world with respect to commerce, ever thought it advisable to refuse to supply their enemies with any commodity whatever?"

"Whether there is any maxim so solid, and so incapable of being contraverted with respect to trade, as that it ought never to be restrained?"

"Whether the *eternal consequence* of restriction in commerce, has not been the diversion of it into a new channel?"

"Whether the restraint upon the exportation of iron, laid by Sweden some years ago has ever been recovered by Sweden, and whether Spain, (intended to be injured,) was not an immediate gainer by it?"

"Whether the restraint upon the Irish trade in cattle, imposed by England, did not throw the beef trade into Ireland, *and give it to that very country, which was imprudently designed to be excluded from it?*"

"Whether the prohibition of the Irish to carry on the woollen manufacture did not throw the woollen trade as well out of their hands as ours, and established the same in all parts of Europe?"

"Whether any folly be more exploded, if fatal and general experience can explode a folly, than the supposition, that any nation can exclude the rest of the world from any branch of commerce?"

"Whether it is possible to conceive, that any nation abounding in wealth, can fail to be supplied with necessaries for money?"

"Whether in all such cases, many places for supply and means of it, may not be found, which no present foresight can suggest?"

"Whether all restrictions upon trade are not absurd?"

And, "Whether it is beneath a man of sense, upon better consideration, to reject opinions, however warmly he may have espoused them before the state of the question had been thoroughly canvassed?"*

Mr. Clay says :

"Peace under the treaty of Ghent, returned in 1815, but there did not return with it the golden days which preceded the edicts levelled at our commerce by Great Britain and France. It found all Europe tranquilly resuming the arts and the business of civil life. It found Europe no longer the consumer of our surplus, and the employer of our navigation, but *exclusively* or heavily *burdening*, almost all the *productions* of our agriculture."

Europe to be sure did not to the same extent consume our bread stuffs. But why? Because she had adopted in the regulation of her commerce the very system which Mr. Clay so much recommends to us. By the corn laws of Great Britain she excluded our bread stuffs, but she still received, and still remains the great consumer of our cotton, tobacco, rice, and now offers to become a great consumer of every article of agricultural produce, which affords a surplus.

But if Great Britain laid a burthen upon our agriculture, was there any reason why our own government should add to it, for the benefit of a class which had so long been *enjoying the advantages resulting from a state of things*, most oppressive to the agriculturist? Had capitalists acquired a prescriptive right to keep up their profits at the expense of the country? Not to see the injustice of such a claim, shows a perverted intellect; to see and yet urge it, a perverted heart.

The call for free trade, we trust will not be found so unavailing as Mr. Clay thought. "The call for free trade

* Chandlin's Debates H. C. 12 vol. p. 5.

(he says,) is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child, in its nurse's arms, for the moon or the stars, that glitter in the firmament of heaven."

Mr. Clay's forebodings are no better than his facts. Already has the most commercial nation in the world, and the nation with whom we carry on the greater part of our commerce, taken a most bold and decided step towards the overthrow of this preposterous and selfish system. Indeed it may now be said to be overthrown. Both France and Russia, the two other greatest powers of Europe, and who have sinned so deeply on this subject, begin to see their error, and must abandon it, through the influence of the irresistible principles of truth, which are now taking such strides in the world, as strike tyrants and monopolists with dismay.

In an article of the *Foreign Quarterly Review* of April, 1844, reviewing a work of Von Reden, on the *Agricultural Trading and Commercial Statistics of Russia*, the injurious effects of the restrictive system, on all of the industrial interests of that country are clearly proved. Catharine II. had taken a decisive step towards the extinction of monopolies and the establishment of free trade. But the government at a subsequent period, conceiving a "childish alarm" at the amount of imports, which in forty years rose from ten to forty millions of rubles, and not observing that the exports had risen in the same proportion, adopted a system, directly the opposite of Catharine's, tending in the strongest manner to discourage importations. The effect, was an unfavorable turn in the course of exchange. "Agriculture languished, manufacturing industry could not grow or thrive, in a country so destitute of hands, skill and capital." In 1816, 1818, 1822, her tariff was modelled and re-modelled, but prohibiting in every instance, more or less, both exports and imports; doing, in short, in every respect, what our monopolists would have us to do,—maintaining the very essence of a restrictive policy. The consequence has been, as shown by the tables of Von Reden, a great diminution of every article, both of export and import, throughout the empire. Never were the ruinous effects of the restrictive policy, more clearly proved, or more severely felt. The price of her exports has continued to decline. Her manufactures, have improved, only where compelled by foreign competition. Indeed so injurious has this system been to the industry and capital of Russia, that nothing but the grossest

ignorance can excuse any reference to Russia, for an example in proof of the excellence of the American System.

In France, the agriculturists, (as they are and have been with us,) have been oppressed, by partial legislation in favor of the manufacturers, from the days of Colbert to the present time. To France is due the credit of producing the first school of political economists. She will never cease to be honored in the talents and virtues of her Turgot, and it was her Voltaire who uttered that beautiful sentiment, which should never be forgotten by any statesman—"Le commerce, est fait pour être le lien des nations, pour consoler la terre, et non pour la dévaster. L'humanité et la raison avaient fait ces offres; la fierté et l'avarice les refusèrent." It is now declared by a respectable functionary of France, supported by a powerful party of men of the highest genius, that "the interest of the masses has been sacrificed to the interests of the privileged classes. It is in the name of the interest of the masses, that we come to protest against injustice, and to claim free trade as a right." Even the official organ of the French government begins to speak of "unhampered and ungrudged exchanges of God's bountiful gifts to his creatures."

"The change in France, (says the Westminster Review for March, 1846,) will not be of slow development, for although a knowledge of free trade principles has not yet been diffused among the masses by agitation, political economy is studied as a science by a wider circle of writers and thinkers than with us. One evidence of this is the success of the 'Journal des Economistes' a monthly review of works and summary of facts, relating to questions of production and distribution," and of which, the reviewer remarks, "the reputation is so European, that some thirty copies find their way south even as far as Naples, the last capital in Europe where one would expect to hear of political economy or political economists."*

We do not hesitate to avail ourselves of an extract from this journal, quoted in the Westminster, from a paper of a distinguished contributor, (Mr. Bastiat) entitled "Le vol à la Prine," a Bounty on Robbery.

"Few persons like to be convinced that they have been made dupes; and as the task therefore is somewhat difficult, plain speaking, in such

* This journal is conducted by Mr. Horace Say, son of the distinguished Say, and should be patronized in the United States. Copies can be procured through the agency of Mr. Russell, bookseller, Charleston.

cases, is often better than circumlocution. In plain terms, then, let it be said, protection is but another name for plunder! Take heed, oh! public, for, like the good Samaritan, you have fallen among thieves. The word *thieves* may appear to some people in bad taste, but we would ask them, with Molière, 'Is it the word or the thing to which you object.'

"Whoever fraudulently appropriates the property of others is guilty of *theft*." Penal Code, art. 379.

"*To steal*. Taking the property of others secretly, or by open violence."—Dictionary.

"*Thief, robber*. One who takes that which does not belong to him, or exacts more than his due."—Ibid.

"Now does not the monopolist who, by a law of his own making, obliges me to give him 20s. for that which I could elsewhere obtain for 15s., 'fraudulently appropriate' 5s. which 'do not belong to him?' Does he not 'take the property of others?' Does he not, to this amount, 'exact more than his due?'

"'True,' it may be replied, 'he takes, exacts, and misappropriates' but he does not do so secretly, or by open violence. *Theft*, is characterized by *force* or *fraud*."

"Tell us, then, when the monopolist, with the assistance of government agents, abstracts a sum for his own benefit, and by a mode of which the public has no suspicion—what is an act of *secret* malversation, if this be not one? And what is *force*, if it be not that which leaves no alternative of payment, but a warrant of commitment, supported if necessary by troops of the line?

"Monopolists, however, may console themselves with the reflection, that they run no risk. Bounties, drawbacks, and protective duties, are as contrary to the first principles of equity, as *repudiation* in the American sense, but they involve no violation of the law. The offence committed, is, it is true, somewhat worse than the swindling recognized by our criminal courts, but it is *legal* swindling."

"Besides, it must be confessed, the case is one in which, if we are all of us robbed, we are each of us robbers in turn. The author of this article may cry *stop thief!* when he buys, but he is not the less a thief himself, when he sells. He cannot help his position; and if he differs from other criminals, it is only in this—he is conscious of playing a losing game, and they are not. The game would be up, if all could see the folly of knavery."

"I make no boast of being the first to call things by their right names. Sixty years ago it was said by Adam Smith—'protection of industry always covers a design upon the pockets of the public.' The public, however, take no thought about the matter, and why should we be astonished that, when facilities are offered, the opportunity of pillaging with impunity should be embraced?

"The representatives of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, have lately been invited to an official deliberation; and upon what have these gentlemen, in the name of the *conseils généraux* resolved? Read the following, as a brief summary of their proceedings:

"*A Ship-owner.* 'Our navy is going to the dogs. This is not surprising, for I cannot build steam-boats, or indeed any other vessels, without iron. In the market of the world, I am offered for 10s. the same quantity of iron, for which a French iron-master charges me 15s., he robs me therefore of 5s. I demand the right to purchase iron wherever I can obtain it on the best terms.'

"*An Iron-master.* 'In the market of the world, I should be able to charter vessels at a freight of 20s.; for which the ship-owner charges me 30s.; he picks my pockets therefore, of 10s. I rob him because he robs me. This is fair on both sides, and the system works well.'

"*A Conservative.* 'The reasoning of the ship-owner is inconclusive, and it would be the height of imprudence to accede to his demand. "Live and let live," should be our motto. If we give up an iota of protection, we abandon the whole theory.'

"*The Ship-owner.* 'But your theory has failed. The shipping interest is on its last legs.'

"*A Captain.* 'Well, then, let us increase the amount of protection, and let the ship-owner be at liberty to raise his freight from 30s. to 40s.'

"*A Minister.* 'The government is willing to push the admirable machinery of protection to its extreme limits, but I fear that will not suffice.'

"*A Tax-gatherer.* 'You are puzzled with difficulties of your own creating. While discussing the tariff, you forget the help, which might be derived from the excise and direct taxes. Protection is maintained at the cost of the consumer. He acts from motives of public spirit; and it is therefore, immaterial in what form he pays. Let us then add a surcharge, or per centage to the direct taxes, sufficient to satisfy the claims of the ship-owner. I propose a drawback, or bounty of 5s. per cwt. to be paid from the public revenue upon all iron used in the construction of sea-going vessels.'

"*Cries of 'good!' 'put it to the vote!' 'all, all!'*

"*A Farmer.* 'I demand a bounty of 10s. per quarter upon all wheat brought to market.'

"*A Weaver.* 'I claim 2s. per yard upon the productions of the loom.'

"*The Chairman.* 'I congratulate the meeting upon the satisfactory result of the debate. We all agree upon the expediency of bounties of encouragement, and direct compensation. Let us insist upon these, and our interests cannot suffer. Our losses will be converted into profits, and all branches of industry will be equally prosperous. We adopt a system which will be the glory of the age.'

If we are to take Mr. Clay's word for it, every interest in the country is protected by the American System; even

tobacco, cotton and bread-stuffs. And no doubt he fully agrees with Mr. Burgess that, "a tariff to protect South-Carolina cotton against New England importation of East India cotton, has helped, to establish the American System."* We are not informed how this duty on cotton could operate as a protection to our Southern States, which raised enough to supply nearly the whole world. Our friends, the growers of tobacco, I am sure, are not aware that they have been protected, unless a high duty on Havanna segars, can be considered by them as a protection to their Virginia "chaw." And the rejection of the Zolvereen treaty, so advantageous to them, can hardly be considered by them as a great favor.

It has been clearly proved by an able advocate of free trade,† that the mechanics have been more oppressed than benefited, and however well the woollen manufacturer may be protected, it has been shown by Mr. Burke that the wool-growers of this country have been most wofully duped in lending their aid to this *fleeing* system. The tariff has been so arranged as to operate in favor of the manufacturer at the expense of the wool-grower, who has been made the cat's paw of the occasion. The interests of the two are irreconcilable in this plundering system, and a junction between them could not but operate disadvantageously to one or the other. The interest of one is to sell high,—of the other to buy cheap. At the offset the tariff of 1842, did seem to diminish the amount of wool imported, from about 10 to 4 millions of pounds. Mr. Slade of Vermont, the great advocate of the interest of the wool-grower, soon after the appearance of this diminution in the import of wool which many sheep-owners believed to be proof positive of the protection they were to receive under the act, declared to his constituents in Vermont, that if the law had been carefully and thoroughly executed, the reduction would have been still greater. But, he proceeds to say, that it appeared from the custom house returns, that 1,101 sheep of the aggregate value of \$11,565, averaging \$9.60, each, and therefore presumed to have been Merino bucks, were exported from the United States to Buenos Ayres, (from which place most of our cheap wool comes,) in the

* Speech of Tristram Burgess, 4th July, 1831, p. 26.

† Bundelcund,—Mr. Burke of New-Hampshire, commissioner of the Patent Office.

years 1837 and 1838.† The importations from that country, were soon greatly increased; from 2 to 8 millions and by this time to some 12 millions of pounds. Now let us see why these wools were sent to the Argentine Republic, and by whom?

Mr. Burke says, in his 2d number of the articles written for the Union, under the signature of "Bundelcund,"—

"The manufacturers of this country, I am informed, own many flocks in South America, from which the fleeces are taken. *I have this fact from one of the agents employed by the Lowell manufacturers* to purchase in New-England their yearly stock of goods for manufacture. This person informed me that he purchased a large number of merino bucks for the manufacturers at Lowell, to be sent to South America, to cross with the native sheep."

Hence the fineness of this wool, which is imported dirty, as low priced wool, under the low duty, and is then washed and becomes fine wool, that ought to have paid high duties.

Mr. Langworthy of New-York, in his answers to Mr. Walker's circular, (page 391, of the document) says:

"The low 5 per cent. wool duty, must, I conceive, be abolished, and the higher grades reduced;—*it is all a sham*—the plea for the admission of the cheap wool of the South American States for carpet purposes. Under it the greatest possible frauds on the revenue are practised, by means of double agents; the last agent *innocently* purchasing of the first agent wools worth 30 cents, for 7; and all the ceremony of drafts actually passes in *good faith* on one part, and all the proofs are easily made complete without any false swearing. At our late State fair, I saw 16 samples, of the large lot of *Lowell wool* (lately seized by the government agents) *both in the rough and washed state*; it was fully equal to our 30 cent $\frac{3}{4}$ blooded merino wool, and in the grease could not lose more than 33 per cent;—a monstrous fraud, not only on the government, but upon the growers in the country, if protection is an item of consideration, which I conceive to be good doctrine. If any class is to be protected, the *agricultural productions* have the strongest claim."

In addition to the above testimony we shall copy an article from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, republished in the "Union."

"DUTY ON WOOL.—For many years past, the woollen manufacturers of New-England have urged that they were the champions of the agricultural interest; and that the duties which they demanded on

† See American Farmer's Encyclopedia—word, *Wool*.

foreign cloths, and consequent bounties on their own, would promote the agricultural interest in the production of American wool. But when the representatives of the manufacturing interest reached practical details in Congress, in the construction of tariffs, they invariably contended for duties and discriminations on wool, that would afford little or no protection to the American farmer; and on these subjects they always fought pitched battles with the agricultural representatives. These agricultural representatives were obliged to exercise all their vigilance and ingenuity to obtain a tariff that would prevent the mercantile manufacturers from surreptitiously introducing fine foreign wool under low duties. They had various devices for this purpose. One was the importation of fine foreign wool without cleaning; another, the mixture of very fine and very coarse wools in the same bag, for the purpose of introducing the whole as coarse wool, or as a mixture upon a low average. But most of these tricks were defeated by the sagacity of the agricultural representatives; and during the debates upon the tariff of 1842, some of them were defeated by the representatives from Vermont, the State which produces more fine wool than any two others.

"But all these safeguards for the American producers of wool will avail little, under the *patriotic* devices of these mercantile manufacturers. They know a trick worth two of any undertaken by the farmers in self-defence. A few years ago, South America furnished abundance of very coarse wool, which, being collected from the native owners by American merchants at Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, was imported in a very unclean condition. But, within a few years, the "Yankees," the shrewd manufacturers of Boston, have sent large numbers of merino rams to South America, for the purpose of improving the wool of the native sheep. They have bought immense tracts of land on the *pampas* (or plains) for *nothing*; covered them with native sheep, bought also for nothing; mixed them with merinoes from the United States, and hired *gauchos* (or South American Indians) and creoles for next to nothing, to take all requisite care of them. One merchant of Boston has sent there, within a few years, more than a thousand merino rams, and is now the ostensible owner of a million of sheep, feeding through the whole year on the pampas. We know not how far the 'merchant princes' of the manufacturing interest, 'our first men,' are concerned in the ownership of these flocks; but we take it for granted, that a speculation so profitable would not escape their shrewdness.

"The *pampas* can support merino as well as other sheep, and therefore produce fine as well as coarse wool; and Yankee ingenuity will—indeed, *has*—invented machinery for cleaning this wool from burrs and all other foreign substances. And what will fine wool, thus produced, cost the manufacturing owners, landed in Boston? Probably less than 6 cents for the pound. And the duty upon this, according to the *agri-*

cultural tariff of 1842, is 35 per centum; and this, upon 6 cents, will be 2 cents 1 mill; and thus this South American wool, produced by those farmers, the manufacturers of Boston, will cost them, landed at their store-houses, 8 cents 1 mill per pound!

"Can American farmers raise wool for 8 cents per pound? No. Then where is the *protection* afforded by the agricultural tariff of 1842? It is precisely like the protection afforded to the farmer by the same tariff, in the duties on linseed and linseed oil; that on the first being 6 cents per bushel, and that on the second 25 cents per gallon—an arrangement under which all the flaxseed is imported, because the American farmer cannot raise it cheap enough, while he must pay a tax of 25 cents, or about 33 per cent., on every gallon of oil for painting his house. And while the raising of wool will soon be transferred from the American farmer to the 'merchant-prince' manufacturer, operating through pauper labor in South America, the farmer must pay a heavy bounty on his clothing, for the benefit of this 'merchant-prince' manufacturer. And this is called protection to agriculture! Now we are very willing to see fine wool raised in South America for 5 or 6 cents, or 1 cent, or nothing, and wrought into American cloths. But we are utterly unwilling to see the farmer taxed for cloth, for the benefit of the manufacturer, while this very manufacturer, under the same system of taxation, raises the wool. If one end of the bargain is taxed, let the other be equally so: and if the wool comes in free, so let the cloth. One pretence of these manufacturers, in calling for high duties, is the protection of American against foreign agriculture and labor. Yet whenever they can promote their own profit, they quite forget both. Let them dismiss this cant, speak out boldly and honestly, and say what they really feel and think—aye, and act upon every opportunity—that, in competition with their own profit, they care not a sixpence for American agriculture and labor. The woollen manufacturers of Boston prating about protection to the farmer, against foreign pauper labor, and then raising their wool with pauper labor on the plains of South America, at a cost that would depauperate the American farmer! Pshaw! How long will American farmers be duped by such dishonest pretences?"

So much for the protection afforded to *home industry* and capital employed in the production of sheep and wool.

Now let us consider the protection in favor of sugar planters.

"It extends (says Mr. Clay) to all lower Louisiana, the Delta of which might as well be submerged again in the gulf of Mexico, from which it has been a gradual conquest, as now to be deprived of the protecting duty upon its great staple."

The agricultural society of *Baton Rouge* of Louisiana,

in 1830, in answer to a circular then sent to Louisiana, to inquire into the condition and prospects of the sugar planter, informed the Secretary of the Treasury that,

"Nearly all the property in Louisiana, has been converted, or is daily becoming transformed into sugar farms, under the *sole*, firm, and natural belief, that the duty on foreign sugar would be maintained as a just reward and merited encouragement to our fellow-citizens of Louisiana, Georgia, South-Carolina and Florida ;" and we are promised that the produce of Louisiana alone, "even in the most unfavorable year" will "more than suffice for the consumption of the United States," and, "thus will the price fall of itself to such a degree, that were the duty not repealed, the introduction of foreign sugar, by tending to the loss of speculators (why not merchants?) will be rendered utterly impracticable." "In a few years the reduced price of sugar will be equivalent to a repeal of the duty of 3 cents."

Here it is admitted, that the *sole* motive for entering into the cultivation of sugar, was the high duty imposed by government on the importation of the foreign article. The effect then of the system was to *create*, not to encourage that which had already been undertaken.

Up to 1827-28, sugar-planting it is admitted, was very profitable as Mr. Forestall says, in his answer to the circular, "the sugar interest has sustained itself in the *most flourishing condition*." The great crop of that year "brought it to a climax. The cane then became the favorite culture, and sugar lands and negroes attained most exorbitant prices, (\$1,000 for field hands.") The fever of speculation was excited, and every one who could, purchased sugar lands. These lands, it will be remembered, were of limited extent, and the prices rose, as must always be the case, wherever a monopoly, or any approach to a monopoly was enjoyed. At the time of this climax of prosperity to the sugar planter, there existed an enormous revenue duty of 3 cents per pound on sugar. In 1827-28, the number of sugar estates was but 308, in the course of two years, from 1827, to 1830. 393 new-sugar estates were established.

"To achieve all this (says Mr. Forestall of N. O.,) in so short a time, capital had to be borrowed, and at that epoch, it was easily done, for sugar planters were then enjoying the highest credit in the state."

He proceeds to tell us,

"To change the culture of cotton into that of sugar is the work of at least three years ; and at that epoch, when our planters were less skilful,

it was only in the fifth year, that good sugars could be obtained from new cleared lands."

We request the particular attention of the reader to these statements. Up to 1828, the sugar planters of Louisiana were doing a most profitable business. The spirit of speculation was turned towards that department of industry, as in every case, where more than usual profits are made. In two years the number of sugar estates was more than doubled. Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana, in his answers to the Secretary of State in 1830, says that,

"The rate of discount of the banks with endorsements on mortgage, including charges, amounts to 9 per cent, and the greater part of the capital employed in establishing the new sugar plantations has been borrowed."

Here then, we have the fact stated by the parties interested, that they had been doing a very profitable business, until this sudden excitement created more than double the amount of sugar estates, on a borrowed capital, paying an interest of nine per cent. Under the influence of such wild speculations what more natural than that foolish bargains should be followed by ruin? And at an epoch when, as Mr. Forestall tells us, with the skill the sugar planters then possessed it required five years "to change the culture of cotton into that of sugar," there is nothing to surprise any reasonable man in the facts, that "a very large number of them were soon compelled to return to the culture of cotton, leaving their expensive sugar works a dead weight to them. More than one half of the remaining estates were obliged to turn a portion of their cane fields into corn fields, *in order to raise provisions*, (the best employment, Mr. Gregg thinks, all Carolina cotton planters could be engaged in,) they had no longer the means to buy. More than two-thirds of them *were deficient in grinding power*, or in hands to clear and drain their lands, and but for the charter of the Citizens' Bank in 1836, a sweeping mutation would have taken place in the ownership of sugar estates."

As a further proof of the rash improvidence of the sugar-planting speculators, we may state that many cotton plantations on Red River and Bayou Boeuf and other localities, were without trial purchased, converted into sugar estates, and expensive mills erected on them. These proving unsuitable to the growth of cane, were of course failures to

the great loss of the purchasers. We know that a Texas planter, last year, was advised to go to these neighborhoods, in order to procure at a very cheap rate second hand machinery on plantations where the sugar culture had been abandoned.

Need we look to any extrinsic cause, for the failure of these wreckless speculators? Did not the same kind of speculations, the same wrecklessness, and similar failures take place among the purchasers of negroes and cotton estates? Look at the history of the cotton planters in Alabama, from 1832 to 1840. 'The same wild spirit of speculation will be seen to have been followed by the same consequences—ruin and bankruptcy, but in this case without the consolations of the Citizens' Bank.

"The sugar planters, (says Mr. Forestall) in this bank, represent 40,000 shares, which enabled them to obtain a loan at fifty years of \$2,000,000 (on the reimbursement per annum of 2 per cent. and the payment of 6½ per cent. interest;) but for this aid, few, if any of them, would have been able to withstand the revulsion of 1837, which only terminated in 1842, and then found them for want of means or credit to work properly their estates, verging towards absolute ruin. The tariff of 1842, was their salvation."

However it may surprise the reader, we must inform him, that all the failures and losses of the sugar-planters, which every man of sense and unexcited judgment, must have foreseen as the inevitable consequence of speculations so extravagant, are attributed by Mr. Forestall to the compromise tariff of 1832.

"The effect of such legislation, (he says,) on the sugar interest was fatal; it at once destroyed the credit of all those interested in it as effectually, (borrowing a phrase of Mr. Clay,) as if war and pestilence had been raging over the whole of the sugar parishes." "Money-lenders then believed that great interest annihilated."

In addition to the causes above shown for the failures and sorry condition of the sugar-planters, resulting naturally from their own rashness, Mr. Forestall very unintentionally gives us further light upon the subject. The crop of 1827, 1828, directly proceeding this rush of speculation, was a very large one. That immediately following the commencement of the mania for sugar estates upon credit, a very bad one. "This great deficit of the crop, (says Mr.

F.) compared to the yield of 1827-28, with the above additional outlay of \$16,000,000, soon made it necessary to resort to foreign capital." The reduction of the duty on molasses from 10 to 5 cents a gallon, was enough in the eyes of so distinguished a political economist, to produce more disastrous results, than all the effects of over issues, overtrading, stopping payments, and no payments at all. If the "sugar-planters found themselves suddenly thrown upon their own resources, or at the mercy of their creditors" it was the consequence of their own folly. Cotton-planters and other agriculturists, as well as merchants, have on all occasions of difficulty, been "thrown upon their own resources and at the mercy of their creditors." Would the sugar-planter be willing now, to enter into an average with the cotton-planter or any other agriculturist of the United States to divide his profits?

From what we have quoted from Mr. Clay, the Baton Rouge Society, and Mr. Forestall, let the reader observe that the diversion in favor of "sugar farms" as the Baton Rouge Society are pleased to style sugar plantations, was *from the cotton culture*. Subsequent to this very period, (in 1832) Mr. Bullard a member from Louisiana, asserted the fact on the floor of Congress, that on *their* rich soil *they* could afford to make cotton at 3 cents a pound! The planter of course intended to quit a worse for a better business. The profits in the sugar culture were immense, and hence the great rush to that business. Can any government guard its citizens against such imprudent conduct? Is she bound to indemnify them for losses incident upon their own indiscretion? Is it proper or within the legitimate objects of any free and equal government, that the imprudence of one class of citizens should be compensated out of the hard earnings of others? Have we moreover, any evidence that those who continued to plant cotton did any better than those who devoted their capital to sugar? Have not the cotton and rice planter, the tobacco-planter, the wheat and hemp-growers, the stock-raiser, and every other agriculturist had their times of sad reverse? Is the government prepared or disposed to compensate them, by taxing all other classes of the community? The truth is, that the sugar business was, and is, and always has been, the most profitable of all planting in the United States.

Let the reader also observe that if the Lower Louisiana,

the Delta, as Mr. C. calls it, is deprived of this protection, her planters if they could no longer find it profitable to make sugar, (which we by no means admit, and will show to the contrary before we are done,) could at least return to the planting of cotton; and if they could not grow cotton so profitably as can be done higher up the Mississippi, they could certainly do so, much more profitably than can be done in two-thirds of the cotton growing region; and we know of no part yet willing to be submerged into the gulf. Besides it cannot be denied that they can manufacture, and raise corn and bread stuffs,—a course so strenuously recommended to Carolina, as much more profitable than cotton-planting. As to the "encouragement," proposed by the Baton Rouge Society in this matter of sugar, to "our fellow citizens of Georgia, South-Carolina, and Florida," we fear the citizens of these States have greatly misconceived the intended kindness, and if permitted to judge for themselves, would prefer dispensing with this "*just reward and merited encouragement.*" In a free country, where no exclusive privileges are granted, we should expect that honest and industrious men would meet their "*merited encouragement;*" but "just rewards" we have always supposed, should be the recompense of disinterested and generous actions. We may yield to the demands of the lusty beggar, but doubt if our contributions to any class should ever be called, "merited encouragement," or "just reward."

Let us now enquire what "just reward," or "merited encouragement," the sugar interest of the United States, have to claim of the rest of the community? How came it that this should have been selected from all other agricultural interests for protection? We will answer this question, at the same time that we reply to the assertion made by Mr. Abbot Lawrence in his letter to Mr. Rives, that the tariff of 1816, was due to the distinguished statesmen of the cotton growing States, "who successfully consummated an act that has done so much to promote the prosperity of the whole Union." "The primary object on the part of these members of congress representing the cotton planting States, in *establishing a high protective tariff*, was to extend the consumption of their great staple in this country, *by excluding foreign made fabrics and substituting a domestic article, manufactured of American cotton.*" This is an assertion as bold as that of Mr. Clay, that the Legislature

of South-Carolina as early as 1808, had declared herself in favor of what he calls the American system. Mr. Lawrence gives us no reference, makes no quotation, and refers to no vote. This information of Mr. Lawrence, is we confess, absolutely new to us. By whom were such principles avowed in 1816? What member expressed them?

In the House of Representatives the bill passed by 88 to 54. The cotton growing States, were, at that time, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana, (Alabama, Mississippi, &c. were not yet States;) of these four States 7 members voted for the bill, 18 against it. In the Senate, one member from S. C. and one from Georgia were absent. There were 4 votes given for the bill and 3 against it—two absent. But there were 32 votes in the Senate. From the following Northern States; New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, there were 14 votes for the bill and two against it. If the seven votes of the cotton growing States then present in the Senate had all voted against the bill, it would have made no difference, for the bill passed in the Senate 25 to 7. There were but two votes in the Senate, from all the Northern and New-England States, against the measure. These two votes were, to their credit be it said, those of Jeremiah Mason from New-Hampshire, and Christopher Gore from Massachusetts. Every senator from Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, voted for the measure. Including the two votes against the bill, above mentioned, there were but 7 senators, 2 from Maryland, 1 from Virginia, and 2 from North-Carolina that voted against the bill. Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee voted for the bill.

Of the New-England votes in the House, there were 17 for the bill, and 10 against it. If we were to class Virginia with the cotton growing States, which we might well do, it would cause the balance to be still greater in their favor,—for in the House, 7 of her members voted for the bill, and 13 against it. It was much more the measure of New-England, and most decidedly a Northern, not a Southern measure.

In the debate of 1830, on Foot's resolutions, Gen. Hayne, in his admirable reply to Mr. Webster, says :

"But, Mr. President, to be serious, what are we of the South to think of what we have heard this day! The Senator from Massachusetts tells us that the tariff is not an Eastern measure, and treats it as if the East had no interest in it. The Senator from Missouri insists it is not a Western measure, and that it has done no good to the West. The South comes in, and in the most earnest manner represents to you, that this measure, which we are told 'is of no value to the East or to the West,' is utterly destructive to our interest, etc.,—and our brethren turn a deaf ear to our complaints."

There is a private history connected with the 3 cents per pound on sugar, which we have often heard from the late Governor Taylor, who, at that time, was a member of the House of Representatives. We allude to the bargain between the northern manufacturers and iron-men, and the Louisiana sugar planters. We shall not venture to give the names of persons or a narrative of the details of this bargain. It is enough to say, that the parties interested at the North, were uneasy as to the result, and anxious to receive the vote of the new State of Louisiana, and that, a duty of 3 cents per pound on sugar was considered by both sides, as an ample consideration for the vote. From that day to this, the production of Louisiana sugar has been classed with that kind of industry, which is alone called "home industry," and she has become a sharer in the spoils.

If any statesman of South-Carolina or of any other cotton-growing State, at that time advocated the principles of protection, the cotton planters have never attempted to justify the act. Claiming no privilege, and receiving no share of the spoils, if their statesmen erred, they erred honestly, against their interest, and not to promote it. But that any Southern statesman ever gave utterance to the idea, that a high tariff was desirable for the protection of the cotton-growing States, or ever looked to the extension of the consumption of their great staple in this country by "*excluding* foreign made cotton fabrics," we absolutely deny and demand the proof. To imagine this, they must have been absolute fools, idiots,—which will scarcely be pretended.

But, if some of our Southern statesmen, had made such a mistake,—had avowed such false principles,—would this be reason sufficient, that we should ever afterwards bow our necks to the yoke? Would the people of Great Britain, demanding a repeal of their corn laws, find a satisfactory answer in the fact that their establishment had been the

measure of some of their ablest statesmen? Is wrong never to be corrected? Is right never to be restored to her own? Are we forever to remain in our absurdities? Never to correct, because time has sanctioned them? Where then is human improvement? That some of our Southern statesmen in 1816, gave votes, and admitted principles which they would not have done, if they had been early in life imbued with the principles of Adam Smith, we have already said and again repeat. But these constituted by no means a majority of the cotton-growing members. And if every one of these members had voted for the protective principles of that act, it would constitute no just reason why the South, or any other portion of the people of these States, should submit any longer to so unjust and injurious a system. The high duties on sugar, imposed in the first instance only for revenue, have been supported by the Northern capitalist, to maintain his joint interest and that of the sugar-planter (to whom they are so favorable) at the expense of the rest of the community. Here was a case of a few hundred sugar-planters, betraying their fellow-planters, and combining with still fewer capitalists of the North, to pervert the legislation of the country and convert it into a means of plundering their fellow-citizens. Could it be expected that a thing so unreasonable should ever be durable? If some of our statesmen in 1816 did make the mistake of voting for such measures, under some false notion of patriotism, and national independence, may we not correct the error? "Can't I be your friend, says the proverb, but I must be your fool?" We were told that the annual produce of Louisiana alone, would more than suffice for the consumption of the United States. And yet, one of the most important sources of revenue to the government is from the duties levied on the importation of sugar and molasses, notwithstanding the enormous duties imposed on each. Last year, nearly one hundred and twelve millions of pounds of brown sugar were imported, and upwards of two hundred and one millions of molasses. In 1832 we imported but 55,000,000 lbs. of sugar. The imports are now double that amount. The consumption of course must increase with the population. The price to the consumer is regulated by the natural price in those countries where it can be had at the lowest rates, with the addition of the tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, levied on him to add to the profits of the Louisiana sugar-planters,

of whom there are at the present time, but 900. West India sugars can be bought for $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 cents per pound. The letters of R. W. Harris and others in their answers to the secretary's late circular (Report p. 70S) declare that every pound of sugar in Louisiana costs $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, and admit that if the tariff on sugar was reduced to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that the price of sugar "would immediately decline to about 4 cents for choice quality, and to 3, 2 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ for fair, common and inferior." If this be true, is not this interest kept up entirely at the expense of the consumers? We could give names of the most respectable planters in Louisiana to prove that their income from the same amount of capital, far exceeds that of the cotton-planter. There are some cotton estates at the West, we will not deny, of which the soil is so rich, that their owners have an income which may even equal that of many sugar-planters. Such a case Mr. Clay has given us. But such extreme cases afford no just medium, or basis for a correct opinion on the subject. Why is there such a strong desire at this moment on the part of cotton-planters every where South, to turn to the cultivation of sugar? Why are the owners of the finest cotton lands in Texas, on Oyster Creek, Caney, Bernard's, etc., so desirous of converting their crops from cotton into sugar? In the winter of 1844-45, we conversed with some of the most intelligent sugar-planters and factors of Louisiana on this subject. That year the molasses alone paid the expenses of the plantation. The whole crop was clear gain. Many made \$400 to the hand. The sales in these cases were made before the rise in prices spoken of by Mr. Fore-stall, who has, in every instance, represented the profits of the sugar-planter at the lowest mark, and that of the cotton-planter at the highest. Indeed he represents sugar-planting to be, what all in the United States know it is not, a very bad business. Mr. Clay says:

"If cotton planting is less profitable than it was, it is the result of increased production; but I believe it to be still the most profitable investment of capital of any branch of business in the United States. And if a committee were raised, with power to send for persons and papers, I take upon myself to say that such would be the result of the enquiry."

In the appendix to Mr. Clay's Speech, he publishes a statement from a newspaper which contains these words.

"With respect to cotton, this is to be said further. No mode of inves-

ting money in agricultural pursuits, this side of the sugar plantations, has afforded so great an income."

We believe there are few cotton-planters in South-Carolina, Georgia or Alabama, who would not, very willingly, exchange profits with the sugar-planter or manufacturer. But if it be true, as Mr. Clay asserts, that cotton is the best business, why did the Louisiana planters change from cotton to sugar, and if cotton is better than any other agricultural pursuit, why should the Louisiana planters complain, at returning to their old employment?

Mr. Edmund J. Forestall, of New-Orleans, who figures in the document of the Secretary of State, as the great sponsor for Louisiana, gives us abundance of figures to prove that sugar cannot be raised in that State, unless protected by the government,—and that it is much less profitable than cotton. And yet he has furnished us with statements, showing what exertions have been daily made for years past by planters, to turn from the cotton to sugar culture. At the end of Mr. Champomier's statement of the crop of 1844-5, which was sent as part of the answer of Mr. Forestall to Mr. Secretary Walker, he informs us that there are now 900 sugar-planters in Louisiana and

"That there will be a large increase of sugar plantations in this State, within the next two years. Preparations are making, for full 60 or 70; the LOW PRICES OF COTTON having induced many growers of this staple in the Parishes of Point Coupee, West Baton Rouge, Iberville, St. Landry, Opelousas, &c. to turn their attention to sugar."

This fact furnished us by Mr. Forestall, is enough to over-set all his conclusions, from all his figures, and shows, if nothing else could, that sugar is more profitable than cotton growing. Mr. Edmund J. Forestall, in his answers, calls himself a merchant,—which we suppose he is,—but we observe in Mr. Champomier's catalogue of sugar planters, that one Mr. E. J. Forestall, Ex Poëfarré, in St. James Parish, makes 6 or 700 hogsheads of sugar. Can he be the same? Mr. Forestall, Mr. Harris, and others tell us, that the sugar-planter must be utterly ruined if the duties are reduced to 12½ per cent. Mr. Clay says the same, if they are deprived of the protecting duty, at that time 3 cents per pound. Now observe a fact furnished us by Mr. Forestall concerning Louisiana. "Until lately her sugar industry has been apparently enjoying an *incidental* (!) protection

of about two cents, (3 and $2\frac{1}{2}$) and what is the real fact? Sugars in disguise to an extent *almost as large, as the whole Louisiana crop*, have been suffered to be introduced at a duty not averaging more than five-eighths of a cent per pound! And this is the way that, taking advantage of the low duty on molasses, the sugar duties, through the gross neglect of our government and the fraud of impostors, have been gradually brought to the molasses standard of duties." "In this way (he proceeds to say,) the sugar-planters of Louisiana were reduced to 40 per cent. below the cost of production." Now if until lately, the sugar-planters *actually* received no more protection than $\frac{5}{8}$ of a cent per pound, it is very evident that a protection of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents, is very unnecessary, and is at the great expense of every class in society, who are made to contribute millions to the profits of the most thriving class of agriculturists in the Union.

We speak from the best authority when we state the fact that one sugar estate in Louisiana in 1844, made with about 300 hands, a crop that sold for \$120,000, and the expenses were paid from the molasses. From another sugar-planter of great respectability, we understood that he worked about 90 hands, and made 1,000 hogsheads. In this last case, the statement of the number of hogsheads of 1,000 lbs., agrees with that of Mr. Champomier. In the other case, there is a difference of 500 hogsheads less, in Mr. Champomier's account. But if the amount he gives, 2,475 hogsheads, was sold at 5 cents, it would produce upwards of \$120,000. It is true that Mr. Forestall gives the price of sugar of that year as from $3\frac{3}{8}$ to $4\frac{3}{8}$. But in truth, that was the price only for some time in March, when it is generally at the lowest. He does not give us the price of sugar for each month in the year, as he does of cotton; why was the difference made? Why was that particular month selected?

The height of the fever for speculating in new-sugar lands, was in 1830. Five years, Mr. Forestall tells us, was necessary at that time, to make good sugar on new estates. It took just about that time to wind up these speculations; for the most disastrous year to the sugar-planters was that of 1836, just five years after their commencement. This happens to have been the very year in which the general spirit of speculation in banks, internal improvements, trade, cotton, and sugar-planting, produced such disastrous results throughout the Union.

"The falling off of the exports in 1837, (M'Culloch's Com. Dict. 2 vol. 796,) was almost entirely owing to the decline in the exports to the United States, which fell off from £12,425,605 in 1836, to £4,695,226 in 1837. But this extraordinary decline was wholly owing to accidental causes, or to the pecuniary difficulties in which the mercantile class in the United States were involved in the latter part of 1836 and 1837 through the previous abuse of credit, and the revulsion occasioned by the universal stoppage of the banks."

Is it not apparent to every one considering the great indebtedness of the sugar-planters, purchasing on credit at exorbitant prices to commence a business in 1830, which could not be productive in less than five years, that the great disaster of 1836, could not but inevitably end in their ruin? Why then, (as Mr. Forestall does,) attribute their failures to the compromise act of 1832? Was the effect of the compromise act to lower prices? If so, it acted precisely in the manner, which is, according to the protectionists, the invariable operation of the Tariff. Mr. Clay, asserts that the tariff has constantly since 1824, reduced the prices of

"All essential objects of consumption, effected by it;" and "the price of the great staple of cotton, and all our chief productions of agriculture has been sustained and upheld, and a decline averted."

And in proof, among other things, he cites the instances of cotton goods, iron, and brown sugar.

"I plant myself, (he says,) upon this fact of cheapness and superiority, as upon impregnable ground."

In Mr. Lee's admirable enquiries into the Causes of the Fall of Prices, published in Boston in 1832, he says:

"Now, unlike our opponents, we say that a theory which is contradicted by its practical results is an unsound theory; but we deny, altogether that such is the case in this instance; we say that prices, (of protected articles,) have fallen, in spite of these duties, and we have seen no attempt whatever to show any connection between these two insulated facts, viz: an increase of duties, and a fall of prices. Can any thing be more inconclusive than this mode of reasoning; that because one event has succeeded another, the former, though without the least evidence of connection, must necessarily be the cause of the latter; and is it not at least, a sign of the weakness of a cause, when a committee, selected from an intelligent assembly of 500 persons, are compelled to resort to such an abuse of the understandings of those to whom they address themselves?"

"The duties on woollens, cottons, iron, etc., were increased by the tariff acts of 1816, 1818, 1824, and 1828; therefore, the decline since experienced in the prices of these articles has been caused by these acts. This is the way in which the beneficial effects of the 'American System' are proved by those who are perpetually sneering at the advocates of free trade as visionary enthusiasts, men whose theories, though correct, seldom lead to good results.

"Suppose that, in pursuance of this mode of reasoning, we should endeavor to account for the decline in price of an article, which has not been affected by the protecting duties. Bonaparte was banished to St. Helena in 1816; pepper, nutmegs, and cloves, have, since that period, fallen in price 50 per cent.; consequently, the banishment of Bonaparte lowered the value of spices. There are articles, on the other hand, which have risen of late in value, and by the same conclusive mode of reasoning, we may arrive at similar logical conclusions. Coffee has advanced 50 per cent. since July, 1830; Charles X. was expelled from France at that period; consequently, the expulsion of that monarch from his kingdom, had advanced the price of coffee.

"The proposition of our opponents amounts to this, that the effect of every successive augmentation of duties by the acts of 1816, 1818, 1824, and 1828, has been injurious to their interests, inasmuch as these additional rates of duty on the foreign articles were the causes of a decline in similar articles made at home, below the prices to which they would have fallen, had no additions been made to the low rates which existed prior to the protecting system.

"The first tariff of protection (intended only for a temporary purpose, however,) was passed in 1816, and it is well known that prices of most articles, relying on the protecting system began to fall rapidly after that act went into operation; but the manufacturers, so far from believing in the maxim, that *high duties on foreign articles lower the price of domestic articles*, made application to Congress, in 1818, for a continuance of the rates on cottons and woollens, granted by the act of 1816, which otherwise, were, in three years, to have been reduced one-fifth; and, at the same time, the iron masters obtained an augmentation of nearly 70 per cent. on the duty on hammered bar-iron, it having been increased from \$9 to \$15 per ton. Does this look like a belief in their assertion, that an increase of duties lowers the price of the home-made article?"

Speaking of the great fall in prices of cotton goods, Mr. McCulloch in his *Commercial Dictionary* (1 vol. 526, Am. ed.) says:

"It shows, that the decline in the price of the raw material, and in the improvements in the machinery and processes used in the manufacture have been so great, that we are now able to export and sell [from

Great Britain] with a profit, (for unless such was the case, the exportation would very speedily cease,) *nearly double the quantity of cotton goods we exported in 1816, for about the same price.* Had the table been carried further back, the result would have been still more striking.

"The prices of cotton goods (proceeds Mr. McCulloch) depend more on the profits of stock than on the wages of labor, and so far as we know, it has not yet been alleged that they are lower in America than here." "It is ludicrous indeed to suppose that a half peopled country like America, possessed of boundless tracts of unoccupied land of the highest degree of fertility, should be able successfully to contend in manufacturing industry, with an old settled, fully peopled and very rich country, like Great Britain."

Our limits will not permit us to show that the same reasoning will apply to the prices of woollen manufactures, bar iron, and all other articles which have been affected by the protecting system. On this subject we cannot too strongly commend Mr. Lee's masterly and unanswerable exposition. We know no publication on the subject, of the same number of pages, of equal value.

But what right has the government to set up an inquisition into the affairs of its citizens, and at its will to declare an agrarian law, by which profits are to be equalized? Suppose that there may be other agricultural interests more profitable than sugar, is not every one left to the choice of his own pursuits? Are the taxes of the country, necessary at one time, and not at another, forever to be maintained, because by a partial operation, they happen to be more advantageous to one class than to another? Is the interest of millions to be sacrificed to that of nine hundred sugar-planters, and some ten thousand manufacturers? Look at the state of agriculture, north, east, west and south—are its profits not at the very lowest ebb? Was flour ever lower? What is the state of our commerce and our ship-building? Are not all impaired and embarrassed by the protective system? Is the home-market sufficient to supply their wants? Is not the national spirit of improvement, especially in the very important matter of rail-roads, so essential to the prosperity of the nation, crippled for the benefit of a few iron-masters?

But Mr. Clay would render us independent of foreign nations. This cry about independance is equally absurd as that concerning the balance of trade and the drain of specie, both favorite arguments of Mr. Clay. Mr. Burgess asks,

"could it have been the intention of the Creator, that Europe should draw her bread from America, or that America should be dependant on Europe for clothing." Mr. Fore-stall declares that

"The freedom of a people depends upon the proportion of *necessaries of life* they possess within themselves—the larger the proportion the greater the freedom. Complete freedom is where a people can live without their neighbor, when that neighbor shows himself unfriendly."

Were the Creator a manufacturer or a sugar-planter, his intentions might be within the comprehension of Mr. Burgess, who seems to have no idea of a beneficent Being, who, intending kindness, love, and intercourse, between fellow-beings, might have designed commerce as a tie between nations, which, tending to the comfort and solace of all, could prove a check to the devastations of war, and a bond of friendship, a connecting link, among the ever-contending interests of the great family of the world.

"To possess the necessaries of life, we must fabricate them ourselves," has been said by men of whom we should have expected a wiser thing. All history contradicts the assertion. Tyre, Carthage, Genoa, Venice, were entirely dependant on foreign nations for their food, and yet while enjoying for ages the benefits of a wise and extended commerce, possessed the necessaries of life in the greatest abundance. Holland has frequently been cited as an example on the part of the protectionists, of the evil effects of the "let alone policy." None better could be selected from the history of nations, to prove the truth of our principles, and the error of theirs. Never has there been a more prosperous nation than Holland,—never one which under more trying circumstances has so gallantly maintained her independence. Do we not know that the very origin of the restrictive system, and of the British navigation laws, grew out of jealousy entertained of the power of this great and indomitable people? These measures, intended for her destruction, were commenced by Cromwell and Charles II. She was then, and for many years afterwards, maintaining gallant and expensive wars against England and France. Her contests with Louis XIV., the most powerful monarch of his day, form one of the great epochs of modern history. On the other hand, were all history searched, no country could be selected, where at any period the principles of the restrictive system, were more thoroughly adopted than in France, at this

period under the famous Colbert. The words now so familiar "*laissez nous faire*," grew out of the answer of the merchants to a circular issued by this minister.

Voltaire in his "*Siècle de Louis XIV*," in giving an account of the war with Holland, under the head of "*Malheurs de France*," and "*Fierté des Hollandais*," gives an apt example of the futility of the idea, that to make ourselves independent of all other nations, or to possess the necessaries of life, we must fabricate them ourselves. France, a nation, by nature essentially agricultural,—bountifully supplied with a good soil and extensive territory, but having her commerce ruined by the restrictive policy of Colbert, was unable in a year of general scarcity throughout Europe, to support her famishing population, while Holland, with a very limited territory, (*extrêmement borné*), actually snatched from the sea, and raising no bread stuffs whatever, was able, by her commerce alone, to supply not only her own population, but to place the increasing armies of her allies in abundance, whilst the troops of France, diminished and discouraged, seemed destined to perish from want; and so far from receiving relief from the partisans and favored classes of the minister, Voltaire says :

"Des partisans, à qui le ministre avaient vendu la nation pour quelque argent comptant dans ses besoins pressans, s'engraissaient du malheur public, et insultaient à ce malheur par leur luxe. Ce qu'ils avaient prêté était dissipé. Sans l'industrie hardie de quelques négocians, et surtout de ceux de Saint-Malo, qui allèrent au Pérou, et rapportèrent trente millions dont ils prêtèrent la moitié à l'état, Louis XIV, n'aurait pas eu de quoi payer ses troupes. La guerre avait ruiné la France, *et des marchands la sauvèrent.*"

"Le cruel hiver de 1709 acheva de désespérer la nation. Les oliviers, qui sont une grande ressource dans le midi de la France, périrent. Presque tous les arbres fruitiers gelèrent. Il n'y eut point d'espérance de récolte. On avait très peu de magasins. Les grains qu'on pouvait faire venir à grands frais des Echelles du Levant et de l'Afrique pouvaient être pris par les flottes ennemies, auxquelles on n'avait presque plus de vaisseaux de guerre à opposer. Le fléau de cet hiver, était général dans l'Europe, mais les ennemis avaient plus de ressources. Les Hollandais surtout, qui ont été si longtemps les *facteurs des nations*, avaient assez de magasins pour mettre les armées florissantes des allies dans l'abondance; tandis que les troupes de France diminuées et découragées, semblaient devoir périr de misère.

"Le roi vendit pour quatre cents mille francs de vaisselle d'or. Les

plus grand seigneurs envoyèrent leur vaisselle d'argent à la monnaie. On ne mangea dans Paris que du pain bis pendant quelques mois. Plusieurs familles, à Versailles même, se nourrirent de pain d'avoine. Madame de Maintenon en donna l'exemple.

"Louis XIV, qui avait déjà fait quelques avances pour le paix, n'hésita pas, dans ces circonstances funestes, à la demander à ces mêmes Hollandais, autrefois si maltraités par lui."

It was not that Holland did not fabricate for herself the necessities of life,—it was not the decline of her manufactures, nor her failure to raise bread-stuffs, which impaired, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, her greatness and her power. In a memoir drawn up by order of the Stadtholder William IV. it is stated :

"That the *oppressive taxes* which have, under various denominations' been imposed on trade, must be placed at the head of all the causes that have co-operated to the prejudice and discouragement of commerce ; and it may justly be said, that *it can only be attributed to these taxes that the trade of this country has been diverted out of its channel and transferred to our neighbors*, and must daily be still more and more alienated and shut out from us, unless the progress thereof be stopped by some quick and effectual remedy. Nor is it difficult to see, from these observations, that the same can be effected by no other means than *a diminution of all duties.*"

It was boldly assumed by the Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures in 1824, that domestic productions can only be protected by the prohibition of the foreign article.

"It is the constant wish of classes, by positive or prohibitory regulations, to secure themselves from the effects of *competition*, (says Mr. Alison,) which is felt to be so distressing. It is in vain to attempt to expect by human institutions to prevent the operation of this important law of nature, implanted into us for the improvement and advancement of our race. The State, will never have to lament the indigence or multiplication of its inhabitants, which respect the rights, and equally fosters the interest of all classes of its citizens." pp. 112, 135, 1 vol. on Population.

If this be the case, with what face can the manufacturers talk to us of competition and its admirable effects. On this subject as in many other instances, Mr. Clay gives us a specimen of that incapacity to distinguish between cause and effect, and of that insensibility to moral and intellectual absurdities of which Mr. Brownson speaks.

"This, (says Mr. Clay,) brings me to consider what I apprehend to have been the most efficient of all the causes in the reduction of the prices of manufactured articles—and that is *competition*. By competition, the total amount of the supply is increased, and by increase of the supply, a competition in the sale ensues, and this enables the consumer to buy at lower rates. Of all human powers operating on the affairs of mankind, none is greater than that of competition. It is action and reaction. It operates between individuals as between nations. It resembles the meeting of the mountain torrent, grooving by its precipitous motion its own channel, and ocean's tide. Unopposed, it sweeps every thing before it; but counterpoised, the waters become calm, safe, and regular. It is like the segments of a circle, or an arch; taken separately, each is nothing; but in their combination, they produce efficiency, symmetry and perfection."

Here, while he spoils the figure, he gives us as beautiful an encomium upon competition, as could have been done by Adam Smith. He admits it to be the great and efficient cause for the reduction of the prices of manufactures—by it, the *total amount* of supply is increased, and *that enables the consumer to buy at lower rates*. Can there be better free-trade doctrine than this? The *whole* market is better than a *part*. And *this is as true "between individuals as between nations."* "It is action and reaction." That is, mutual intercourse. "Unopposed, it sweeps every thing before it." Nothing can resist the effect of competition to reduce prices;—"but counterpoised"—ah! there is the rub. How is this mountain torrent, this competition, this "greatest of all human powers," to be counterpoised,—to be rendered calm, safe and regular? And why should it be counterpoised, if its irresistible effects are so beneficial to mankind? How made calm and safe and regular? Shall it no longer exist, and cease to exercise its controlling powers between individuals and between nations? Will you check its control between man and man? Then you have half destroyed it. Will you arrest its influences between nations also? Then you have entirely destroyed it. But it is like "the segments of a circle or an arch; taken separately, each is nothing; but in their combination they produce efficiency, symmetry and perfection." This is all true. Competition is a whole, and should not be separated and detached; as a whole, only can it act perfectly. This is an admirable illustration of the South-Carolina doctrine of free trade. And now follows an astounding *non sequitur*.

"By the American System, this vast power has been *excited* in America, and *brought into being*, to act in co-operation or collision with European industry. Europe acts within itself, and with America; America acts within itself, and with Europe. The consequence is, the reduction of prices in both hemispheres."

We had supposed that competition existed in the world before the American System was ever dreamed of. But if European industry is to be excluded by the "American System," how can it either co-operate, or come in collision with American industry. If Europe and America are each to live within itself, how can either act with the other in the reduction of prices in each hemisphere?

Such is the theory and such are the apt illustrations of this *clear sighted* and *practical statesman*! To render his suicide complete, Mr. Clay proceeds to add:

"The great law of *price* is determined by supply and demand. If *the supply is increased*, the demand remaining the same, the price declines; if the demand is increased, the supply remaining the same, the price advances; if both supply and demand are undiminished, the price is stationary, and *the prices influenced exactly in proportion to the degree of disturbance to the demand or supply.*"

And what, let us ask Mr. Clay, could in a more serious degree effect this disturbance in the demand and supply, than a system of duties which exclude the competition of the foreign market altogether? The amount of his argument is, that *the exclusion of a part, is an addition to the whole*, and were Euclid restored to life, he would no doubt be much astonished to find the overthrow of one of his elementary propositions, viz: that nothing less than all the parts is equal to the whole.

"Competition therefore, (proceeds Mr. C.) wherever existing, whether at home or abroad, is the parent cause of cheapness."

Mr. C. would have us believe that the best method of creating competition is to destroy it! Is not Mr. Brownson's sketch of his character, true to the life?

"It is for the great body of the people, and especially for the poor, that I have ever supported the American System."

Such is the declaration of Mr. Clay; and the sugar-planters, and the rich capitalists, throw up their beavers, ("*veri-*

table castors,”) and “huzza for Clay and the American System.” Well might the poor say,

“Ah ! no more of that Hal, an’ thou lovest me.”

“Especially for the poor !” Coffee and tea too, are especially exempted for the benefit of the poor man ? But you tax his woollens, his cottons, his shoes, his hats, his caps, his tools, his domestic utensils. He drinks your taxes ;—he eats your taxes ;—he lies down upon your taxes ;—he cannot rise and dress himself but with your taxes. He labors with your taxes on his head, on his feet, on his back, in his hands. He is covered with your taxes. Generous friend ! ’Tis all for his good. Fatigued and exhausted, as a refreshment to his Sunday’s rest, he brings his cup of tea or coffee to his lips, but turns from it with disgust,—it has no sugar ; it tastes like *Clay* ; it is to him all flat and unprofitable. Who are the great consumers of tea and coffee ? The poor buy by the ounce,—the rich by bags and cargoes. There is more consumed by one Boston tea-party, fashionable as well as revolutionary, than by a regiment of poor.

This preposterous and unjust system, which Mr. Clay calls American, but which has so long been the favorite of most of the monarchs of Europe, has led Mr. Bastiat in the “*Journal des Economistes*” (see *Westminster Review*), to compare the advantages of highway robbery with those attainable by covert art exclusively : and to illustrate the superiority of the former and more primitive method, he gives us the following traveller’s story :

“When we arrived in the kingdom of A—, we found it in a general state of distress,—farmers grumbling, manufacturers complaining, merchants murmuring, ship owners memorializing, and the minister at his wits’ end. At first the Government thought of a new tax to bear alike upon all classes ; with the view of dividing among them the proceeds, after deducting the expenses of collection. This, you know, in our own dear Spain, is the principle of the public lottery. The State takes from a thousand persons a piastre each ; makes away with 250 piastres, and divides the 750 left, among the crowd (distributions.) The good Hidalgo who has received a prize of three-quarters of a piastre, forgetting that he has given a whole one, cannot contain himself with joy, and runs off with his money as a God-send to be spent at the public house. So it might have been here, but the government felt doubtful whether it could calculate sufficiently upon the stupidity of the people to accept this singular mode of protection, and it therefore imag-

ined another. The country is intersected by the public highways ; these the government had measured, to ascertain the exact number of miles of road at its disposal. It then said to the land-owner, (sugar)—‘We give you permission to rob upon certain of these roads, (describing them) and all that you can get out of travellers passing through that district you may appropriate as a bounty for the encouragement of local industry ! Afterwards it made over to the manufacturers and ship owners the roads of other districts, sharing the rest among the remaining applicants for protection, and conveying to each a similar authority by a warrant to the following effect :

Dono tibi, et concedo
Virtutem et puissantiam
Volandi,
Pillandi,
Derobandi,
Filoutandi,
Et escroquandi,
Impunè per totam istam
Viam.—

“The plan succeeded in pacifying the discontented, and the simple natives of the kingdom of A— are now so accustomed to hear of stealing as a common right and public benefit, that they have grown indifferent, personally, to the inconvenience of being robbed, regarding the sum total of each particular theft as *national profit*, the loss of which would involve every branch of industry in a common ruin.

“Impossible,” you exclaim : there cannot exist a people so blind as to estimate as *national profit*, property dishonestly transferred from one to another !

“And why not ? We have that conviction in France ; for what is the system of industrial organization upon which we pride ourselves, and which we are every day seeking to bring to perfection, but that of a *reciprocity of similar transfers*, under the name of bounties, drawbacks, and protective duties ?”

“Protection, (says M. Bastiat,) is founded upon the assumption that private loss is public gain. Discoveries of the philosophers stone, and perpetual motion, have fallen into discredit, but we still hold in honor, those who seek to demonstrate that the interests of *property*, are identified with *pillage*, and *progress* inseparable from *peculation*.”

“We are cautioned, however, by a numerous class, to distinguish between the use and abuse of a theory. ‘Protection,’ say they, ‘may be carried too far, but free trade also requires to be confined within reasonable limits. Moderate duties must have the support of practical men ; let us beware of abstract principles !

“This is precisely what we are told by our traveller of the kingdom

of A—. According to certain wise men of that kingdom, *highway robbery* was neither good nor bad in itself; it depended upon circumstances. The public were told, 'perhaps too much latitude of pillage has been allowed, perhaps not enough. Examine the accounts of each highwayman; some may have gained too little, extend their beat: some may have gained too much; divide their district. These counsels prevailed; and the Solons with whom they originated, acquired so great a reputation for prudence, moderation and sagacity, that they were invited to fill the highest offices in the State. Those who said, 'let us repress, not only injustice, but all fractions of injustice; let us suffer neither high-way robbery, nor larceny, nor even petty larceny,—these were called *theorists*, *visionaries*, men of one idea, eternally repeating the same thing. To the public moreover their reasoning did not appear sufficiently profound; it was too simple; and how can there be faith, without mystery!'

Laws should always be framed for the public advantage. With equal propriety might our government prohibit the introduction or construction of improved machines, as to prohibit the introduction of comparatively cheap foreign commodities. If government may interfere to adjust the gains and losses of its citizens, with the same right, might it depreciate the currency of the country, to gratify the wishes and interests of some greedy set of capitalists. Forcing over-production, produces the same effect on any community as an over-issue of paper money. It gives an additional and false stimulus to a rise in prices, and to consequent undue speculation. Who would dare exhort a manufacturer to forego the use of better machinery, because it would diminish the wages of the poor?

It is pretended that this system creates consumers for the food raised by the agriculturist. But, Mr. Alison says that the manufacturers of England, have made no impression upon the supply of food, and that nothing has tended so much to the degradation and mortality of the laboring class;*

* Alison on Population, 1st vol. pp. 95, 139, 141; 2d vol. 156.

"In the Savings Bank at Glasgow, in which £123,200 is lodged, and in which there are 15,000 depositors, the factory operative depositors are extremely limited as contrasted with their numbers, there being in all of that class only 1406, and their number is every year diminishing; while the number of domestic servants who do not earn a fifth part of their wages, is no less than 2600, and their number is rapidly increasing. If the same economy prevailed in the former class as in the latter, there might, with ease, be ten thousand depositors, and their deposits amount to some hundred thousands a year. *Report of Glasgow Savings Bank, 1840.*

and that, so far from *manufactures* increasing the home-market for agricultural produce, *as they advance*, the improvements in machinery diminish the number of laborers employed, and drive them to the agricultural interest to get food. Thus, it would appear, too, that the division of labor diminishes the demand. As society progresses, the demand for labor diminishes with wages.

"With the high price of labor (says an English writer*) that exists in the United States, with their scanty supply of moneyed capital, with their unlimited range of uncultivated, or half-improved soil, it was almost a *crime against society* to divert human industry from the fields and forests to iron-forges and cotton factories." "Englishmen who lean to democratic opinions are, most of them, if well-informed, advocates of free trade. To these the American tariff is a very sore subject." "The question is galling to an English liberal, puzzles, and therefore irritates him. 'Hang the Americans with their tariff,' one hears such a one complain, 'their stupidity is unaccountable.' "

Such is the opinion of our friends in England.

In a country like ours, the best employment for capital is the cultivation of the soil, and such rude manufactures as are necessary for the convenience of simple times.† Speaking of the spirit of encroachment which the North has always exhibited, for ages, against the people of the South, a distinguished writer uses these words. "The wealth which follows a course of peace and prosperity, attracts from afar the rapacity of Northern ambition." What false opinions, what injustice, and what oppression may be attributed to that devouring passion, to become speedily rich! For years past, our whole system for revenue, has been converted into one of Turkish finance; and Congress may be considered as an army encamped, from which, from time to time, are issued orders to forage the country for the benefit of its favorites.

"Why," ask the faint-hearted and luke-warm, "why continue the discussion of this eternal subject of the tariff? It will never be placed on a better footing, during our lives." Perhaps not—but are we for that reason to give up the question? Look at the prolonged discussion on reform,—look at the progress of this very question, in England;—had it been abandoned in despair by the last generation,

* England and America. 224.

† 1st Alison on Population. 147.

would there have been any probability of success in this?—
and yet they *have* succeeded. Shall we despairingly say :

“But, when that I consider how averse
———Great Archidamus
Is, and hath ever been, to our desires,
Reason may warrant us to doubt and fear
What seeds we sow———
———his determined will
May blast and give our harvest to another
That never toiled for it.”

M.

ART. VIII.—THE NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS.

*Cosmogony—Views of the Architecture of the Heavens.
In a Series of Letters to a Lady.* By J. P. NICHOL,
L.L.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Practical Astronomy in the
University of Glasgow. New-York : H. A. Chapin & Co.
1840.

THE treatise here introduced to the notice of our readers, has been for some time before the public, and has been made the subject of remark in some of our journals. We take it up at this late day, not so much to discuss the merits of the book, as to make it the basis of some remarks upon the *nebulous theory of creation*, which it advances. We are not ignorant of the fact, that some ephemeral editors have pronounced that theory, exploded by the revelations of Lord Ross's telescope, and consigned it to oblivion, as a vain imagination of a few phantastic minds. It is easy for those who have never read Dr. Nichol's work, or seen a paper of the Transactions of the Philosophical Societies of Europe, thus to balance the account ; but we are not prepared to surrender the laborious and long-continued observations and inductions of the Herschells, M. Comte, La Place, Struve, and a host of others, to whose eyes the heavenly bodies had become familiar as the faces of their children, and who traversed the intervals from star to star, and galaxy to galaxy, as easily as from house to house—to the first glance of his Lordship into the distant regions of space. We shall endeavor, moreover, to show that even the discoveries of the

great telescope may be so construed, as to add to the evidence in support of this theory. We wish it distinctly understood, however, that we do not profess to be believers in the theory. We know of no scheme of the *modus operandi* of creation, which is so demonstrative as to command belief; but we regard the nebulous theory as containing stronger *probabilities* than any other, and opening before the mind a stupendous and glorious field for meditation upon the works and character of the Great Architect of the Universe. We are, however, wide from any sympathy with those who can trace, in the progressive organization of matter, the evolution of an inherent principle. On the other hand, we regard the views here presented as evincing the handy work of a *creative intelligence*, with equal necessity and superior glory, to those usually entertained.

With these general observations, we proceed to state the theory and adduce the circumstances which go to render it probable. The theory embraces two suppositions: 1. That matter was originally created in elementary particles, equally diffused through infinite space. 2. That, by the operation of certain universal laws, properties or agencies, established by the Creator, those particles were collected into galaxies, the galaxies into solar systems, the solar systems into individual worlds.

In illustration of this theory, we have a variety of phenomena to present, derived in part from telescopic observations, and in part from philosophical facts. In regard to telescopic observations, we cannot do better than to hear our author and to examine his diagrams; for although he laments that he was "not in a condition to bestow on these discoveries a shadow of original interest, so that description from his pen could have only a borrowed liveliness;" yet he has addressed himself to the work with so much energy of thought and sublimity of style, that he stands before us not as a dim reflector, scattering and diminishing the rays, but rather as a refracting medium, through which the isolated rays, emitted from individual observers, are concentrated into one brilliant pencil and thrown upon the mind's eye with almost overwhelming power. He thus announces the subject:

"Astronomy has recently been obliged to recognise a matter—or rather a modification of matter, wholly distinct from stars—a thin and filmy substance, diffused through the stellar intervals and spreading

over regions so immense that its magnitude or the space it fills, is absolutely inconceivable. I will minutely follow the course of thought by which Sir W. Herschel—only, however, at a comparatively late period in the course of his researches—was slowly and almost reluctantly led to the conviction of its reality. In his earlier inquiries, Herschel was inclined to consider all the faintly illuminated spots in the heavens as clusters so remote that only their general illumination, and no individual object could be seen.

* * * * *

“The object which broke in upon Herschel’s previous continuity of inference was a *nebulous star*,—a perfect star, with a halo or dim atmosphere around it. I transcribe the record of the observation with his subsequent remarks. After noting the elements which fix the star’s place, he says, ‘A most singular phenomenon! A star of about the 8th magnitude with a faint luminous atmosphere of a circular form, and about 3’ diameter. The star is perfectly in the centre, and the atmosphere so diluted, faint and unequal throughout, that there can be no surmise of its consisting of stars. For, in the first place, if the nebulosity consists of stars appearing nebulous, because of their distance, which causes them to run into each other, what must be the size of the central body, which at so enormous a distance, yet so far out-shines all the rest? In the next place, if the central star be no bigger than common, how very small and compressed must be the other luminous points which send us only so faint a light? In the former case, the central body would far exceed what we call a star; and in the latter, the shining matter about the centre would be too small to come under that designation. Either then we have a central body which is not a star, or a star involved in a shining fluid of a nature wholly unknown to us.’” p. 71.

Herschel was led to the latter conclusion, and that conclusion was confirmed by many other appearances, admitting of no plausible solution, on the supposition that all those dim lights are sent from remote and accumulated stars.

“The wonderful nebula in Orion is, in this respect, a most instructive phenomenon. On directing the naked eye to the middle part of the sword in that beautiful constellation, the spectator fancies on the first impulse, that he sees a small star; but closer observation shows him that it is something indefinite and hazy, having none of the distinctness of the minute stars. When he looks at the spot through a small telescope, his suspicions are confirmed; and as the power of the telescope is increased, the more diffuse and strange the object becomes. Now observe two facts—the nebula is *visible* to the naked eye, and distinctly visible through glasses of small power; and yet the *whole light and efficacy of the 40 feet telescope could not resolve it into distinct stars.*” p. 73.

The same is true of the nebula in the girdle of Andromeda, distinctly visible to the naked eye, and yet unresolvable into stars by any magnifying power; and so of many other nebulae.

But to this it will now be objected, that the great telescope of Lord Ross has effected the resolution of these nebulae into stars; particularly, the one in Orion.

Granting the correctness of this report, which needs confirmation, it may not militate against the theory in question, but possibly go to confirm it, and indicate the progress of that body towards a state of organization. When fluids in a state of diffusion begin to condense, they first conglomerate, and gradually increase by the union of several drops in one. Thus water existing in a state of vapor in the atmosphere, when it begins to condense is gathered into small globules forming clouds, and these globules continue to combine till they become too large to be sustained in the air; and if there were no central body to attract them, they would continue till all the globules in one cloud were gathered into one, and perhaps several clouds would be consolidated into one drop. So it may be with the nebula in Orion. When the elder Herschel surveyed it, it appeared to be a filmy mass of dimly illuminated matter. Nearly half a century after, Sir John Herschel says: "I know not how better to describe it than by comparing it to a curdling liquid, or a surface strewed over with flocks of wool, or to the breaking up of a mackerel sky, when the clouds of which it is composed begin to assume a cirrous appearance. It is not very unlike the mottling of the sun's disc, only—if I may so express myself, the grain is much coarser and the intervals darker; and the flocculi, instead of being generally round, are drawn into little wisps. They present, however, no appearance of being composed of stars, and their aspect is altogether different from that of resolvable nebulae."

Now it appears, from the telescope of Lord Ross, that these wisps have conglomerated, and the matter, instead of being equally diffused, is partially organized; and as this nebula lies so much nearer to us than others, being discernible to the naked eye, this partial organization can be detected. And the stars of Lord Ross may be only accumulations of gaseous matter in their progress to farther consolidation.

We are not left to conjecture in regard to the existence

of these gaseous accumulations. That they exist in our system is demonstrated in the *comets*; even the most solid portions of which are nothing but gas, and which may be so many remnants, of the yet unconsolidated portions of the nebula out of which our solar system was composed. That they exist, in the depths of space, is demonstrated by the meteors that occasionally come within the attraction of our earth, and by the fact that we have once or twice passed through a mass of them in contiguity to each other. In the language of our author :

"These hazy bodies, (comets) now and then reaching our system and leaving it without producing any appreciable effect, are not spectral and isolated monstra ! As all things have a home in nature, they too, doubtless hold relations with some grand external scheme of matter in a state of similar modification ; and since, when influenced by the sun's attraction, they approach us from all quarters of the heavens, the *nebulosities in which they have their root must lie around us on every side, and be profusely scattered among the intervals of the stars.* What an error to fancy these comets anomalies ! They demonstrate that, which, as we have seen, is necessary to make a large and varied series of phenomena explicable." p. 77.

The number of nebulae not resolvable into stars is very large, amounting to some thousands, and the aspect presented by them, progressing from perfectly chaotic masses, to the complete organization of a star, seems to give strong confirmation to the truth of this theory. Some are observed, presenting an appearance of great diffusion.

Others appear to have commenced the process of structure, where the gaseous mass appears to be coiling up and contracting upon itself. Such was the aspect of the nebula in Orion as observed and plotted by the younger Herschel. Others again, and by far the greater proportion, have advanced so far as to have generated the rotatory motion, as will hereafter be explained, and assumed a spherical or oval form. Among those presenting the spherical form, there is a regular gradation, from those in which the luminous matter is equally diffused, to those in which the central portion has become much brighter, and the outer part more obscure, and so through every degree of central illumination till you reach the form of the nebulous star which first attracted the attention of Herschel.

These changes appear to be governed by a uniform law.

In no instance is there indication of a dispersive agency, but the condensing process is always visible, as the great cause of breaking up the amorphous masses. Now it is plain, that as these masses approach a regular organized form, they may concentrate at one point or several, according to the predominance of one or more nuclei; but we should naturally expect that the most common form of concentration would be around one nucleus, as it would require rather a nice division of the mass to give two or more centres an equal or counteracting power. Such is the fact in the sidereal arrangement. For the greater portion are single stars, while quite a number, which appear single to the naked eye (about 3000) are found to be double, sustaining a specific relation to each other; of which, more than one hundred have been demonstrated to change their relative places, and a few are known to revolve round each other, and the elements of their orbits have been calculated, and with some a revolution has been completed. In a few instances the combination is threefold, forming what are denominated triple stars, and in a few cases, even quadruple.

With this statement of telescopic appearances, presented by the nebulae, let us now notice the facts and principles connected with our own solar system, as illustrating our subject.

And first, Motion. The theory here presented, admirably coincides with, and is capable of accounting for, the *universal law of planetary motion*. Upon this point, three things are to be observed:

1. The process of organization here contemplated would naturally and almost unavoidably generate rotatory motion.

“When we reflect on the solar, or any other nebula, in the process of condensing, it appears that the phenomenon consists in a flow or rushing of the nebulous matter, from all sides, towards a central region; which is virtually equivalent to what we see so frequently, both on a small and large scale—the meeting and intermingling of opposite gentle currents of water. Now what do we find on occasion of such a meeting? Herschel’s keen glance lighted at once on this simple phenomenon and drew from it the secret of one of the most fertile processes of nature! In almost *no* case do streams meet and intermingle, without occasioning where they intermingle a *dimple* or *whirlpool*; and in fact it is barely possible that such a flow of matter from opposite sides could be so nicely balanced in any case, that the opposite momenta or floods would neutralize each other and produce a state of central rest.

In this circumstance then,—in the whirlpool to be expected where the nebulous floods meet—is the obscure and simple germ of rotatory movement. The very act of the condensation of the gaseous matter as it flows towards the central district, almost necessitates the commencement of a process, which, though slow and vague at first, has, it will be found, the inherent power of reaching a perfect, and definite condition." p. 90.

2. That rotatory motion, once generated, would gradually increase in velocity. As the work of condensation progresses, the particles which have fallen from a greater distance, pass from a larger to a smaller circumference, and of course, if their velocity remained the same, they would complete a revolution in less time. But they would not only move with a velocity undiminished, but according to the law of gravitation increased as the square of the distances through which they have fallen. The velocity of the rotating mass would therefore be increased in the compound ratio of these causes, until by constant acceleration, the centrifugal force would balance the centripetal upon the outer portion of the mass, when that portion would no longer tend to the centre, nor accelerate its motion, but be thrown off in the form of an independent ring. Again, as the same process of condensation still continues in the central mass, its revolution would become still more rapid and another portion be thrown off in a similar manner. And this would be repeated until the nebula would be reduced to a central mass, and a number, greater or less of concentric rings revolving about it, with velocities increasing, as you approach the centre. These rings being composed of fluid matter, might retain the annular form, or gather round one or more nuclei into spherical bodies, and again, by this second process of concentration, another rotatory motion would be generated at the same time that the revolutionary motion was continued, and perhaps secondary rings be thrown off again; and as these rings would have become much more dense than before, the probability that some of them would become solid in the annular form would be greater. Accordingly, we find two of them, surrounding the planet Saturn, still retaining that shape. The solar system presents a perfect analogy to all these principles. The velocity of the revolution when the whole system was one mass extending far beyond the orbit of Herschel, was such as to require a long period. When it was accelerated

to 84 years, the ring of which Herschel is composed, was thrown off and the period still continued to diminish till it came down to 25 days, the time in which the Sun, or central mass now revolves.

3. If this is the true account of the origin of planetary motion, it is evident that all the bodies originating from the same nebula, must revolve in the same direction, unless a disturbing cause can be found to change it. Wonderful indeed is the coincidence of fact with this requisition in our system. The central body revolves from West to East in 25 days 10 hours. Around it, 11 primary planets revolve, all in the same direction, and all rotate on their axes in the same direction. Around them still revolve 18 satellites, all in the same direction also, unless it be two upon the very verge of the system, where, if any where, disturbing causes would be encountered. Now let it be remembered, that the probability of 12 bodies revolving in one direction, provided they originated in independent masses, would be in the inverse ratio of 2 to $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 \times 5 \times 6 \times 7 \times 8 \times 9 \times 10 \times 11 \times 12$!

And again, their rotatory motions might have been at right angles, or a high degree of obliquity to the ecliptic, instead of nearly coinciding with it.

Secondly. We may notice the *density* of the planets. It is a well known law, that if several solid bodies be mixed in a fluid, that which has the greatest specific gravity will fall soonest to the bottom. Such is the fact in the solar system. That portion nearest the centre, has 11 times the gravity of water. Venus 5.5; the Earth 5; Mars 3; Jupiter 1.25;—Saturn. 35; &c.

Thirdly. In intimate connection with this point, is the phenomena of the zodiacal light. This is a luminous appearance nearly as bright as the milky way, in the form of a cone whose base rests upon the Sun, and its apex lies in the plane of the ecliptic as far out as the orbit of Mercury. The most plausible account that could be given of that light, before the present theory was brought forward, was that the Sun's atmosphere extended in that direction so as to create the luminous appearance. Upon this theory, we have only to understand that our solar system is one of so recent origin, that the lighter portion of its gaseous fluid has not yet reached the central mass. The same may also be true of many other solar systems in our galaxy; for this nebulosity of our Sun, could not be detected by the most powerful telescope from the nearest fixed star.

A *fourth fact* worthy of consideration is, that two at least of the planets in our system are still *nebulous*; and the phenomena of the asteroids is much more rationally accounted for upon this than upon any other theory. The most celebrated astronomers have supposed that they once composed a large planet, which was torn asunder by some internal convulsion. But upon this theory we have only to conceive that one of the concentric rings, instead of being attracted to one nucleus, was condensed around four points of sufficient dimensions to maintain their equilibrium. The nebulous appearance of at least two of these bodies, Ceres and Pallas, above referred to, would not comport with the idea of a disruption. The following is the appearance of Ceres, as observed by the celebrated Schroeter. "This planet is of a slight ruddy color. It seems to be surrounded with a dense atmosphere of about 675 miles in height, which is subject to numerous changes. Like the atmosphere of the earth, it is very dense near the planet and becomes rarer at greater distances, which causes its apparent diameter to be somewhat visible."

Here is a planet of only some 1600 miles diameter, surrounded by a nebulous fluid to the height of more than 600 miles, while the earth 7912 miles in diameter, has an atmosphere of only 50 miles in height.

But Pallas is still more nebulous. According to Schroeter, the atmosphere or nebulosity is to the diameter of the planet, about as 2 to 3. That is, of the whole diameter of the body, *four sevenths* are nebulous. The following are Herschel's observations.

"April 22. In viewing Pallas, I cannot, with the utmost attention, and under favorable circumstances, perceive any sharp termination that *might denote a disc*. It is rather what I would call a nucleus. When I see it to the best advantage, it appears like a much compressed, extremely small, but ill-defined planetary nebula.

"May 1. With a 20 feet reflector, power 477, I see Pallas well, and perceive a very small disc, with a coma of some extent about it, the whole diameter of which may amount to five or six *times* the diameter of the disc."*

Here then, is the presence of two witnesses, holding their testimony up before the universe, to the truth of the nebulous theory.

* Philosophical Transactions for 1802.

A *fifth* fact deserving notice is the organization of Saturn. This planet lying far out towards the circumference of the nebula, consists of the *lighter portion* of matter ; hence in consolidating, more secondary rings were thrown off—a more rapid rotatory motion engendered, and a less degree of density finally reached.

But the most remarkable phenomenon about this planet is, that of the nine secondary rings thrown off, *two* consolidated in the annular form. And those two just where we should expect to find them, viz : nearest to the planet, where the degree of density would of course be greatest before consolidation. These rings stand forth, a perpetual monument of the original form of material organization.

The last fact to which we refer is the *position* of all the *planets*, nearly in the same plane ; their variation from the plane of the ecliptic being only such as would naturally result from the vacillation of the nebular mass while consolidating. If the several planets, primary and secondary, originated in independent and isolated masses of matter, and by the immediate fiat of creative power, there are thousands of probabilities to one that they would have been placed upon all sides of the sun, and revolved around him in orbits whose planes would have made right angles or nearly so with each other. But if they originated in one mass, and were developed by the operation of regular laws, they must have been, *just where they are*, nearly in the same plane.

Having presented an outline of the astronomical facts, from which the theory advocated by our author is derived, we proceed to the other point contemplated in the commencement of this article, to wit ; to adduce in support of these facts such considerations as may be gathered from the several departments of natural science.

And first. There is room enough in the stellar spaces for the diffusion of all the solid bodies now existing. Take the small point of space occupied by our solar system and calculate its dimensions and the contents of its bodies, and the result will astonish the mind.

The solid contents of a sphere having the diameter of the orbit of Herschel, is 24,228,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 cubic miles. The solid contents of the sun reduced to the medium density of atmospheric air, is 2,912,000,000,000,000,000,000 ; and that of all other bodies connected with the solar system about 1-500 part as much, increasing the amount to 2,918,000,000,000,000,000,000.

The contents of the orbit, $24,228,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 \div 2,918,000,000,000,000,000,000 = 8,000,000$; that is, all the matter in the solar system, diffused with the density of atmospheric air, 25 miles above the surface of the earth, would occupy only the 8-millionth part of the orbit of Herschel; and if it were equably diffused throughout that orbit, the ethereal matter would be 8,000,000 times lighter than air. And if, instead of a sphere, it were diffused through an oblate spheroid of the diameter of Herschel's orbit, and 30,000,000 in transverse diameter, it would still be 66,000 times lighter than air.

Here is ample space for the process of condensation to go on, without reaching a point of solidification. Again, if all the matter of which the earth and moon are composed were diffused through the orbit of the moon, it would be still 400 times lighter than the atmosphere.

Secondly. Geological structure affords strong presumptive evidence of the correctness of this theory.

1. Every portion of matter with which we are acquainted, is compounded. Geology speaks of primary bodies; yet her primary bodies are all composed of several elements, even within the reach of our observation. Many of these elements are again compounded; and after all we have no assurance that our most subtle analysis extends beyond the proximate elements of matter. The universality of this fact would naturally lead us to the inference that we are acquainted with matter not in its original state. It is not reasonable to suppose that the particles of matter were originally created in composition. We behold a great variety of structure resulting from human ingenuity, the arrangement of human skill, but we should deride the want of philosophy in a rational being, who should adopt the belief that the house, or the watch was made, as it is,—all its parts in combination. Why is it not as unphilosophical to ascribe a similar process to the Great Architect of the Universe. If every timber must first be formed, and every mortice and tenon adjusted, the separate elements must first exist. Thus it is in the works of God. All that we behold is *artificial*; the minutest object is a composite body, a building with its parts articulated.

2. Especially does this argument derive force from the fact that the elementary principles or forms of matter are exceedingly few, in comparison with the variety of bodies

with which we are acquainted. All the endless variety of metals, stones, earths, salts, fluids, vegetables and animals, are but permutations wrought by an invisible hand, upon some two score of simple, perhaps only proximate elements!

3. Again; the last form to which our powers of analysis can extend in the decomposition of matter, is that of *gas*.

Mercury, divested of caloric to a certain extent, is a solid; warmed to a given point, it becomes a fluid; beyond that point, it passes off in an invisible gas. Water by caloric is converted into vapor; and by chemical analysis into gases. The same is true of every substance; its last form, so far as our powers extend, is gaseous.

4. Once more; every variety of matter can be gasified. The compound blow-pipe will dissipate the diamond, clay, or any other substance placed within the sphere of its operation. Agents are known to be in existence, capable of transforming any kind of material existence into gas, and several of the gases themselves into simple forms. The air can be resolved into its parts, and even the inconceivably minute particles of light can still be divided into elements, and other forms of matter converted into *light*! Who can doubt that in this process, we are tracing material existence back towards its original elements—that state in which it is now beheld in certain portions of the heavens.

Thirdly. Natural Philosophy gives her testimony unequivocally in favor of the supposition.

She first presents us with those universal properties of matter which are necessary, to adapt it to be carried through the changes of infinite diffusion, to comparatively solid and organized forms. She tells us of its *infinite divisibility*, in proof of which she points to a portion of musk, or aromatic gum, which can be so diffused as to fill a large space perceptibly to the olfactory nerve, for a long period, and yet loose nothing of its mass that can be detected by sight or by the minutest balances. Here is an actual specimen of matter, millions of times more rarified than air. She furnishes the law of gravitation, which must lie at the basis of our cosmogony. She develops the law of cohesive attraction; from which it appears that certain particles of matter are fitted to be united, whenever brought by gravitation into contiguity; and another law of repulsion by which even the power of gravitation is overcome or checked and other particles are kept isolated or driven asunder.

She farther establishes a law of preference, or elective affinity, amounting almost to *will* or instinct in lifeless matter, and adapting it to the endless changes through which it is passing, and must have passed in its transitions from infinite diffusion to its present state of organization. Here are all the properties necessary to qualify matter to be acted upon.

But philosophy stops not here. She introduces us to all-pervading principles under the form of *chemical agents*, like journeymen architects, capable of accomplishing those changes for which matter is fitted, which are actually and unceasingly at work, under the ordination and supervision of infinite intelligence. Of the power of these subordinate agents we can have no perception, save from our limited and exceedingly imperfect acquaintance. We see electricity, when diffused in highly rarified matter producing general illumination, as the aurora, not unlike the luminous nebulae; and when brought in contact with more solid bodies, annihilating present forms of existence, and creating new ones. Magnetism, diffusing its magic power to unite or sever, and the two combined and modified as seen in the voltaic pile—these mighty and resistless agents, secretly but constantly at work.

Look again at the acids and alkalies. See them seize upon a rough and shapeless mass of earth or ore, and convert it into transparent liquid and then deposit it in the form of beautiful crystals. What human genius could take such materials, and produce from them such fabrics!

But by far the most common and efficient agent is caloric in its ordinary form. Every substance with which we are acquainted in the universe is subject to its sway, and dissolves or hardens, enlarges or contracts, at its command. An inch of water possessed by it, demands a thousand inches for diffusion, or if denied, forces its way through iron bars and brazen gates with resistless energy. It is not necessary to enlarge upon its varied agencies; they are known and understood, from its tame and mild influence in subserviency to human convenience, to its indescribably grand and awful operations in the bosom of the earth, whether employed in dissolving the partnership between two imperceptible atoms of matter, or shaking a continent and throwing up mountains from the bottom of the deep!

By a certain action of these imponderable agents, the na-

ture of which transcends the narrow limits of our present knowledge, every substance in nature may be thrown back into an invisible gas.

Fourthly. We should do injustice to our subject not to add, that the analogy of nature accords with this theory in its subordinate departments. All the organizations within the reach of our observation are accomplished upon this principle. We never find a tree, a crystal, or an animal, produced in its perfect state—the germ, the embryo is formed, and certain laws of organic arrangement accomplish the work. Why may we not extend the same principle to the foundation of the universe. How much more sublime and exalted a view does it give us of the work of creation and of the Great Architect, to contemplate him evolving a system of worlds from a diffused mass of matter, by the establishment of certain laws and properties, than to consider him as taking a portion of that matter in his hand and moulding it as it were into a sphere, and then imparting to it an impulse of motion. In the former case the various attributes of Deity are all manifested—in the latter, scarcely any thing but Almighty power. In the former the grand principle of Divine appointment, by which every department of existence, whether inanimate or vegetable, instinct or reason, is required to put forth the utmost power with which it is endowed, is distinctly recognised—in the latter we have a total departure from every thing known as the dispensation of His hand. And the wonder of the work, differs only in magnitude. If we had never seen the process, it would appear as incredible to us that the spoonful of mucilaginous liquid enveloped in the shell of an egg could be converted into an organized being, with organs of motion, respiration, circulation, nutrition, sensation, procreation, etc., merely by the external application of warmth—as it is that a homogeneous mass of simple elements, diffused through a vast extent of space, should be organized into worlds by the operation of established agencies and principles.

But the timid Christian startles and asks, “are you not undermining the truth of revelation, and bringing into doubt the Mosaic account of creation?”

Such an inquiry has been raised in reference to several departments of natural science; and sceptical philosophers have gloried in the prospect of compelling the earth to rise up and bear witness against its Maker. But their glory

has ever been turned to shame; for all truth is consistent, and when rightly understood, facts always confirm revelation.

Such is emphatically the case with this theory; and having once allowed the mind to grasp it as presented by telescopic observations, we can scarcely avoid the conviction that the spirit of inspiration, presented in a much more distinct form to the mind of the sacred penman, those scenes which have recently been chronicled by Herschel, Le Comte and the fortunate heirs to the telescope of the Dorpat Observatory.

"In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth." Some learned commentators contend this should have been the "substance of the heavens and the earth," i. e. the material universe. The passage might then be paraphrased: "In the first place, God created the substance or elements of the material universe."

In what condition were these elements? "Without form and void," (*Tohu v'bohu*) i. e. "unorganized and vacuity." What better description could be given of a substance eight million times more rarified than air! "And darkness was upon the face of the deep," i. e. "darkness pervaded the abyss." It was too highly rarified to give any proof of its existence, by sustaining or reflecting light.

What is the first step in the process of organization? "And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," i. e. God set this fluid matter in agitation. The word waters here, is evidently equivalent to the preceding "deep" or abyss, and may mean that anomalous fluid out of which the earth was to be organized; how long these elements continued in agitation entering into those combinations which began to constitute organization, we are not informed; but in due time they were prepared to evolve light. "And God said let there be light, and there was light." Then the luminous matter was separated from the opaque; i. e. the ring of which the earth is composed was thrown off, while the luminous matter continued to approximate the centre. All this precedes the commencement of chronology, and might have been millions of years in taking place. But now we come to the period of the earliest date. "God called the light day, and the darkness he called night; and the evening and the morning were the first day;" i. e. the first rotation of the earth was accomplished; and as the

earth was then a fluid and not yet separated from the moon, it must have been somewhat more than a month in performing that rotation.

The next step in the process of organization, was the separation of the ring, of which the moon is composed.

"And God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament : and it was so."

The firmament means an empty space or abyss, interposed between these bodies of matter, and cannot therefore refer to the atmosphere, as that is a part of the fluid beneath it. This completed the second period upon the great dial of time.

The next step is the consolidation of the earth, and separation of the fluids from the solids.

"And God said, let the waters under the heaven, be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear : and it was so."

It is unnecessary to pursue the comparison farther ; but we may ask, if Moses had actually, in prophetic vision, seen the changes contemplated in this theory taking place, could he have described them more accurately, in popular language, free from the technicalities of science!

P.

ART. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Addresses at the Inauguration of the Hon. Edward Everett, LL.D., as President of the University at Cambridge, Thursday, April 30, 1846.* Boston : Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1846. 8vo. pp. 66.

MR. EVERETT was elected President of Cambridge University in the winter of 1845-6, and on the 30th of April following was inducted into office according to the imposing forms of that venerable institution. The pamphlet before us, for a copy of which we are indebted to the President, contains a detail of the ceremonies used on that occasion, with the speeches of Gov. Briggs and Mr. Everett and a Latin oration by one of the senior class. But the body of the work is occupied by the inaugural address of President Everett, a learned and eloquent production ; one which we are not surprised that the students who heard it, in asking for its publication, should desire to be "preserved for the advantage and gratification" of their successors. The objects of a university education are the appropriate topics which have been selected for discussion, and these are defined to be the acquisition of knowledge, the exercise and development of the intellectual faculties, and the formation of a pure and manly character. In the course of the address many excellent suggestions are made in regard to the improvements in our system of education, which though it may not be practicable or prudent at once to adopt, are well worthy of our consideration, and by their introduction indicate the solid wisdom and enlarged views of the President. Among these, we notice the favorable allusions to the advantages of physical education, in which by the exercises of the powers of the body, and the cultivation of the senses, the great object of the heathen prayer, "*mens sana in corpore sano*" may be secured to the pupil. We trust the day is not far distant when this important subject will receive, from the instructors of our youth, that serious attention which its importance demands, and when the expansion of the physical powers will be made to keep pace with the enlargement of the mental capacities. The mind, it has been said, is a vile tenant to the body—wearing it out long before its time, and reducing it to a dilapidated condition, at the very period when nature intended that it should be most vigorous. A little attention to the care of the body in youth, would enable it not only better and longer to endure the wear and tear of mind, but increase the capacities and protract the freshness of the mind itself.

We are rejoiced too, to perceive that Mr. Everett in the very outset

of his official career has declared himself against that vile crusade which a few "utilitarians," as they delight to be called, are waging against the study of the learned languages. On this subject, a portion of his remarks are well worthy of being transferred to our pages.

"When all has been done in this way that can with any safety be admitted in places of education, where due consideration must be had of the uncertainty of future pursuit, and where the present indications of taste are immature and often doubtful, there will no doubt hereafter, as heretofore, be cases of persons—they may be a considerable proportion of those educated at our universities—who complain that their youth was passed in studies which have afterwards yielded no fruit. But the true ground of complaint ought generally, I suspect, to be rather a matter of self-reproach. It is not that the studies pursued at the university are of no use in life, but that we make no use of them. The Latin and Greek—to instance in these branches—are indeed often thrown aside as useless; but is the lawyer, the statesman, the preacher, the medical practitioner or teacher, quite sure that there is no advantage to be derived in his peculiar pursuit from these neglected studies, either in the way of knowledge directly useful, collateral information, or graceful ornament? Is not the fault in ourselves? We have laid a foundation which we neglect to build upon, and we complain that the foundation is useless. We learn the elements, and, neglecting to pursue them, we querulously repeat that the elements are little worth. We pass years at school and college in the study of languages, till we are just able to begin to use them for their chief end, the reading of good books written in them; and after a life passed without opening a Greek or Latin author, during which time what we knew of the languages has gradually oozed from our minds, we reflect with discontent, if not with bitterness, on the loss of time devoted in youth to what we stigmatize as useless studies.

"On the other hand, I am quite confident that the young man who should, while at school and at the university, diligently pursue the study of the ancient languages (which I name again as the branch of academical learning most apt to be abandoned as useless), who, on quitting college, instead of turning his back on the great writers with whom he had formed some acquaintance,—on Homer, on Thucydides, on Plato, on Demosthenes, on the great Attic tragedians, on the classic authors of Rome,—should regularly devote but a small part of the day, a single hour, to their continued perusal, would, at the meridian and still more in the decline of life, experience and admit that, both for instruction and pleasure, these authors were some of the best, the most useful, of his reading; that, if in public life, he addressed juries and senates better, after refreshing his recollection with the manner in which Demosthenes handled a legal argument or swayed a deliberative assembly; that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* bore a re-perusal as well as Childe Harold or Marmion (without disparaging Byron or Scott); that the glimpses into the heart of ancient Oriental life which we obtain from Xenophon's historical romance (a work which such a man as Scipio Afri-

canus never wished to have out of his hands*) are as trustworthy and interesting as the vapid changes rung in modern works of imagination on contemporary fashionable life in England; in a word, that the literature which has stood the test of twenty centuries is as profitable as the 'cheap literature' of the day,—if that can be called 'cheap' in any sense of the term, which begins by costing a man his eyesight, and, if it have any influence, must, much of it, end in depraving his taste and subverting his morals." p. 42.

* * * * *

"That there is something in the study of language extremely congenial to the mental powers of most men, is sufficiently shown in the almost miraculous facility with which, even in infancy, the vast circle of a language is substantially mastered. On the other hand, the signs of thought are so intimately associated with thought itself, that the study of language in its highest form is the study of the processes of pure intellect. In the study of foreign and the ancient languages, and in the various departments of literature connected with their criticism, and that of our native tongue, several of the mental faculties find almost exclusively their appropriate exercise. This is the region of poetry, eloquence, and wit. Not that the study of language is sure to make a poet or an orator; though many of the most eminent of either class have notoriously trained their faculties in that school, from Demosthenes to Milton. But it is almost exclusively the study of language which enables us to enjoy these divine arts of poetry and eloquence, as far as other tongues are concerned,—for poetry and eloquence are nearly intranslatable,—and to some extent also as far as concerns our own. By this we are elevated to a sympathy with the most gifted minds, and become, in some degree, partakers of their inspiration." p. 48.

In thus "commending the classical studies as a discipline of the mind," as well as in his observations on other departments of study, Mr. Everett has done essential service to the cause of liberal education and given assurance that President Hitchcock uttered no idle nor undeserved panegyric, when he declared that "with such a priest to guard and fan the fire of learning, we need not fear that it will be extinguished or its splendor diminished."

But we are most pleased with the brief but philosophical reflections of the new President, on the objects of a university education. The mistaken notion that an education is completed with the last collegiate term, and that the four years spent there are to be solely occupied in the acquisition of a few thousand words of a couple of dead languages, or in the annunciation, in "good set phrase," of a specific number of mathematical propositions, has been a fertile source of erroneous judgment concerning the real advantages of such a place of instruction. If a different and a more correct view of the real nature of this education were generally adopted, there would be far less opposition and queru-

* Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.*, Lib. II., c. 26.

lous complainings among unreflecting men, about "boys wasting the best days of youth in the acquisition of languages which they will never speak, or sciences which they will never use." The true view is the one adopted by Mr. Everett in this address.

Commencing with the proposition which we imagine no reasonable man will attempt to controvert, that the human intellect is of boundless capacity, and susceptible of unlimited improvement in a steady progress to perfection, Mr. Everett proceeds to apply this doctrine to the subject before him :

"Now it is the object of university education to carry on this great work,—already commenced at the fireside and at school,—of forming and developing by wise discipline the various mental powers ; not merely to teach the meaning of a few thousand words in the ancient and modern languages, or to impart a critical acquaintance with their authors,—not alone to afford a knowledge of the elementary truths of science or of the facts by which they are illustrated,—nor of the speculations of ingenious men on the philosophy of the mind ; but in a well conducted and earnest study of these and other branches, to train to the highest attainable degree of method, promptness, and vigor, the faculties by which they are pursued."

Hence as a corollary to this proposition, it follows that in selecting the studies to be pursued at our seminaries, the question is not so much of their future practical use, merely in the amount and species of knowledge which they convey, but whether they are or, are not "well adapted thus to form and develop the faculties." This gives occasion to a discussion on the relative merits in producing this effect, of the study of the classical languages and the exact sciences, which results in the decision, that to neither in the accomplishment of this object, is the palm of precedence to be conceded. They are not rivals but efficient auxiliaries of each other, equally, means to the same great end, and as such, of equal importance in an academical education. They are both, no matter how much of either may be remembered in the scenes of after life, the means of imposing that severe discipline which will better enable their recipient to devote himself with energy and success to the prosecution of any avocation or the pursuit of any object to which he may be destined by his future fortunes.

We have much inclination, but neither time nor space to comment more largely on the important topics embraced in this address ; we cannot, however, dismiss it, without adverting to a remark made in the April number of this review. In an able article on the writings of H. S. Legaré, a valued contributor has declared that he considers Everett as a Greek scholar, very far the inferior of Legaré. No opportunity has hitherto been afforded us of recording our dissent to this charge, and we gladly avail ourselves of the present occasion to do so. As a Hellenist, Mr. Everett has never had his superior in this country. Of

his powers he has it is true made no display, but his classical mind has long been fully imbued with the rich and varied learning of that noble language. For five years the Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard College, he subsequently occupied another lustrum, in cultivating his taste and enlarging his knowledge by unwearied Hellenistic investigations in Europe, visiting the most extensive libraries, and holding communion with the ripest scholars of the continent. We will not enter into any disquisition on the relative pretensions of these eminent men, but we cannot and dare not add to the praise of Legaré, by substracting from the merit of Everett. *Suum cuique tribuio.*

2.—*Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions, from the year 1818 to the present time, under the command of the several Naval Officers, employed by Sea and Land, in search of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; with two attempts to reach the North Pole. Abridged and arranged from the Official Narratives, with occasional Remarks.* By SIR JOHN BARROW, Bart., F. R. S., An. Æt. 82, etc., 12mo New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1846.

FROM the voyage of Sir John Ross, to explore Baffin's Bay, undertaken in 1818, to the expedition over land, undertaken by Commander Back in 1833, and terminating two years afterwards, the possibility of discovering a North-west passage into the Pacific Ocean has been a favorite subject of enquiry with the British government. The toils, the sufferings and dangers of those hardy navigators, who in making these explorations, were subjected to the inhospitable seasons and perpetual snows of the polar regions, have afforded fertile themes of interest and admiration to the scientific world. And though the great object of all these labors has not yet been accomplished, they have not been unattended with good results. The limits of our geographical knowledge have been greatly enlarged; natural history has acquired large additions to its stores; while magnetism, meteorology, and other kindred sciences have received new and important developments from the experiments made and the researches pursued in those icy regions by the men of science who accompanied the different expeditions.

For the general reader, however, this amount of new knowledge had become with difficulty accessible, in consequence of its dissemination in so many separate works, for the most part costly, and all containing so much extraneous matter in the records of daily transactions, which, though at the time highly interesting, constitute no part of the scientific information which these expeditions have succeeded in establishing. A work, therefore, which by its condensation of these achievements

into a cheap and portable volume, enables all who take an interest in the subject, to see, at one glance, how much has been done in the progress of solving this great geographical problem, and how much may yet be possibly accomplished, cannot be without the claim of utility.

For such a work we are indebted to Sir John Barrow, a man, more than any other, qualified to write a history of North-west discoveries, not only from the fact of his having been, during the whole time, in a high official station in the English Board of Admiralty, under whose authority these expeditions were fitted out, but because it was to his untiring exertions and constant perseverance, that the project of such a voyage was first undertaken and afterwards continued by the government of Great Britain.

It was indeed meet that he who had spent so many years in urging these schemes of discovery upon the nation, should make their record the closing labor of his useful life.

The work was written by its author at the advanced age of eighty-two. This fact is conspicuously recorded on the title page; and there does seem to be something of vanity, (though we hold it, in this instance, as very excusable,) in thus calling the attention of the reader to the intellectual powers of fourscore. But the vanity is excused if not justified, for the book is ably and impartially written; Sir John seems to be, unlike the aged generally, no "laudator temporis acti," for he gives censure and commendation just where they are merited, assigning to each his proportionate share of honor, in the perilous enterprises which are recorded.

In 1817, (we think,) the same author published a similar work, recording the discoveries of the earlier navigators in the Arctic regions, commencing with the voyage of John Cabot. To that work, the present will form an appropriate sequel. The two together, give us, in a condensed form, all the information we now possess upon this highly important subject.

3.—*A Few Thoughts concerning the Theories of High-Churchmen and Tractarians; with Reasons for submitting to the Authority of the Holy See.* By N. A. HEWITT. Charleston: Burges & James. 1846. 8vo. pp. 38.

MR. HEWITT was originally educated for the ministry, and ordained to that office, among the Congregationalists. Subsequently, and in a very short time, (not exceeding six months,) he united himself with the Protestant Episcopal Church. He has since declared his adhesion to the Roman Catholic denomination. This pamphlet is an attempt on his part, to give a brief history of the causes and motives which led him to

pursue these different changes, and to defend the peculiar theological views which he has finally adopted. Without desiring to pass an opinion on the merit of his arguments, which, in a work of such general circulation as this, would be manifestly improper, we cannot but assign to him the credit of fairness and courtesy—virtues, unfortunately, too rare in polemical discussions.

4.—*The Confessions of a Pretty Woman.* By MISS PARDOE. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. 1846.

MISS PARDOE's popularity as a writer is evidently on the increase. And it should be and doubtless is to her a subject of self-gratulation, that this popularity is founded more on her own merits as a delineator of character, than on the fickle fancies of novel readers.

The Confessions is a work of fiction abounding in all the interest of stern reality. It is a history of a soul, not born of the mere imaginings of the author, but one whose antitype is too often to be found in the walks of fashionable life. A woman having by the creation of nature, a heart, pure, susceptible, and truthful, but utterly and entirely heartless of the workings of the world, is no "*rara avis in terris.*" Such a woman, the simple freshness of whose youth, has faded into the sere and yellow leaf of fashionable life, whose truthfulness has become deceit—whose affections have been swallowed up in selfishness—whose appetites and passions are all *blasés*, save the one appetite for admiration, and the one passion for dress, may be seen at any time within the hours of fashionable getting up and going to bed, among the "upper ten thousand" in any of the fashionable cities of Christendom. Such a woman has Miss Pardoe selected as the heroine of her novel; and skillfully has she treated her subject. There are, however, in the character of Lady Dornton, redeeming traits—outpourings of nature, which like a pent up stream will sometimes overleap its banks, and which antagonizing with the character acquired from her position, render the portraiture more difficult.

5.—*Chricton.* By W. HARRISON AINSWORTH, Esq. 2 vols. in one. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. 1846.

THIS republication of one of Ainsworth's best works, constitutes the 17th number of the Harpers' "Pocket Editions of the Select Novels." It of course belongs to the class of cheap literature, the

distinguishing feature of the present day. Of this system few men of letters have spoken, except in terms of condemnation. It has corrupted the taste and vitiated the morals of the public. It has substituted the vilest trash, executed in the most execrable typography, for standard works substantially prepared. It has discouraged the learned from those compositions which involve labor, learning and time, because it offers no adequate reward for productions of a high caste in literature. All consequently, who bestow a proper estimation on the uses of the press as a powerful instrument for the dissemination of knowledge, have hailed the symptoms of its decline, as the harbinger of a better state of things.

Yet amid the injuries which this system has inflicted upon the cause of solid learning, it must be admitted that in a few—a very few instances, it has been productive of good. The work before us is an illustration of this exception. For we have here an admirable book, from the pen of an excellent writer, and one of the best historical novelists of the day, placed by its excessive cheapness, within the reach of all who seek for intellectual amusement. But unfortunately, for one Ainsworth, the cheap publishers furnish their readers with a dozen Paul de Kocks.

6.—"Boarding Out." *A Tale of Domestic Life. By the author of "Keeping House and House-Keeping," etc. etc.* New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1846. 12mo.

THIS is a very little book, with a very great moral. It is in fact, one of the applications of fact to the principle set forth in Horace's celebrated ode beginning with "Qui fit Mæcenas." We are all too apt to think every body's situation, comforts and advantages better and more desirable than our own, and hence, the notion of change is always accompanied with the idea of benefit. So it was with Mrs. Banlery, the heroine of this story. Surrounded with all the comforts of home and a family fireside, she longs to exchange them for what she conceives to be the conveniences of "boarding out." Her husband, a very sensible but good-natured man, at length yields to her importunity and gratifies her wish. The rest of the work is occupied with a detail of the petty annoyances to which the family are subjected in the various boarding-houses to which they remove. There is a little carelessness in the style which, as the book is just of the size and kind which will be most attractive to the young, is rather a serious objection, but the story is otherwise well told, and the authoress, Mrs. S. J. Hale, manages throughout, to keep up the interest of the narrative.

7.—*The Southern Journal of Medicine and Pharmacy.* Edited by J. LAWRENCE SMITH, M.D., and S. D. SINKLER, M.D. July, 1846. Burges & James.

THIS periodical, which has now reached its fourth number, is beginning to receive the commendations of the medical profession for the ability with which it is conducted. The present number contains much interesting matter, among which we may mention the concluding report of the experiments instituted by the Editors to test the hemostatic virtues of Brocchieri Water. From these, the deduction has been drawn that in the inferior animals, though Brocchieri water, Ergotine and Creosote "may hasten the coagulation of the blood, and under some circumstances, arrest hemorrhage coming from the smaller arteries, in the case of the larger vessels, they are of no manner of use, at least not more so than the lint would be without them."

There is also a review of Reichenbach's celebrated experiments on Magnetism, conducted, we must admit, with considerable fairness and impartiality for a sceptic. It is so seldom that we meet with anything but inveterate prejudices on the one side, and too hasty conclusions on the other, in the investigation of the phenomena of the science of Animal Magnetism, that we are willing, for the sake of the general good spirit of the Review, to excuse a few flippancy remarks, which are sparsely interspersed through its pages.

We regret, under the head of Pharmacy, to see that the Editors have announced it as their intention to abandon in their future formulæ and prescriptions, the use of Latin names of the articles of the *materia medica*, for the purpose of substituting English in their place. We regret this for at least two reasons. We fear that it looks too much like a yielding to the calls of ignorance. There are indeed too many physicians of the present day who would gladly see their prescriptions in English, the Latin being to them emphatically, a dead language. Neither would they object to having their diplomas too, in the vernacular, as that would afford them an opportunity of reading them, but for such illiterate members of a learned profession, we feel no mercy and have no desire to facilitate their studies. But if the Latin names of plants and preparations are to be denounced, why not abandon the use of the same language in anatomy and physiology and all the other branches of medical science? If it be wrong to say "*aqua distillata*" or "*pulvis myrrhæ*," why is it that "*os frontis*" or "*vena cava*" are not equally improper? Let them all be discarded at once, and English names adopted for every thing with which a physician has to deal. We have now lying before us a copy of Elisha Smith's "*Botanic Physician*," which will furnish our modern *Æsculapides* with a choice English nomenclature. Let us try a few of them. In the head, for instance, we

have the "fore-head bone," the "side-bones" and the "hinder-bone ;" the classical names of the *sphenoidal* and *ethmoidal* bones, give place to the more appropriate appellations of the "wedge-shaped," and the "sieve-shaped" bones. We have the "bone membrane" instead of the *periosteum* ; among the muscles we have the "binder of the nose," the "palate-stretcher," the "sponge-muscle" and the "stretching sheath," all far simpler and no doubt less pedantic than the older names of Albinus or Winslow.

But the use of the Latin names in pharmacy are "looked upon as a remnant of the pedantry of the older profession." We have no patience with such expressions. If the older profession did have a pedantry about it, it was at least supported by its learning, and is so far excusable. We are willing to have its learning back, even at the expense of having its pedantry into the bargain.

But the "French School have long since substituted in pharmacy, their vernacular for the old Latin." The French have done many things which we should be sorry to imitate, and this is one of them. They have ever had an overweening fondness for the sin of Gallicism, and never hesitate to make good French of even proper names. We say nothing of their "Marc Tulle" or their "Tite Live," because we ourselves, have made these worthies a Tully and a Livy, but every body knows that it is a hard thing to convince a Frenchman that the two national dishes of England are not properly spelled "bif-stick" and "plom-podin."

This very reference to the French writers brings us to our second and most important objection, the first being altogether a matter of taste. The adoption by French physicians in their formulæ of the French names of plants, &c., has occasioned their therapeutical works to be of but little service to the untravelled American or English physician. The names used by them are familiar within the precincts of the French empire, but are seldom recognized beyond it. Local or even national names seldom extend beyond their locality or the country in which they are so designated. It is a subject of constant regret, that the ancient Greek and Roman physicians, having no scientific nomenclature of plants, but using on all occasions their vernacular, it is now impossible in most cases to distinguish the plants to which they have alluded. Vulgar names are continually changing—scientific ones are comparatively immutable ; these are universal and belong to all nations—those are local and confined to but a limited region ; the one secures certainty—the other engenders confusion. In our own state we have an insect and two trees of entirely different characters to which we popularly apply the name of *locust*. The introduction of such a name into a prescription would be productive of endless error.

The subject in itself is more particularly worthy of notice, not from its individual importance, but because it is one of the many re-

sults of that crusade against classical learning and good old "pedantry," which, if not checked, will end in the total subversion of all distinction between scholarship and ignorance, close up the great fountains of ancient wisdom, and place us in a worse position, than that in which our ancestors were found at the revival of letters. A. G. M.

- 8.—*The Farmer's Library and Monthly Journal of Agriculture*. Edited by JOHN S. SKINNER. No. 12. June, 1846. Greely and McElrath: New-York.

THE name of Skinner appended to the title page of an agricultural book, is in some sort, a guarantee of its good character. In conducting the present work, this gentleman has lost none of that georgical reputation which he acquired in the management, for a long series of years, of the "American Farmer." The "Farmer's Journal" is however, a work of a higher literary character, devoting its pages to those views of philosophical agriculture, which have made so complete a revolution in the theory and practises of modern planters and farmers.

- 9.—*Pictorial History of England*. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1846. Part I.

THE enterprising firm of the Harpers deserve our thanks for their republication of this entertaining work. This is the age of illustrated books and cheap literature, and neither prose nor poetry, truth nor fiction can be expected to be read or even glanced at unless either copiously decorated with cuts and copper-plates, or printed on execrable paper without binding, and sold at a shilling. They are the two extremes of literature, both equally popular, and in many respects, equally exceptionable. But of the two, we certainly prefer the illustrated works, as infinitely more respectable in appearance. The one before us combines beauty of decoration with an excellent typographical execution of the text.

- 10.—*Memoir of Johann Gottlieb Fichte*. By WILLIAM SMITH. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 157.

OF FICHTE much was said when he lived, and has been continued to be said since his death, both favorable and unfavorable. In his day he filled a prominent space in the literature of Germany, being at one

time, the ardent disciple of Kant, and the able expounder of his philosophy, and subsequently the promulgator of another still more spiritual, of his own erection. The war between the idealism of Fichte, and the transcendentalism of Kant has long occupied the schools and the scholars of the most mystical of countries. His religious opinions were not generally esteemed orthodox, but their greatest fault is perhaps, not so much that they did not agree with the recognized doctrines of the age, as that they were too metaphysical and of too much tenuity to suit the concerns of every day life, and the intellectual standard of every day people. The charge of atheism, he himself so powerfully and conclusively refuted, that none has had the hardihood to renew it. His life, though that of a scholar, was eventful and interesting. In the beginning, his hard fate was to struggle on for years, laboring under the chilling influence of penury, from which in his later days, he was rescued, only to engage in the even more bitter contests of polemics. The history of these struggles and contests, is well depicted in the book before us, whose re-publication is a valuable gift to the American public. We may add, by the way, that the American editor has appended an excellent preface, in which the character of Fichte and of his opinions, is briefly treated with great ability and impartiality.

- 11.—*The Life of Martin Luther : gathered from his own writings.* By M. MICHELET. Translated by G. H. SMITH, F.G.S., &c. New-York : D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 314.

MICHELET is a profound but not an impartial writer. He knows the truth for he has deeply searched for it, but he does not always utter it, or at least if he gives the truth, it is not "the whole truth and nothing but the truth." We must, therefore, in reading such a work as this, come to it with grains of allowance, and then we shall find it well worth perusal. Its character, he himself gives, in the initial sentence of his introduction. "It is neither the life of Luther, turned into an historical romance, nor a history of the establishment of Lutheranism, but a biography consisting in a series of transcripts from Luther's own revelations." As such it is valuable, because it is in some sort an autobiography of the great reformer. It is Luther that speaks, but Luther speaking with the voice of Michelet, a biographer not always friendly—not always just. He who intends to read this book for instruction, of which it contains much, must remember this fact, when he sets about making up his mind, on the merits or faults of the great reformer, on the authority of his French biographer.

- 12.—*Life of Rev. Samuel H. Stearns, late Minister of the Old South Church in Boston.* New edition. Boston: James Monroe & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 244.

THIS is the life and the memorials of a man of taste, of learning, and better than that, of pure Christian piety. It has already been before the public, whose good opinion of it is best expressed in the fact that this is a new edition. Books that are not really good seldom pass through the first.

- 13.—*Animal Magnetism, or Psycodunamy.* By THEODORE LEGER, Doctor of the Medical Faculty of Paris, &c. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 402.

THIS is not so much a treatise on Animal Magnetism, of whose principles and science but little is said, except incidentally, as it is a history of its progress from the earliest ages to the present day, of its existence in remote periods, of the opposition it has encountered from the prejudice of ignorance and the pride of science, of the opinions that have been expressed of its character by the learned, of the contests to which its pretensions have given birth among philosophers, and of its present state in England and America. As presenting therefore the materials for the literature of the science, this work is not without its value, while the entertainment which is always afforded to the inquisitive mind in watching the formation and the growth, of opinions, whether they be true or false, will make it interesting to the opponents as well as to the defenders of Animal Magnetism.

- 14.—*Twenty-four years in the Argentine Republic; embracing its Civil and Military History, and an account of its political condition, before and during the administration of Governor Rosas; his course of policy; the causes and character of his interference with the government of Montevideo, and the circumstances which led to the interposition of England and France.* By COL. J. ANTHONY KING, an officer in the army of the Republic, and twenty-four years a resident of the Country. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 324.

A TITLE so full as this, scarcely needs any other notice of the contents of the work, than to say that the subjects there promised, are treated with considerable skill and ability. The civil wars of the Argentine Republic which have torn that unhappy country with dissension, for so many years, are replete with scenes of thrilling interest.

The iron rule of Rosas has abounded also, in incidents of extraordinary character. Of these scenes and incidents Col. King was not merely a spectator, but an important actor, and he has given us vivid descriptions and lively narratives, which render his book one of the most entertaining that has lately issued from the press.

- 15.—*Elements of Military Art and Science; or a course of instruction in Strategy, Fortification, Tactics of Battles, &c; embracing the duties of Staff, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, and Engineers.* Adapted to the use of the Volunteers and Militia. By H. WAGER HALLECK, A.M., Lieut. of Engineers, U. S. Army. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 411.

HERE is a book published in the very "nick of time." While war is on our borders, and battles, sieges, wounds, guns, drums and trumpets are becoming the familiar topics of our daily discourse, every man naturally wishes to know something of the subject upon which he is so often called to talk. Lieut. Halleck's book will supply the desired information. And whether we are about to entertain our friends with an opinion upon strategy or fortifications, upon tactics or logistics, upon frontier defences or army organization, or even upon the much mooted question of the lawfulness of war, material enough to make us pass for oracles, may be found in this really valuable and well written book.

- 16.—*The Oregon Territory, its History and Discovery; including an account of the Convention of the Escorial; also, the Treatises and Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain, held at various times for the settlement of a boundary line. And an examination of the whole question in respect to facts and the law of nations.* By TRAVERS TWISS, D.C.L., F.R.S., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, and Advocate in Doctors' Commons. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1846.

GREENHOW had written a history of Oregon, especially intended for the meridian of Washington and the political opinions of America. England was, in all reason, entitled to another, which should be more liberal to her claims. Such a book is the volume of Mr. Twiss. He is the antagonist of Greenhow, to refute whose opinions the work was written. The subject, however, is now getting "stale and unprofitable;" yet if there be one desirous of going over it, *ab initio*, let him read the memoirs of Twiss and Greenhow, and he will be the master of all that has been, or can be said, on either side of the question.

SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XX.

OCTOBER, 1846.

ART. I.—*Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. London: Chapman & Hall. 1845.

CARLYLE on Cromwell ! There was much of high promise in that combination of names—and the heart of the literary world thrilled at the announcement that the life and character of the great English statesman and warrior were at length to be scanned and sifted by an intelligence in many respects kindred to his own. That curiosity has now been sated by the appearance of the promised work, to the rapturous admiration of some, and deep disappointment of others ; for few works of late years have been issued from the press which have excited more conflicting and contradictory opinions, than the two bulky volumes, the caption to which heads this article. Under such circumstances, we have felt it our duty, with a work of such importance, not to pronounce a rash or hasty judgment ; and have therefore devoted both time and labor to a thorough examination of its contents—have contrasted and collated its statements with those contained in the other biographies of Cromwell, and such other sources of reference, as the command of an extensive Library, (that of the So. Ca. College,) placed within our reach ; and thus prepared, propose, in the present paper, to convey our frank and unbiassed opinion of this new contribution towards a more perfect portraiture, mental and moral, of the man Oliver Cromwell.

Most of the previous notices of this work have dwelt more upon the merits of the author than upon those of his subject. The hero has been, as it were, overshadowed by his biographer; himself as daring a rebel to the constituted authorities of the literary world, as his prototype was of the political—having constituted himself, not without strenuous struggle and outcry, Lord Protector of the Realm of English letters; though like all usurpers, destined to “wield a barren sceptre, no son of his succeeding.” We shall not imitate the example set us; our business here, is not with Mr. Carlyle’s literary merits, which have been too long and universally acknowledged, to need our mite of praise or censure; but with his present book, professing to give the real character of Cromwell, as self-depicted in his letters and speeches, elucidated, (obscured would often be the better word) by the comments of Thomas Carlyle.

A word or two, however, must be spoken, as to the style in which the book is written, before proceeding to its matter. As a whole, it certainly is not in the English idiom! for though strict grammatical propriety may not be violated; yet, the words composing a sentence, are often so twisted and transposed, as desperately to puzzle the anxious reader as to the real meaning intended to be conveyed. Parts of the work, especially the descriptive, are couched in pure vigorous classic English, reminding us of the earlier fathers of English prose with their sustained and measured march of majestic speech; other portions again, are imbued with the quaint rambling humor of Sterne; while many more possess the racy simplicity and biting sarcasm of Swift. Like a well-skilled musician, who is familiar with every key and string of his instrument, this mighty master of style runs through the entire gamut of the English tongue; and then, as though that instrument, vast and capacious as it is, were not ample enough, to convey all the thick coming thoughts and fancies thronging upon his brain—breaks out, for long consecutive pages, into a wild mystic jargon, which for want of a better word, we may term “Carlylism,” compounded indeed of English words, derived from the old Saxon stock,—yet unlike any other combination of them spoken or written by any other man, baffling the eager curiosity of the most earnest reader, or giving him but one grain of wheat in many bushels of chaff, until, in despair, he exclaims of Carlyle, as Festus did of Paul, “too much

learning hath made thee mad!" There may be a method in this madness, but we confess we cannot discover it; if Mr. Carlyle were a mere literary charlatan, who sought to conceal his poverty of ideas, under the false glitter of sounding words; or did he entertain the same notion of language as the French moralist, who considered it given "for the concealment of thought," we might fathom his intent; but the original and masculine mould of his intellect forbids the first supposition; while the earnest, truthful nature of the man—his grim scorn for "shams and formulas" of all kinds, and affectations of every description, (except his own,) destroy the probability of the latter. It is only to be explained, as the struggling utterance of an intense and original thinker; more absorbed in his ideas than in the form of their expression, painfully striving to give utterance to that which is in him; whose peculiar habits of thought, tinctured by German neology, have unconsciously betrayed him into modes of expression, intelligible to himself, but to none else beside. Such was also the case with Coleridge and Jeremy Bentham, from similar causes, who also suffered grievously in reputation and influence from its effects; not to mention the friend and fellow-countryman of Mr. Carlyle, Edward Irving, who wrecked a magnificent intellect on the same fatal shoals, and perished, by that most tragic of all deaths, where the body survives the soul, a sad catastrophe, which has been most eloquently deplored by his gifted friend in one of his contributions to a journal of the day. But the "unknown tongues" of Irving, could not have more mystified his hearers, than those of Mr. Carlyle, his readers, among the most earnest and admiring of whom we class ourselves. It is with pain that we speak thus plainly of one whom we admire for his honesty and his genius; and from whose writings we have drawn so much both of pleasure and of profit; but the greater his power, and the more widely-spread his influence, the more pernicious must his example be; since all may copy his defects, few, however remotely, imitate his excellencies; and truth compels us to say, that a more formidable attack on the purity of the good old Saxon speech—the speech of Shakspeare, Bacon, Milton and Taylor—has not been made, since the days of Thomas Lyly and his Euphuists, than may be found in the "prose-run-mad" of Thomas Carlyle. He comes to us like the Gods of Olympus

appeared of old to Homer's Heroes on the battle field, enveloped in murky clouds; yet through the thick folds of surrounding darkness, break forth frequent flashes of lambent light, betraying the presence of the latent divinity.

Pass we now from these general remarks on the peculiarities of the author, to the consideration of the particular work at present before us—"The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell."

The plan adopted by the editor in the arrangement of his materials, is a very admirable one, and we shall follow it in throwing out our hasty and imperfect suggestions as to the value of these new contributions to the more thorough understanding of Oliver and the Puritan revolt. The introduction to the work, consisting of five chapters, in which are set forth the design of the author—his opinion of the other biographies and sources of information—events in the early stages of Oliver's existence, and an introduction to the letters and speeches, will principally claim our attention, as embodying the real scope and aim of the author's labours, and the peculiar views which he strives with much earnestness and eloquence to enforce;—views from which we most widely and emphatically dissent. The entire work is divided into ten books, each covering a certain period of time, and including the original papers belonging to that era connected by a thread of narrative, or explanation, with sundry startling fire-rockets of metaphor or commentary, shooting up at intervals, to the bewilderment of the sober reader; the whole constituting a valuable addition to our knowledge of the men and times of which it treats.

The first chapter, "Anti-Dryasdust," as he quaintly heads it, contains the germ of the author's purpose in compiling the book; but his ideas are conveyed in so peculiar a style, as to render it difficult precisely to understand them; except that he considers Puritanism to have been "a great heroism, the last of all our heroisms;" and Cromwell the true and perfect exponent of it—the great Puritan Revolt being in fact, nothing more than a "Cromwelliad;" "and then farther it becomes apparent, altogether contrary to the popular fancy, that this Oliver was not a man of falsehoods, but a man of truths: whose words do carry a meaning with them, and above all others of that time, are worth considering."

The same views were taken, as the basis of his Lecture

on Cromwell, in his "Heroes and Hero Worship," as we now meet in a more expanded form in the two bulky volumes before us.

His purpose can best be explained in his own words:

"It is with other feelings than those of poor peddling dilettantism; other aims than the writing of successful or unsuccessful publications, that an earnest man occupies himself in those dreary provinces of the dead and buried. The last glimpse of the Godlike vanishing from this England; conviction and veracity giving place to hollow cant and formulism—antique "Reign of God" which all true men in their several dialects and modes have always striven for, giving place to the modern Reign of the No-God, whom men name Devil: this in its multitudinous meanings and results is a sight to create reflections in the earnest man! One wishes there were an History of English Puritanism, the last of all our heroisms; but sees small prospect of such a thing at present.

"Few nobler heroisms, at bottom perhaps no nobler heroism, ever transacted itself on this earth; and it lies as good as lost to us, overwhelmed under such an avalanche of human stupidities as no heroism before ever did. Intrinsically and extrinsically it may be considered inaccessible to these generations. Intrinsically, the spiritual purport of it has become inconceivable, incredible to the modern mind. Extrinsically, the documents and records of it, scattered waste as a shoreless chaos, are not legible. They lie there, printed, written, to the extent of tons, and square miles; as shot rubbish, unedited, unsorted, not so much as indexed; full of every conceivable confusion; yielding light to very few; yielding darkness of several sorts to very many.

"There are from thirty to fifty thousand unread pamphlets of the civil war in the British Museum alone; huge piles of mouldering wreck, wherein perhaps, at the rate of one pennyweight per ton, lie things memorable. The Rushworths, Whitlocks, Nalsons, Thurloes; enormous folios, these and many others, they have been printed but never yet edited,—edited as you edit wagonloads of broken bricks and dry mortar, simply by tumbling up the wagon! Not one of those monstrous old volumes has so much as an available index." This then is the elysium we English have provided for our heroes! The Rushworthian elysium! Dreariest continent of shot rubbish the world ever saw. There all vanquished, overwhelmed under such waste lumber mountains, the wreck and dead ashes of six unbelieving generations, does the Age of Cromwell and his Puritans lie hidden from us." p. 4, London edition.

Our readers may find this a hard nut to crack, yet it hides a kernel; and still more significant of his real object is the extract we subjoin.

"In addition to the sad state of our historical books, and what indeed is fundamentally the cause and origin of that, our common spiritual notions, if any notion of our's may still deserve to be called

spiritual, are fatal to a right understanding of that seventeenth century. The Christain doctrines which then dwelt alive in every heart, have now in a manner died out of all hearts—very mournful to behold ; and are not the guidance of this world any more. Nay worse still, the cant of them does yet dwell alive with us, little doubting that it is cant ; in which fatal intermediate state, the eternal sacredness of this Universe itself, of this human life itself, has fallen dark to the most of us ; and we think that too a cant and a creed. Here properly lies the grand unintelligibility of the seventeenth century for us. From this source has proceeded our mal-treatment of it, our mis-editings, mis-writings, and all the other avalanches of human stupidity, wherewith we have allowed it to be overwhelmed." "It is very notable and leads to endless reflections how the Greeks had their living Iliad ; where we have such a deadly indescribable Cromwelliad." p. 10.

These long extracts have been given, because embodying in such distinct form the real temper and spirit with which Mr. Carlyle has undertaken his task ; the spirit of a genuine "Old Mortality"—who would accomplish for the history of the grim old Puritan, the same service, as his prototype for the tomb-stones of the Covenanters ; and with as little prospect of ultimate utility ; in both instances, the injunction "*requiescat in pace*" had better been observed ; since they have dragged into, and exposed to the light of day, many facts, which for the fame of their heroes, had far better remained quietly entombed beneath the "shot rubbish of the Rushworthian Elysium," and the moss grown tomb-stones of country church-yards. In another point of view, these extracts are also interesting, as adding a new chapter to "The Curiosities of Literature," since they exhibit Mr. Carlyle, the speculative inquirer, whose daring boldness of thought and utterance was so uncommon as to subject him to the charge of Infidelity and Pantheism ; suddenly veering about and instituting himself the sworn champion and defender of the straitest laced of all religious sects, and the special apologist for him, the "*facile princeps*" of them all—who prefaced his own private concerns, the execution of his king, or the ruthless and unsparing massacre of every soldier of a hostile garrison, equally with prayer to his God ; not the God of mercy, but of battles, whose gospel was to be promulgated by fire, slaughter, and the sword. For he evidently regards Cromwell, throughout his whole career, in the light, which he himself desired to be viewed, viz : as a special instrument of the Divine will ; and bitter is his wrath against all who have avowed or maintained a contrary opinion.

Common as it is, for biographers to contract an undue affection even for the foibles of their subjects, we seldom have witnessed so blind and devoted a zeal as that manifested by Mr. Carlyle; a zeal which can and will see no evil in its idol, and shares in all his hatreds and his loves.

This spirit is chiefly objectionable, because it gives distorted views of facts, and persons. In the present instance, in doing more than justice to Cromwell, rank injustice has been done to the band of great statesmen, by whom he was surrounded at the outset of his career, but who opposed and forsook him before its close; such men as Sidney, Vane, Ludlow, Harrison, Hutcheson, Bradshaw and Rich, "many of whom," as the French critic Thierry eloquently remarks, "tenanted the prisons of Cromwell; those who survived the hardships of that imprisonment and not fleeing their country, staining with their blood the scaffolds of Charles II."

In writing his Cromwelliad, Mr. Carlyle has, at the expense of justice and impartiality, attempted to dwarf these patriots, that the figure of the great Puritan leader might loom out in still more gigantic proportions from the contrast. That he was certainly the greatest of all the great men of that day; the "*luna inter minores ignes*" cannot be denied; he proved it by singly fronting and beating down the whole combined opposition organized against him. Yet was it no war of Pygmies, but the Titans struggling against Jove, and if their efforts were frustrated, the more imperious their claims for justice at the hands of posterity, since their sole rewards, in their own day, were defeat and exile, or a bloody death on the scaffold.

Mr. Carlyle does not, in this book, directly impugn either their characters or their motives, but treats them with a sort of scornful pity, as "very correct constitutional men, but of rather light fibre;" a judgment which he will find it hard to get many students of that period to concur in. And in direct opposition to the judgment of the learned Warburton, who pronounces them to have been "a set of the greatest geniuses for government that the world ever saw embarked together in the common cause." We will probably again recur to this subject, when we come to consider the real cause of the schism between the Protector and his early friends.

The chapter devoted to an examination into the Biogra-

phies of Oliver, is very characteristic ; in it Mr. Carlyle delivers his opinion of all the previous authorities, with an air of lofty self-complacency, which in a less distinguished writer would be ludicrous, and which even in his own case, we regard as in bad taste. Pity for the errors or defects of others, he has none ; and but little toleration for any differences of opinion with his own. The Priest and Barber in *Don Quixotte* did not more summarily pass judgment on the romances contained in the library of the Knight, than does our author on the works of his predecessors ; nor did they, more unscrupulously, appropriate any that happened to touch their fancy, than does he, the materials of the very books to which he applies the following sweeping strictures :

"To dwell on or criticise the particular Biographies of Cromwell after what was so emphatically said above on the general subjects, would profit us but little. Criticism of these poor books cannot express itself except in language that is painful. They far surpass in stupidity, all the celebrations any hero ever had in this world before. They are in fact worthy of oblivion—of charitable christian burial. The vituperative are many ; but the origin of them all, the chief fountain indeed of all the foolish lies that have circulated about Oliver since, is the mournful brown little book called *'Flagellum, or The Life and Death of the Late Usurper, by James Heath.'*

Heath's poor, little, brown, lying *Flagellum*, is described by one of the moderns, as a *'Flagitium,'* and Heath himself is called *'Carrion Heath,'* a blasphemous dullard—who has in fact no soul except what saves him the expense of salt—who in fact is carrion and not humanity?" p. 23.

This unsavoury appellation he applies to Heath throughout the book, and certainly some of the extracts justify severe treatment ; this little book, is one of the few alluded to, which after diligent search, we have been unable to find.

Of "*Noble's House of Cromwell,*" which is really the source from whence he has derived most of the incidents relating to the early life of Cromwell, he speaks in the most contemptuous terms ; alluding to its author as a man of extreme imbecility—his judgment for the most part seeming to be dead asleep ; and indeed, worth little when widest awake." Yet this "*poor Noble,*" as he habitually calls him, has furnished him with some of his most valuable material.

Ludlow, whose *Memoirs* he constantly refers to, is always "*the solid, wooden-headed man.*" Whitlocke is "*dull, pedantic Bulstrode.*" Thurloe's *State papers*, Milton's, Clarendon's, Ormond's, Sidney's, etc., are dismissed with

the brief comment that "they are old and very watery." "New and still waterier are Vaughan's Protectorate, and others not even worth naming here." He frequently alludes to "Rushforth's huge rag-fair of a book." The distinguished French biographers of Cromwell, MM. Villemain and Guizot, he very summarily disposes of in a short note, the former contemptuously, the latter with a sparing modicum of praise; but Villemain is not the apologist of Cromwell, nor is Guizot, and therefore could not much please one who was; both works, we think, characterized by much ability and research. Guizot's is much the more elaborate of the two.

The only biography that he does heartily commend, is that of Mr. Forster, in the *Statesmen of the English Commonwealth*; a series which we are happy to learn are about to be re-published in this country, replete with valuable information, conveyed in a strong manly style, and which will form an excellent antidote to the false impressions, conveyed by Mr. Carlyle, in relation to the worthies of whom they treat. Of the *Life of Cromwell* in this series, Mr. Carlyle observes:

"As a crown to all the modern biographies, let us note Mr. Forster's late one; full of interesting original excerpts and indications of what is notablest in the old books, set forth with real merit, with energy in abundance and superabundance, amounting in result, to a decided tearing up of all the old hypotheses on the subject, and an opening of the general mind for new."

Yet he neutralizes this praise in the very next sentence, by saying that

"Of Cromwell's actual biography from these and from all books and sources, there is extremely little to be known. It is from his own words, as I have ventured to believe; from his own letters and speeches, well read, that the world may first obtain some dim glimpse of the actual Cromwell and see him darkly face to face."

We differ from this opinion, and will state the reason why we consider Mr. Forster's plan and his book, as better and more reliable as a source of correct information than Mr. Carlyle's, though there can be no comparison between the ability, learning and genius of the two authors. Our objection to this plan of self-delineation through letters and speeches only, is based upon the very obvious reason, that it is entirely an *ex-parte* mode of proceeding, and calcu-

lated to give a distorted view of the facts. It is a maxim, as old as the science of law, that no man should be regarded as a competent witness in his own case, even to establish new facts, far less to disprove those already established by other testimony; and the rule has its foundation deep in the principles of human nature.

Many a man, like honest Dogberry, has insisted upon "being written down an ass," through gross vanity and blind self-conceit; but no one, to our knowledge, (Jean Jacques Rousseau excepted,) has ever voluntarily written himself down a knave; your very rogue Vidocq, set (on the faith of the old adage) to catch other rogues, in writing his own memoirs, makes himself out a very honest thief indeed; and each "cut-purse of the empire," like Louis XIV., makes the public weal his excuse for plundering his people; and like Clive, when reproached for his plunder, swears that he "stands amazed at his own moderation."

There is an instinctive impulse in the breast of every man, however callous, urging him to put the best construction upon his own motives and acts even to himself, and far more forcibly to others. Well did the mighty master of the human heart express this feeling in those pregnant words which he puts in the mouth of the rude soldier—

"Good name, my lord! in man or woman,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls."

Apart from any deliberate intention to deceive, therefore, self-love makes us bad authority in matters where our own interests are concerned. If Mr. Carlyle's object were, to write an apology for Cromwell, his plan would be an admirable one; if a biography, the worst possible. No wonder then that taking Oliver's own letters as the basis—the Procrustean bed of his facts—he finds it often impossible to reconcile them to his pre-conceived notions, and complains of the other biographies as "a jumble of confusions;" for Oliver is no Ariadne, and the thread he gives leads into the labyrinth not out of it, and leaves the bewildered adventurer groping in darkness there.

Let any one subject this matter to the simple test of his own experience; let him turn to his own letters or those of his friends, and observe how much vagueness of statement and of incident they exhibit; how much has necessarily to be suppressed or softened down to meet the peculiar pre-

judices or circumstances of the person to whom they are addressed, and he will readily admit what unsafe guides they would be to a correct appreciation of his own true character and motives.

If these difficulties lie in the way of a private individual, how much more forcibly must they apply to the case of a public man like Cromwell, whose letters and speeches were, at the time, mostly intended as vindications of his own course and character, against the aspersions of bitter and active political adversaries.

Much of personal character must, no doubt, be unconsciously exhibited in the private correspondence of every man ; peculiarities of thought and feeling, will be betrayed in his hurried letters to friends, when off his guard—and viewed in this light, they therefore may be regarded as valuable aids towards the knowledge of private character. What we insist upon is, that they should only pass for what they are actually worth ; not be set up as irrefragable evidences of facts, which no man, under peril of being termed “a flunkey,” “a wooden-head,” “a scandalous dullard,” or some other such Carlylean compliment, may venture to gainsay ! Taken with these reservations, Mr. Carlyle has performed a great and acceptable service to English biography, in collecting and modernizing these letters and speeches ; hitherto attainable only in their antiquated form and spelling, in old collections, or in detached fragments in Noble and Forster ; through which, as “through a glass darkly,” we may discover a dim outline of the real features of the grim old Protector, who if he wrote no clerkly hand, has yet “made his mark” on the English constitution, legible to this very day.

Until a very recent period it has been the fate of Cromwell to suffer from the same cause complained of by the lion in the fable ; his picture has been drawn by his enemies—his friends were men to whom (with the single exception of Milton,) the sword was more familiar than the pen ; and the indignities offered to his mortal remains, by the jackalls of the royal party, who dug up his corpse and hung it upon a gibbet ; were only paralleled by those subsequently heaped upon his memory by the literary panders to the imbecile Stuarts, who crawled into his vacant seat. Nor was it from this source only that he suffered. In pursuing the decided and arbitrary course, which gave quiet to

England, by concentrating in his own hands all the real power of the State, he raised up from all sides a host of enemies. The adherents of Charles could never forgive him the severed head of their "martyred sovereign;" the stern republicans, such as Vane, Ludlow and Harrison, regarded him as a traitor to "the cause," in assuming, if not in name, at least in deed, the privileges and powers of royalty; and after several futile attempts to shake his influence, sullenly withdrew their countenance and presence from him—after several of their faction had perished in the struggle.

The fifth monarchy men, wild religious enthusiasts, with Harrison at their head, scorned him, as a "man fallen from grace." The army alone remained faithful to him. It and his own dauntless soul, were the only friends left him in the latter days of his lofty but isolated power.

But all those who vainly chafed and struggled against his iron bit; all who cowered before the lion port and regal will of the living Protector, avenged their long and galling slavery when death had set its seal upon his ambition and his power. The restoration, that feast to which the foul moral harpies came flocking in, to the exclusion of all purer and nobler guests, opened wide the flood-gates of calumny, which poured a filthy and blackening stream over the memory of him, whose very name, while living, had been a protection to his countrymen in any foreign land.

It was to be expected, for it was in the base nature of every ass of that day, to spurn with irreverent heels the remains of the dead lion; but others, whose intellects and culture would have led us to hope better things, joined in the exultant braying of this rabble rout; some from base and others from generous impulses. From the tuneful numbers of Waller, which still survive, as proofs alike of his poetic genius and moral baseness, to the stately and court-like prose of the great history in which Lord Clarendon avenged upon the "great rebel," the exile and hoarded bitterness of years;—from the memoirs of his own republican brethren, who held him an apostate from their common cause, down to their labored eulogy of the Stuarts, where he lies smothered beneath the flowers of Hume's honeyed but poisonous words;—from monarchist and republican alike, who have treated of that period, equally unjust has been the measure meted out to him; until within

the last few years, the current of public opinion has turned, set in the opposite direction, and now in this latest contribution, with the headlong impetuosity of a wintry flood, threatens to sweep away in its course all the old historic land-marks which would check its freer flow.

One of the first historians who did treat Cromwell with any thing like fairness, was Mr. Hallam, whom, a sagacious critic, (to his own satisfaction if to no one else's,) has recently proved to be no scholar, on the authority of a note of Lord Byron's, attached to his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers;" and the non-user of certain authorities, with whose crabbed names the reviewer seems perfectly familiar. The rest of the learned world we believe, however, have given Mr. Hallam some credit for learning and diligence, and he certainly has done justice to Oliver in his "Constitutional History," where with the calm judicial impartiality for which he is noted, he sets forth both the good and evil influences of the Protectorate on the English Constitution, by the reforms effected or retarded by it.

We would earnestly recommend to all students of this period, to study carefully those chapters of Hallam in which will be found a clear and concise summary of the *political bearing* of the "Great Rebellion," though from the plan of the work the details must be sought elsewhere.

M. Guizot, in his History of the English Revolution, has availed himself of the labors of Mr. Hallam, and of much from other sources; in his work also, Cromwell meets with even-handed justice.

Forster's Life is the most impartial of all, and should be read simultaneously with that of Mr. Carlyle. He partially adopts the "fanatic hypocrite" opinion of Hume, though with important modifications, often manifesting flat incredulity at it; while Mr. Carlyle, like "vaulting ambition, overleaps himself and falls on t'other side;" in his eyes, Cromwell is king, "and can do no wrong."

The "*juste milieu*" in matters of character as well as in those of action, is, we believe, always the wisest policy to adopt. Our own opinion is midway between the two extremes, in this matter of Cromwell. We consider him neither as entirely a sinner nor a saint; neither regard him as a "fanatic hypocrite" with Hume, nor as a "God-inspired man," with Carlyle; but as a great strong-headed, strong-hearted man, whose good qualities are far more than a coun-

terpoise for his bad ones—the greatest king Great Britain ever had, though she has not deemed his effigy worthy of a place beside that of the brutal Henry, the bestial Charles, or the profligate George,—company, we imagine, that Cromwell would have cared not much to keep,—in the Pantheon of her new Parliament House; so little liberality of feeling is yet to be found among her hereditary legislators and land-holders.

The inquiry into the Cromwell kindred, which occupies some space in this book, is of very little interest to us in this Republican country, where a man's merits are estimated by his own acts, and not by those of his remote ancestors. The sentiment, so boldly expressed by the English poet Tennyson, has become the practical rule of life in this our Western World:

"However it be, it seems to me,
'Tis only noble to be good;
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood."

For though some few in our "fashionable world," may ape the arrogant absurdities of a foreign aristocracy, and purse-proud parvenues parade their liveried lackies and coats of arms; yet it excites only a feeling of quiet scorn in the hearts of those, who really sway the destinies of this Republic; the men, who by the exercise of their intellects, have won the confidence and admiration of the people; men who, like Henry Clay, have made a new name famous; not tarnished one already so. We leave to the hoary decrepitude of worn-out monarchies, the boast of a reflected renown caught from the past; the light that illumines our path, streams on before, to herald us to a glorious future—and progress is our watchword.

It may be interesting however, to such as believe in the hereditary transmission of qualities in certain families, to know, that although the immediate progenitors of Oliver were persons in contracted circumstances, and humble social position; yet the family "had been noble in another day." Noble has satisfactorily proved, that it was not distantly connected with royalty, and that Charles and Cromwell were themselves of kin. It is very certain, that among his ancestors, was the celebrated Cromwell, who rose into power on the fall of Cardinal Woolsey; and also Richard "who tourneyed successfully before King Harry, who loved

a man, and quickened the death-agonies of monasteries—growing fat on their spoil ;” thence called the “*malleus monachorum* ;” “mauler of monasteries,” as the quaint old Fuller terms him.

From these records we also learn, that the family name was originally Williams, changed into that of Cromwell in early centuries—that John Hampden was a cousin of Oliver’s, and Oliver St. John, the shipmoney lawyer, a near connection ; these facts will suffice us as to the Cromwell kindred, for the present.

As none of the early letters of Cromwell are extant, previous to the first letter in this collection, which bears date in 1635–36, when Cromwell was 37 years old ; Mr. Carlyle has thought it advisable, to prefix a sketch of one hundred pages, containing a brief statement of the events in Oliver’s biography previous to that period ; embracing such particulars of his earlier history, as he has been able to glean from previous biographies, and scattered records ; but as the authorities are very contradictory on these points, he has exercised a large discretion, in the acceptance or rejection of various incidents ; more with reference to the fact, of their sustaining or opposing his own peculiar theory, than with a strict regard to the weight of testimony going to establish them.

It is a fact, important to be borne in mind by the student of this period, that New Year’s day was the 25th March, (“old style”) in England until the year 1752. In Scotland, the year has begun with January since 1600. In all Catholic countries the style had been altered in 1582 : a matter that few persons have taken notice of, and a prolific source of variations, and contradictions as to the precise era of certain events ; “in consequence of which, we have Oxford Carriers dying in January, or the first half of March, and to our great amazement going on to forward butter-boxes in the May following—and similar miracles not a few occurring.” Where two figures are introduced, the last one is the modern year. With this preliminary caution, we will now proceed, briefly to skim over some few incidents in the early life of Oliver.

There never was a truer saying, than the trite one, that “the child is father to the man,” the germs of thought and feeling all lying latent there, waiting but the vivifying warmth of circumstances to burst out into full maturity ; and

a key to many of the hidden traits of character in after life may be acquired, by tracing back the character to the frank and fearless period of boyhood, before the mask of worldly prudence or propriety has concealed the real features, from the prying eye of the public.

Mr. Carlyle, apparently sets but little store by these sources of information; of Oliver in long-clothes he gives us not even a glimpse; nor does he dwell long upon his school-days; disposing of all the anecdotes of his boyhood, fished up with infinite labor, by Noble and others, from local traditions, and cotemporary records, in the following briefly contemptuous terms:

"Oliver's biographers, or rather Carrion Heath from whom the others have copied, introduce various tales into these early years of Oliver; of his being run away with by an ape; of his seeing prophetic spectres; of his robbing orchards and fighting tyrannously with boys; of his acting in school plays; all of which, grounded on human stupidity, and Carrion Heath alone, begs us to give it Christian burial once for all."

The Grand Turk could not, more summarily, bundle a batch of faithless fair ones into sacks, and thence into the Bosphorus, as food for fishes; than does our author dispose of these time-honored legends; in which the people of Huntingdon, Oliver's birth and early dwelling-place, repose the most implicit confidence. For these tales do not rest on the authority of Heath alone; the story of the ape is from Dr. Lort's MSS., as quoted in Noble, and is not impossible, though improbable; that of the vision, was admitted by Mr. Carlyle himself in a previous work, to be true, for it is as well established as any ghost story on record. It is too characteristic to be omitted; and tends to show the early bias of his mind. He had laid himself down *one day*, fatigued with his boyish sports, when the curtains of his bed were suddenly withdrawn, and the figure of a gigantic woman appeared before him, and told him that he should be, before his death, the *greatest man* in England; in his after days of power, when he was urged to take the title of king, he is said to have recalled to his mind the fact, that the figure had not used the word king, and he refused. The fact is mentioned by the grave historian, Clarendon, "as generally spoken of, even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture, that promised such exaltation."

This dream, for such it undoubtedly must have been, may probably have had great influence in shaping the after career of Cromwell, and is in accordance with his excitable aspiring nature. The process, by which aspiration is hardened into resolve, so powerfully drawn by the great wizard in the character of Macbeth, may serve to show us, how often prophecies may work their own fulfilment. In the case of Cromwell, dormant for years, the latent spark blazed up into a fierce flame, when fanned by the breath of circumstance; and the early vision, like a spectral hand, beckoned him onward, step by step, until he stood confessed the greatest man in England. Another incident of his boyhood too, was equally ominous of the future, though it is not dwelt upon by Mr. Carlyle. It is given by Noble, as the substance of a tradition at Huntingdon, that during one of the royal progresses through the kingdom, the royal train stopped at Hinchin brook, the seat of Cromwell's uncle; and that young Oliver, then and there made the royal blood stream from the princely nose of Charles, then a little shambling child; "this was looked upon as a bad presage for that king, when the civil wars commenced," says Clarendon.

On the period of his boyhood Mr. Carlyle does not dwell; but the learned Dr. Bates, who attended him in his last illness, has given his authority to some of the wild and wayward freaks of his boyish years; one instance especially of daring rudeness, in which he incurred the serious displeasure of his uncle, by an act of gross buffoonery; a taste for which, clung to him in the later days of his life, and often interrupted his most serious consultations with his friends.

When within two days of his 17th year, he was admitted as fellow-commoner of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge; entered on the record, 23d April, 1616; beneath which, some patriotic individual of later date, has inserted an abusive sentence in bad Latin and worse taste. Mr. Carlyle notes a curious coincidence; on that very day Shakspeare died; as his stone monument at Stratford on Avon testifies. "Oliver's father saw Oliver write in the album at Cambridge; at Stratford, Shakspeare's Ann Hathaway was weeping over his bed;" and he corrects the mistake of Chevalier Florian, who had made the day of Cervantes' death at Madrid, correspond with that of Shakspeare's; forgetful of the difference of "old style." Cervantes died ten days before Shakspeare; these facts are of interest to all, who do not

study history as a mere chronological table. The only inkling into the college life of that period, which our author gives, is an extract from a letter, written by Wentworth's son George (a college mate of Oliver's) to his mother; in which he informs her, "if the green table cloth be too little, I will make a pair of warm stockings of it;" going to prove how little of dandyism was then prevalent in Colleges. Forster on the authority of Sir Wm. Dugdale, declares, that Oliver was rather riotous in his collegiate career; and "had the name of Roysterer among most that knew him." And Forster adds, "that there is no reason to question the irregularities themselves, which are such, as thousands before and since have committed, whom obscurity in after life has dismissed to a happy oblivion."

It is very certain however, that he did not entirely throw away his advantages; for he possessed a good knowledge of Latin, the court-language of that day, as French is now; impressed favorably the most learned of the foreign ambassadors, sent to him during his protectorate; was master of a noble library, as the learned Dr. Manton testifies; and received the lofty praise of Milton, who stooped to flatter no man unworthily; and who declares him to have been "not an ill-scholar, though" as he adds in his own matchless style, "it did not become that hand to wax soft in literary ease, which was to be inured to the use of arms, and hardened with asperity; that right hand to be wrapt in down among the nocturnal birds of Athens, by which thunderbolts were soon after to be hurled among the eagles which emulate the sun?"

His respect too, for the seats of learning, lasted with his life; for an order of his, dated 1st July, 1652, has been preserved; in which he forbids any of his officers, from quartering themselves or soldiers, in any of the colleges of Cambridge University, or offering any injury or violence to any of the students or members of it, at their peril.

These things go to show a proper respect for, and appreciation of the dignity of learning; rare in those days, and indicative of a much higher degree of mental culture, than Cromwell has usually received credit for; men always depreciate that, of which they are ignorant, and the intolerance of ignorance, is almost equal to that of religious fanaticism.

The death of his father in 1617, withdrew him from

College; his mother being left in straitened circumstances, with the charge of a large family weighing heavily upon her; six daughters and an only son.

The cotemporary accounts of Dugdale, Anthony Wood and others, declare that he was entered as a member of Lincoln's Inn for the study of the common law, but he fell into habits of debauchery and dissolute recklessness; and returned to Huntingdon, a finished London rake.

This account, is admitted to be probably true, by Mr. Forster; but indignantly scouted at by Mr. Carlyle, with bitter objurcation of "Carrion Heath," as its putative author. Poor Heath has sins of his own enough to father; he should not be made responsible for those of others, who all unite in saying, that Oliver certainly was, what we would now term, "rather a wild young man." Confirmation of this is afforded by his own admissions, in a letter to his "beloved cousin, Mrs. St. John," dated Ely, 13th Oct., 1638, in which, he says: "You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh! I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true, I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me." Now this is either a piece of cant, or an admission of former improprieties; the Rev. Mark Noble, for expressing the latter opinion, is termed by Mr. Carlyle, among other pleasing epithets, "a Reverend, irreverent ape by the Dead Sea." Such tolerance has he for difference of opinion.

In October, 1618, Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded in Old Palace Yard; all London looking on. Among them, Mr. Carlyle imagines Oliver Cromwell; then reading law at Lincoln's Inn. His description of Raleigh's execution is graphic in the extreme, and brings the scene almost visibly before our eyes, by its powerful word-painting. We regret that we have not space to extract it; but refer our readers to it, as a most striking and impressive narration of a tragedy of real life, more moving even than the imaginary ones of his great cotemporary. The next scene in which Oliver becomes visible, is an equally solemn one though not quite as tragic. He has been for some time a visitor at the house of Sir James Bouchier, a man of some opulence, and with daughters too; "among the latter, a daughter Elizabeth, not without charms for the youthful heart;" also possessed of "landed property near Felsted in Essex." Cromwell married her in August, 1620, when he was twenty-one

years and four months old ; carried her home to his mother's house in Huntingdon ; renounced and abandoned all his youthful follies, and lived for ten years succeeding, the life of a quiet, orderly, respectable farmer ; became religious ; returned some money he had formerly won at gambling ; and seemed destined to pass his life in quiet industry and obscurity.

But though apparently contented with the contracted sphere in which he moved, he could not in reality "tame his nature down" to rest in it ; his soul was fashioned on too grand a scale, to dwarf itself to the measure of a quiet Country Squire—oracular on the crops, and terrible at Quarter Sessions—but fretted and irritated its possessor almost to the verge of madness. With all of domestic happiness around him that a man could covet ; a mother and a wife, both women of the highest qualities of heart and head, who were devoted to him ; commanding the respect and love of all his neighbors, who looked up to him as a superior ; his pecuniary affairs in a thriving condition ; and blessed with a constitution whose iron texture resisted alike exposure and disease, Oliver Cromwell was a wretched man ; a prey to nervous fancies, black hypochondria, and almost to madness. Dr. Simcott, his physician, told Sir Philip Warwick, that he "had often been called up to him at midnight, upon a strong phansy which made him believe he was then dying"—that "he was troubled afterwards with a strange phansy that the cross of Huntingdon steeple was about to fall on him." Starting from his bed at dead of night, with fits of painful watching—and then bursting out into wild fantastic shapes of merriment ; and as suddenly plunged into the depths of gloom—such was the condition of Cromwell in those years of prosperity, and seeming quiet enjoyment : the sword wearing away the scabbard—the restless mind preying upon the body ; "*cor suum edens.*"

"All great souls," says Mr. Carlyle, "are apt to have their hypochondrias. Let Oliver take comfort in his sorrows and melancholies : the quantity of sorrow he has, does it not mean the quantity of *sympathy* he has ; the quantity of faculty and victory he yet shall have ? Our sorrow 'is the inverted image of our nobleness,' the depth of our despair measures, what capability and height of claim, we have to hope."

This is eloquently expressed, yet we think it hides a fal-

lacy ; it would convert into a merit, the weaknesses of great men, and urge us to their imitation ; the sun shines none the less brightly for the dark spots encrusted on it ; yet he surely would not be wise who would commend them as beauties. The "*mens sana in corpore sano*," is, after all, the best description of a great man—soundness of mind and body—both acting freely in concert. Cromwell's greatness was lessened because of the want of their harmonious action. In spite of the authority of his biographer we must think, that these "phansies" sprung, not from his greatness, but from his weakness ; the weakness of a powerful mind it is true, but one, which could not, in calm self-confidence, be content to await the slow fulfilment of the high hopes it cherished. Cromwell's malady arose not from the "quantity of sympathy" that was in him, but of selfishness ; the born-king panted to assume the insignia of the power which he felt he was created to wield. In these sore straits, he became violently religious ; we can use no other word, for he did not embrace religion calmly and deliberately, nor evince it in his life, more than in his outward manifestations of it, but entered into it as an excitement ; his house became the refuge of all the non-conformist ministers, or of all who were persecuted for their extreme opinions—and he openly encouraged them to opposition, plead their suits, prayed with them, consorted only with the strictest of the Puritan clergy, and by his energy and fiery zeal, became the acknowledged head of that party in his own section of country. His influence, by these means, became so great, that he was chosen as member for Huntingdon, and made his first appearance at Westminster in that capacity, "on Monday the 27th of March, 1627-28." This was the third Parliament of Charles, by much the most notable of all Parliaments, till Charles' Long Parliament met, which proved his last. Its session was continued nearly a year ; "it framed the celebrated petition of right, and set London all astir with bells and bonfires at the passage thereof," and is declared to be "a most brave and noble Parliament."

Great men were among its members ; many whose names already were household words to the ear of England ; Wentworth, Hampden, Pym, Holles, Selden ; men who had been in former parliaments and were widely known. Oliver Cromwell, subsequently to be far more widely known, sat there as a new member, of but little note. They passed a re-

monstrance against Buckingham, and the petition of right, which pleased the people too much to please the king ; who prorogued the parliament from June to the ensuing January. Cromwell went quietly home, to attend to his farm ; but as we may well imagine, with many new thoughts and “phantasies” fermenting in his brain ; the war horse had heard the sound of the trumpet, and his soul panted for it once more. Who can gather the thoughts of that solemn scheming man ! who must, with his rare sagacity, have foreseen the terrible storm, that black and threatening, lowered over the devoted head of Charles ; and who mused at solemn midnight, over the wild vision of his boyhood, predicting his future eminence. It was in these years, that the hypochondria gathered darker around him ; and his fanaticism became more intense.

The murder of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton, a very important incident, in precipitating matters between Charles and his parliament, took place in August, 1628 ; and is powerfully described,—bringing the scene almost before the very eyes of the reader ; as a specimen of Mr. Carlyle’s peculiar power, we cannot refrain from extracting a portion of it here.

“One day in the latter end of August, John Felton, a short, swart Suffolk gentleman, of military air ; in fact a retired Lieutenant, of grave serious disposition ; went out to walk in the eastern parts of London. Walking on Tower hill, full of black reflections on his own condition, and the condition of England,—and a Duke of Buckingham holding all England down in the jaws of ruin and disgrace—John Felton, saw in an evil hour, on some cutler’s stall there, a broad sharp hunting-knife, price one shilling. John Felton with a wild flash in the dark heart of him, bought the said knife ; rode down to Portsmouth with it, where the great Duke then was ; struck the said knife with one fell plunge, into the great Duke’s heart. This was on Saturday, the 23d of August, of this same year. Felton was tried ; said that his wild flashing inspiration had been not of God but of Satan. It is known he repented ; when the death-sentence was passed on him, he stretched out his right hand, craved that this too, as some small expiation, might first be stricken off ; which was denied him as against law. He died at Tyburn. His body was hung in chains at Portsmouth.”

This description, “rammed with life” (as Ben Jonson has it,) is stamped with that characteristic, belonging only to the highest order of genius ; the power of projecting itself into the very heart of the thing described ; giving it all the vivid force of the relation of an eye-witness. Hard measure has been dealt to Felton, living and dead. He was only

the Pioneer of the Regicides ; a kind of bastard Brutus, who sought by an act of wild justice to free his country of a tyrant ; and who did it, paying the price of his own head as a forfeit. His body hung in chains at Tyburn ; it is time his memory should be freed from similar obloquy ; for if tyranny has reared its head so high, as to trample down and scorn the arm of law ; the only resource left, is in the strong and stalwart arm of some patriot, who like Felton, deems it a service to his country to free her at the cost of his own life and reputation. It was a murder—but the guilt of an action, often depends as much upon the motive of him who commits it, as upon the mere act itself, since men may even perform meritorious actions from unworthy motives. In act John Felton was a murderer ; in design a patriot.

The Parliament of 1629 that followed, "proved very brief, energetic and extraordinary," being occupied in quarrels with the King about levying "tonnage and poundage" (custom-house duties) without the consent of Parliament ; also difficulties about religious matters. The House resolving itself into a "grand committee of religion," it was before this committee, that Mr. Cromwell, member for Huntingdon, "stood up and made his first speech, on the 11th day of February, 1629, a fragment of which has found its way into history." This fragment is simply to the effect, that "Dr. Alabaster had preached flat popery at St. Paul's Cross ; and Dr. Neile had commanded him that he should preach nothing to the contrary, etc. If these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect ?"

This Parliament broke up in confusion, dissolved by proclamation from the King ; and none other met for eleven years. Cromwell's share in this Parliament was of the smallest ; nothing is recorded of him, but this side blast against the "flat popery preached by Alabaster at St. Paul's Cross." We hear nothing of him again, until 1631, when he sold his Huntingdon property, and removed to St. Ives, where for the next five years he attended closely to a grazing farm which he rented there.

Attorney General Noy, in or about this time, "was tormenting mankind very much about soap ; he tore them up irresistibly ; reduced them to total ruin. Good soap became unattainable ;" but this disturbed not the grim repose of Cromwell. Royal progresses passed by his farm, doubtless

disturbing the cattle, but not their master, who gave them no heed. Wm. Prynne, for the first time has his ears cropt off in the pillory ; a needless labor, as it afterwards proved, to have them sewed on again, for they were subsequently and finally cut off about four years after, for a seditious libel against Laud. Still Oliver, sternly observant, holds his peace. In 1634, came out the celebrated ship-money writ, framed by Noy, who "had been a patriot in Parliament until they made him Attorney General and enlightened his eyes." He is principally known to young students of law in our days, as the author of a very prosy book of Legal Maxims, to be found in the libraries of old common lawyers. In his own day he was much better known as a pliable and convenient political tool. He fabricated this writ, which was the origin of the troubles which finally cost his King his head and throne ; for though Mr. Carlyle strenuously contends, that religion was the real basis of the movement ; and with an indirect sneer at our own glorious struggle for constitutional liberty, declares that "liberty to tax one's self" is but a very contemptible thing to quarrel about ; yet, is it certain, that the illegal exaction of tonnage and poundage of Charles, without consent of Parliament, followed up by these writs of ship-money, was in fact the first and strongest inducement to the revolution which succeeded.

Hampden, the first who resisted this illegal exaction of twenty shillings, has immortalized his name by doing so. His trial at London, did not take place until 6th Nov., 1637, thus described by Carlyle :

"Learned Mr. St. John, a dark tough man, of the toughness of leather, spake with irrefragable law eloquence, law logic for three days running on Mr. Hampden's side, and learned Mr. Holborn for three other days, preserved yet by Rushworth ; acres of typography unreadable now by all mortals. For other learned gentlemen, tough as leather, spoke on the other side ; and learned judges animadverted, at endless length, amid the expectancy of men. With brief pauses the trial lasted three weeks and three days. Mr. Hampden became the most famous man in England. The judgment was not delivered till April, 1638, and then it went against Mr. Hampden." He must pay the twenty shillings "*et inde satisfaciatur*."

All this time, Cromwell was quietly dwelling at Ely, whither he had removed on the death of his uncle Sir Thomas Steward, who made him his principal heir, and whom he succeeded as farmer of tithes there ; his family remained there till 1647, when they all removed up to London. He

gained great popularity there by opposing the drainage of the Fens; and was commonly called the "lord of the Fens" thereabouts.

Although Cromwell took no visible part in this ship-money business, yet he was intimate with Hampden, who was his cousin, and who entertained a great opinion of his abilities; yet no two men could be more dissimilar in appearance and character. Hampden was a man of bland manners and pleasing appearance; a strict observer of the courtesies and proprieties of life; he first brought Cromwell forward prominently to the notice of the leading men, and predicted his future greatness. At that period, neither his style of speaking, his appearance, nor his address, gave any indications of the real power which his coarse exterior concealed—his appearance was clownish and vulgar—his manner rough and overbearing—his voice harsh and discordant—his temper violent and ungovernable—to the casual observer he seemed a sour, splenetic moody man, and nothing more. Such is the impression conveyed by the description of Sir Philip Warwick, who served in the same Parliament with him, and who in later years, testified his astonishment at the change of look, bearing and manner, which the exercise of power had wrought upon the then protector.

The anecdote is recorded of Lord Digby's asking Hampden, "who that sloven was who spoke just now?" His reply was: "that sloven, who hath no ornament in his speech, should we come to a breach with the King, will be the greatest man in England."

These almost prophetic words were spoken at the commencement of the long Parliament in 1640, before Cromwell had yet taken any very conspicuous part in public affairs. To this Parliament, which lasted thirteen years, Cromwell had been returned a member from Cambridge, by a majority of *one vote* over John Cleaveland, a poet of some note in his day, and a man of considerable influence, all of which he strenuously exerted against Cromwell. The election was most violently contested, and ended, as before stated, in favor of Cromwell, by a majority of one vote, to the intense mortification of Cleaveland and his friends. He was afterwards thrown into prison, in the time of the protectorate, and avenged himself on his great opponent, by writing out some rather indifferent lampoons; a specimen of which may be met with in Mr. Forster's book, which

wants neither pungency nor truth. It is a matter of curious speculation, to consider what effect might possibly have been produced by the casting of that one vote on the other side, and the consequent defeat of Cromwell. This Parliament, it should be remembered, lasted thirteen years, and he would, thus, for that length of time, have been excluded from public life; he was then not young, past forty years of age, and the probability is, that he would have retired in disgust from public life; the want of his presence there, might have led to milder measures. Charles might have worn his head, and he himself lived an humbler but a happier man. Such power do trivial circumstances often exert in turning or directing the current of our lives. The obscure and forgotten man who gave that vote, little dreamed of the mighty changes to which it paved the way, and its final effect on the destinies of his king and country.

In the first year of this Parliament occurred the trial of Strafford, the sole man of genius on whom Charles could rely to prop his sinking power, but whom he treacherously and unwisely surrendered into the hands of his enemies. In that great measure of "deliverance and liberty," Cromwell took an active, though not a conspicuous part; he mingled little in the debate; "but in at least twenty out of the forty committees appointed within the first week to consider of various grievances, his name is to be found."

Mr. Carlyle gives us with his own comments, two descriptions of Cromwell at this time; one from Sir Philip Warwick, describing "the first time" he "ever took notice of Mr. Cromwell," who was then speaking about a "servant of Mr. Prynne's that had dispersed libels," principally relating to the coarseness and carelessness of his dress, "his countenance swollen and reddish—his voice sharp and untuneable—his eloquence full of fervour." The other is from the life of Clarendon, where in his elegantly precise way, that nobleman describes the character of Cromwell before a committee of which he was chairman, as "rude, insolent and overbearing; so that he was compelled to threaten him with an adjournment of the committee, and a complaint to the House, which he never forgave, but took all occasions afterwards to pursue him (Clarendon) with the utmost malice and revenge until his death."

This latter account Mr. Carlyle rather sniffs at with upturned nostril, calling it, however, "a pleasant visuality of

an old summer afternoon in the Queen's Court, two hundred years ago."

We think it highly characteristic, as foreshadowing his treatment of the same Parliament, twelve years after; when he exhibited the same fiery impatience of all opposition, and grim resolve of purpose, listening to no voice but that of his own stubborn will.

From the period of his entering the long Parliament, the incidents of his career are familiar to all readers of English History; they are in fact an important part of that history. His progress was right onward from the period of Strafford's death; men afterwards remembered that at this time, he would frequently startle his companions by half unsheathing his sword, and bursting into fits of immoderate laughter from no good cause, as on the eve of several of his battles. The same uncontrollable exultation, manifested after one of his battles (Worcester,) caused his Republican Chaplain, Hugh Peters, to remark, "that man would make himself king;" and he was the first who fathomed the deep laid schemes of Cromwell, though like Cassandra, fated to warn in vain; but he was virtually King of England before that time, the sword had already carved the way which the subtle intellect had mapped out.

With this period, ends the sketch of Mr. Carlyle's introduction; as letters, speeches, and other materials are abundant after his entrance into public life. The task which we proposed ourselves, therefore, at the outset of this article, namely, an examination into the introductory portion of the work, is well nigh concluded; and with a few parting observations, we will leave the letters and speeches to plead their own cause with the reader. These last have been, as Mr. Carlyle says, "washed into some degree of legibility, a job of buckwashing I do not desire to repeat." And we believe him, for the labor of the undertaking cannot well be exaggerated, and only a man of all work like himself, would have dared attempt it. Comment upon particular letters and speeches would swell this article to a length, corresponding with that of the parliamentary effusions of the "Admirable Pym," whose "seventhly and lastly" has become proverbial, or of his modern successors, the honorable members of Congress, talking against time and the patience of their hearers, for the benefit of Buncombe.

There is much worthy of comment and consideration in

these letters and speeches, and still more to provoke criticism, both favorable and the reverse, in the running commentary kept up by our author upon them; but we take pity on the patience of "gentle readers" and forbear.

With a brief consideration of two or three leading points of variation from the other authorities contained in this book, we will conclude this impartial, but we fear imperfect article. It may be objected, that we lay down the book, just where most persons will be apt to take it up, viz: at Cromwell's own memorials; but such has been our object at the commencement. If we have dwelt with tedious minuteness upon the incidents of his early life, it is because they have hitherto been but little cared for or inquired into, and as yet remain a tangled skein of confusion. To disengage some of the hard knots has been the object of our humble labors, as it is, in our opinion, the only way to obtain a correct notion of the real nature of the man before it was warped from its original bent, by policy and the exercise of power.

One little matter claims our attention before proceeding farther. We desire to rectify two erroneous statements respecting the early history of Cromwell, which have crept into the *Encyclopedia Americana*, a work of such popular character and general correctness, as to diffuse widely any false impression derived from it. The first error is in relation to Cromwell's first entrance into Parliament, which the *Encyclopedia*, in its article on Cromwell, following the authority of Noble, fixes in 1625, full three years before he actually did, as all the subsequent authorities abundantly prove. Carlyle suggests, with great show of probability, that Sir Oliver Cromwell, the uncle, was the man meant. The other mistake is the statement as a matter of fact of the wild tale of Pym, Hampden, Cromwell and other republican leaders having intended to "embark for New-England with their families, but Parliament forbade their emigration."

We are well aware that this story has long been current in the gossip of ordinary historical manuals, and that the New-England poet, Lowell, has made it the subject of a very striking poem; but it is certainly better fitted for poetry than prose; "being supported by no worthy evidence, and utterly incredible," says Forster. Nay more; by reference to the original documents, it will be found that the embargo was very soon taken off, and the ships, with all their passengers, were allowed to sail.

The statement bears improbability on the very face of it ; they were not the men to shrink from the contest with power, which they had courted and provoked ; but ever went forth to meet it with a stern joy—"from the nettle danger they plucked the flower safety." It would be an injustice to their memories to judge them otherwise ; they had long foreseen the struggle ; they had deliberately paved the way for it ; and when the hour came, they met it manfully, like brave and fearless patriots, as they were. The very thought of flight, under such circumstances, would have been disgraceful to them ; in the words of Carlyle, "it was a vague report gathered over dining-tables long after;" nothing more. Villemain repeats it, and quotes Neale's History of the Puritans, as his authority. We are not aware that it has any other good authority.

Much of the first, and a part of the second volume, treats of Cromwell as a general ; his part in the civil wars at home, his campaign in Ireland, and his campaign in Scotland. His own letters and despatches to Parliament are given in full, and are very interesting and characteristic of the writer ; they are evidently the hurried and careless productions of a man, who prefers deeds to words ; and by the assistance of these letters and the graphic commentaries of the editor, a clear picture of those distracted times, is given to the reader. It is in this part of the work that the elucidations of Mr. Carlyle are the most valuable ; the letters themselves often needing explanations, which his study of, and familiarity with the history of that period, enable him to supply. We acknowledge our great indebtedness to him in this portion of his labors. Cromwell himself is a very careless writer, giving only the broad outline of occurrences, and not dwelling upon the minor details ; he presents us only the action of the masses and seldom descends to particulars. Of his own share in these signal victories, where there can be no doubt that he was the very informing spirit that animated the whole, he speaks with most unselfish brevity ; the credit of victory is always given either to the soldiers, or to the assistance and countenance of the Lord of Hosts ; for almost every one of his despatches ends with an exhortation to Parliament, not to forget that the "hand of the Lord is manifest in these things," and some of them are filled with allusions to scripture, as inappropriate as untimely, when the connexion in which they appear is considered. The intense

fanaticism of Cromwell in these earlier years, and the fixed belief that he was an instrument specially selected by the divine will, as well as the grim inflexible determination, which no danger could daunt or turn aside from its cherished purpose, are stamped upon almost every page of these letters. Gleams of warm affection for his wife and children, break out at times through the murky clouds of war in which he was enveloped, and shed a sudden radiance, like that of sunshine, on the drear details of massacre and bloodshed, with which most of these letters make us acquainted, in all their naked and revolting atrocity.

It is a curious fact, that Cromwell was the first man to make a decided military movement in the first civil war. He it was, who first moved, 15th July, 1642, that "the townsmen of Cambridge might raise two volunteer companies and appoint captains over them." He also sent down into Cambridge, at his own expense, arms for the defence of that county, the amount of which was afterwards repaid him, and one month after proceeded to the accomplishment of the daring military demonstration noted above. Seizing the magazine in the castle at Cambridge, and preventing the plate of that university from being carried off for the use of Charles, are acts which amounted to high treason, and would have cost Cromwell his head had the troubles ceased.

It was after Edgehill Battle, on the 23d of October, when Cromwell was captain, that he told Hampden, "that to cope with men of honor, they must have men of religion, they never could get on with a set of poor tapsters and town apprentices." Cousin Hampden thought it "a good notion if it could be executed." This hint was the first indication of Cromwell's far reaching policy; the formation of his celebrated troop of ironsides, which so often afterwards turned the shifting current of the dubious battle in his favor by their indomitable and stubborn zeal, to which fanaticism gave additional strength, followed fast upon the suggestion thus thrown out in this conversation. He certainly practiced no hypocrisy with his men in relation to the object for which he raised them. While others, observant of popular prejudices, were levying men against the king, in the king's name, Cromwell thus plainly and sternly exhorted his: "if I were to meet the king in battle, I would kill the king;" and his knowledge of human nature was shown, in the frankness there exhibited, as it afterwards made it easier for him to deceive them, and the fact had sooner or later to be exposed.

Of the many battles gained by Cromwell during the first civil war, such as those of Gainsborough, Wincely, Marston Moor, Basing House and others, we have not time to speak. The general account of Cromwell's mode of proceeding, given by his chaplain, Hugh Peters, to the House of Commons, in describing the taking of Basing House, will show the means he resorted to, and the spirit of absorbing religious fanaticism which he sought to infuse into the soldiers under his command.

"This is now the twentieth garrison that hath been taken in this summer by this army, and I believe most of them, the answers of the prayers and trophies of faith of some of God's servants. The commander of this Brigade, Lieutenant General Cromwell, had spent much of his time with God in prayer the night before the storm, and seldom fights without some text of Scripture to support him. This time he rested upon that blessed word of God written in the hundred and fifteenth Psalm, eighth verse, *'they that make them are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them,'* which with some verses going before, was now accomplished."

Oliver's letter on the taking of Basing House, was read in all the pulpits next Sunday, with thanks rendered to heaven by order of Parliament. Such were the tools he worked with, and such the general spirit in Puritan England at that time.

The prayer meeting of all the army leaders in 1648, as described by Adjutant General Allen, where Cromwell prayed for them and exhorted them, is also very curious, as giving an insight into his mode of proceeding, and the means by which he so strengthened his hands with the army, as afterwards to bid defiance to the republican leaders, with whom at first he heartily co-operated.

His short but bloody campaign in Ireland, the atrocities of which, no man before has ever dared defend; and which in that unhappy country have made "the curse of Cromwell" pass into a proverb; have found an apologist at last in Mr. Carlyle. He boldly proclaims the policy pursued by Cromwell to be in the end the most humane, sparing a farther effusion of blood, by a few stern and signal examples, and justifies the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford, where every man of the hostile garrisons was put to the sword, as the only effectual means of speedily crushing the insurrection. He speaks very scornfully of those who think that "the rose-water plan of surgery" would have answered

for Ireland, of which he gives a most terrible account, and says, "terrible surgery this; but is it surgery and judgment, or atrocious murder merely?" We regard it as surgery, but we think that a great deal of unnecessary rigor and cruelty was practised by Oliver, to bring the campaign to a speedy close, that he might return to England where his interests called him. Such is our explanation of it. There can be no doubt as to the commission of the atrocities charged upon him, for, from his own letter, we take the following statements: "I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men." This was after the place was taken; "when they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes." Infants and women also perished at Drogheda, says Mr. Foster. Cromwell attributes it all to the "spirit of God," and says, "therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory." So thoroughly imbued was his mind with the idea, that he was an armed soldier working out the judgments of God, that he deceived even himself as to his real motives. This campaign in Ireland, is, in our opinion, the darkest spot in the history of Cromwell, and we gladly drop a veil over it, as unworthy of him and his fame.

The campaign in Scotland, which succeeded, was also signalized by some hard fighting, but was not comparable in slaughter to the short but terrible one in Ireland; it also ended in the entire subjugation of Scotland to the Parliament. Gen. Monk was left in charge of that country, a man described by Mr. Carlyle, as a taciturn man addicted to chewing tobacco, but doing with great punctuality whatever was doable in that which he was ordered; he was afterwards celebrated as the restorer of Charles to the throne of his father on the death of Cromwell.

The length to which this article has already extended, warns us to bring it to a conclusion; though the causes of controversy between Cromwell and the Republican party, have not been commented on, as we desired. They arose from his treatment of the Parliament, which he successively assembled, and dissolved, as soon as they began to institute inquiries into the origin of his authority; but they would require too much space to enlarge on here. At some future period, we will probably enter into an examination of them, as

connected with *The History of the Statesmen of the English Commonwealth*, whose lives, by Mr. Forster, are now in progress of re publication in this country.

The private character of Cromwell, in his domestic relations, was very estimable, though even there, he cannot be regarded as a perfect model; for stern and puritanical as he was, his moral character was not without stain, if the gossip of that day, gathered from friends as well as enemies, may be relied on. Yet the manners of the day, should be taken into account. When the stern Puritan Pym appropriated Lady Carlisle, the former mistress of his great enemy, allowances may be made for others. Cromwell certainly was an affectionate husband and father, and a dutiful son. His letters to his wife and children, even in the midst of the dangers by which he was often surrounded, breathe the purest affection, and contrast well with the stern, inexorable temper displayed in his public despatches. His negotiations with Mr. Mayor for the marriage of his good-for-nothing son Dick, give us an interesting insight into the mode in which affairs of the heart were managed in that day; and prove, that with all his piety, Cromwell had an eye to the "main chance." It is purely made a business matter between the two parents—and the young folks are allowed to see each other, after the negotiations have been concluded. The most managing mother in fashionable life, in our day, could not display more anxiety about the "settlement" to be made upon her daughter, than does the grim soldier of the puritan army, on behalf of his "deere Dick:" who, however, was little worthy of his parental solicitude, being incurably lazy and inert, both in mind and body; and resigning without a struggle the high portion which the craft and genius of his mighty father had prepared, ready for his hand. From Mr. Carlyle's impressive account of the installation of Cromwell, as Lord Protector, on the 16th Dec., 1653, we extract the following striking description of his personal appearance at that time:

"Does the reader see him? a rather likely figure I think, stands some five feet ten or more; a man of strong, solid stature, and dignified, now partly military carriage. Fifty-four years old, gone April last; brown hair and moustache are getting grey. A figure of sufficient impressiveness—not lovely to the man-milliner species, nor pretending to be so; massive stature; big massive head, of somewhat Leonine aspect; wart above the right eyebrow; nose of con-

siderable blunt aquiline proportions; strict, yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fiercenesses and rigors; deep loving eyes, call them grave, call them stern, looking from under those craggy brows as if in life-long sorrow, and yet not thinking it sorrow: on the whole, a right noble lion-face and hero-face; and to me royal enough."

With this daguerrotype in words, the portrait by Cooper, given in this volume, does not coincide; but that by Lely, given in Forster, does; as also an old painting upon copper, in our own possession, brought by the late Dr. Cooper from England, as an original, and which has been much admired by good judges; the age of the painting is evidenced by the innumerable cracks visible across the surface in a strong light, but the colors are as fresh as though laid on but yesterday; it is strikingly similar to Lely's picture in some of the details, though we think for power of expression, and strength of coloring, it cannot be surpassed; in a strong light the eye seems almost to threaten, so lit up does it become, (with life); and the mingled expression of craft and power about the corners of the grand mouth and expanded nostril, convey to us more clearly the real character of Oliver, than volumes of letters and speeches could do.

It may not be an original, yet we think the intrinsic evidence would prove it so, with all who have studied the character of its subject.

In conclusion, we would remark, that it must be a matter of curious speculation for the student of history, to observe, what widely different opinions, two intelligent men, with the same means of judging correctly—and the same materials placed before them, may finally arrive at, by contrasting the judgments passed on Cromwell by his two latest biographers, Forster and Carlyle.

The former, views him with the critical sagacity of a lawyer, accustomed to sift the weight of conflicting testimony; the other allows his own lofty enthusiasm of character to warp his judgment and blind his eyes, even to the glaring defects of his hero. Mr. Carlyle declares Cromwell throughout his book, to be "a God inspired man"—an earnest, devout, sincere man—"no hypocrite or barren mummer, the soul of him a mere theatricality;" one who actually always thought what he said.

Mr. Forster, on the contrary, declares that the great curse of Cromwell, which caused his mighty projects to be scat-

tered to the winds, the moment of his own death, was his insincerity; he deceived all the successive parties who assisted to elevate him to power, and hence he stood like a mighty eagle, above sympathy and affection, on his lofty eminence. That his plans did finally fail, was proven the moment of his departure. The toll of his death bell, was the very peal of return to the exiled Charles and his faction. Mr. Forster says, some rooted curse that lay in his nature, caused his failure, and adds, "that curse was his want of truth, and could only have been implanted in such a nature, by some earlier scheme of the fatal ambition, which he realized in later life." "It is by leaving with him a portion of true enthusiasm, even in his works of greatest insincerity—it is by supposing that one so accomplished in deluding others, might also, and that most deeply, have deluded himself—that the extraordinary inconsistencies which have been noted in him, will find their solution at the last;" and he emphatically says, "viewed in his separate qualities, a greater man never lived;" in which opinion we heartily concur.

As he had lived in the midst of moral storm and tempest, during his latter years, so it was amidst the wild commotion of the angry elements, that his troubled spirit passed away. The most terrible storm that had swept over England for many years, was howling in its fury without, when, within a sick chamber, the soul of England's greatest man was striving to free itself from the wearied body that so long had held it. Three times the mighty sufferer was heard to mutter to himself the words indicating the stern doctrines which he held, "it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God!" "with great energy and vehemency of spirit."

"Tell me," he said to Sterry, one of his chaplains, "is it possible to fall from grace." "It is not possible," replied the minister. "Then," exclaimed the dying man, "I am safe! for I know that I was once in grace." Words which might indicate many latent meanings. By a strange coincidence, he died upon the very day, which with that taint of superstition visible his life long, he had ever considered a "*fortunate day*;" the day of the victories of Dunbar and of Worcester. The 3d September, a *fortunate day* indeed, at last, in dismissing the weary and broken hearted man to that long rest, which neither cowardly kings or base hearted courtiers could disturb, by their unmanly and brutal insults to his re-

mains. His works, however, have survived him; though no royal effigy of their greatest king may be seen in the National Pantheon; yet is his memory enthroned in the hearts of the English people; "the good he did lived after him;" it found its full accomplishment in the Revolution of 1688. Let the evil be "interred with his bones," and let us cordially thank Mr. Carlyle for disentombing from their mouldering vaults the buried records of him, who with all his faults and weaknesses, was yet emphatically *the man* of his day and generation.

ART. II.—NATURAL HISTORY OF THE SPIDER.

1. *Tableau des Aranéides*; par C. A. WALCKENAER. Paris: de l'imprimerie de Deutu. MDCCCV.
2. *Historia Animalum Angliæ, de araneis, de cochleis tum terrestribus tum fluviatilibus, de cochleis marinis*. London: 1678. Lister.

THE study of insects has not been held by mankind in the highest estimation. Many minds, otherwise discriminating and judicious, have affected to look down upon Entomology as forming an occupation, ill suited to dignify the intellectual faculties of immortal man. It has been urged, that a minute survey of such small beings, as constitute the majority of them, must tend greatly to lower, if not degrade, our powers of reasoning, giving to the mind a bias towards the observation of small or insignificant things, at the expense of great and important objects.

The deriders of Entomology have overlooked the fact, that men of vast conceptions have made that study an important branch of the science of natural things. These scoffers, who would, with scale and compass, limit the size of the objects worthy of the attention of the true philosopher, have disregarded the illustrious labors of such men as Reaumer, Clerck, Lister, Albin and De Geer, Fabricius and Linnæus; and many would yet convince us, that such labors are puerile, and such acquisitions unimportant. But the startling fact, that the giant mind of Cuvier was first occupied with the study of insects, has considera-

bly checked the derision of supercilious opposers of Entomology. The great author of the "Animal Kingdom,"—he who fathomed the foundations of our world, and, with his magic wand, called forth the gigantic wonders of a previous creation, deigned to study the existing organization of the microscopic beings that surround us. He moreover associated in his labors the great Latreille, the prince of Entomologists, on whom was conferred the signal honor of writing the last volume of the imperishable text-book of naturalists for all nations and ages.

To such minds, and to the mind of every eminent philosopher, the notion is absurd, that the *size* of a being constitutes its claim to notice. Greatness is a relative term, and has no meaning of its own. An ox, large in our eyes, is but a pigmy by the elephant; but the elephant by the side of the whale, would shrink to a dwarf. Our earth, vast to our senses, is so diminutive, when compared with Jupiter, that it is highly probable the inhabitants of that planet could not even see ours with their best telescopes. Even our system, with its countless stars and myriads of planets, satellites and devious comets, at times visible to our eyes,—could we climb to those dark windows of heaven, where ends *our* universe,—would appear like a little point in the countless, endless, boundless *all*.

It is obvious, then, that the objects worthy of our investigation are those which either manifest the power and wisdom of God, or which may affect man by their relations to him and his wants. Insects eminently offer to us proofs of the skill and beneficence of the Great Architect. Their uses and their depredations materially affect the happiness of man.

The word *insect*, conveying the idea that the beings thus called are divided into segments, has been used with various significations, by the authors who have treated of invertebrate animals. Thus, the word *insecta*, as employed by Linnæus, embraced the *crustaceæ*, the *arachnides*, and the *insecta* of modern authors. Other writers have restricted the term to those animals whose bodies are divided into segments, or joints, and which have six legs. This adopted definition actually excludes from the class of insects the family of *araneïdes*, or spiders, to which this paper is chiefly devoted. But naturalists will forgive the writer, if, using

the term in the vulgar acceptance, he should apply that word to spiders.

The term *araneïdes*, as used by Latreille, in the "*Règne Animal*," is synonymous with the name *aranea* of Linnæus. From the Greek word ἀράχνη, were derived *aranea* in Latin, *ragno* in Italian, *arana* in Spanish, *aranha* in Portuguese, *araignée* in French. The German *spinne*, the Dutch *spin* and *spinnenkop*, the Swedish *spindel*, and the English *spider*, have one Saxon origin.

The ancients had not overlooked the humble spider, nor its toils. Ovid represents the skilful Arachne contending with Pallas herself, and striving to excel the goddess in works of the needle. In the very presence of Minerva, she alone was unmoved:

Solo est non territa virgo.

But who could successfully contend with the goddess of wisdom? She was vanquished in the contest, and being chastised by Minerva, hung herself in despair. Meanwhile Pallas, either prompted by celestial envy, or by female compassion, turned to the unhappy Arachne,

Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit.

Virgil, when enumerating the enemies of the bee, mentions the web of the spider as a nuisance:

In foribus laxos suspendit aranea casces.

Other Latin poets describe the labors of the industrious spider in measured language, and with terms which prove that the ancients had carefully studied its habits and its peculiar formation.

The propagators of Islamism claim the formation of a spider's web at the entrance of a cave, as a miracle in favor of Mahomet, who had fled there when pursued by his enemies.

In modern times, this very remarkable family of invertebrate animals has been studied with the greatest care; and several men, among whom Walckenaer stands pre-eminent, have made it the subject of special investigation. This author published a classification of the Araneïdes, in which, even the illustrious labors of Latreille, in the "*Règne Animal*," made but slight modifications.

The numerous species of the family of Araneïdes, though

differing so much from each other as to be separated into a number of subgenera, form nevertheless, a natural family, easily recognized by the following characters.

The head and thorax are united into one body, called the *cephalothorax*. The union, however, is rendered visible by a line of separation. On the anterior portion of this, corresponding with the head, are six or eight *eyes*, which are simple and not compound, as in most of the insects proper. The *trophs* or organs composing the mouth, consist, first, of a pair of mandibles, called by Latreille *Chélicères*, a name preserved in this article, for the purpose of avoiding confusion. These organs are always provided with a *fang*, which is movable, hollow, and conveys the poison contained in a bag at its base, in a manner analagous to that of the venomous *ophidians*, or serpents. Besides these fangs, the *chélicères* are provided, in most species, with various teeth or projections on the edge of the groove, which receives the movable fangs.

The *chélicères* are articulated in most species at a right angle with the *cephalothorax*, and are therefore perpendicular, the fangs moving laterally, and being opposed in their action to each other; in some species, however, they are articulated horizontally, and the fangs moving downward, cannot be opposed to each other. Next to the *chélicères* are the *maxillæ*, or jaws, which vary in shape more or less, and on which are inserted the *palpi*, either at the top, or at the side near the base. These *palpi* are composed of five joints, one short and corresponding to the *coxae* of the legs, a long one corresponding with the thighs, one always short, which represents the knee or *rotula*; the fourth corresponds to the leg. The *lip*, *lingua* or *labium*, is placed between the *maxillæ*, and is sometimes not visible; it is often small and commonly conical.

The feet are composed of seven joints; the first two very short, form the hip or *coxa*; the third, always long, forms the thigh or femur; the fourth forms the *knee* or *rotula*; the fifth forms the *leg* proper, or *crus*; the sixth and seventh represent the *tarsus*; this last one is terminated by two usually pectinated *nails*, and sometimes by an additional hook. The feet are often supplied with various appendices, such as scales, bristles, hairs, &c.

The *abdomen* is connected to the *cephalothorax* by a short peduncle, and is always larger in the females. It varies

infinitely in shape in the different species, being frequently supplied with various appendices, in the form of tubercles, horns, &c. In most species it is very soft and easily lacerated. It is also variously colored, and spotted in the greatest number. On its *disc* are often seen four or more impressions, supposed to be formed by muscular fibres, connected with the liver. Near the *base* underneath, are seen two or four yellowish or pale spots, which indicate the *pulmonary orifices*.

Spiders are as various in their habits as in their forms. Some burrow in the ground, and, lining with silk the sides of their subterranean abode, watch for their prey at the entrance, which is often provided with a real door. Others have no permanent abode, and make no web for their dwelling place. These wander about in search of prey. Many, slow in their motions, lie in wait, and seize their victims by surprise. Some make various kinds of webs for a dwelling, and for the purpose of arresting the insects which constitute their food.

The female is an example to the most tender mother, in the care which she takes of her progeny. Her eggs, varying in number from fifteen or twenty to several hundreds, are sometimes collected in a mass, which the parent carries about until they are hatched ; but most commonly they are enclosed in a silk bag or cocoon, which varies in shape in the different species ; usually orbicular, they are sometimes ellipsoid, conical, planoconvex, in the form of a balloon, &c. In all cases the mother watches the cocoon with unceasing assiduity, frequently making a special web or tent for the protection of the young. Her care does not cease with the birth of her progeny ; she protects them till they are able to attend to their own support and defence. In several species, the mother, when her young issue from their eggs, takes them on her back and hunts thus, in search of prey. This gives her a terrific appearance, and the hirsute little monsters have been taken by careless observers, for hairy warts covering the body of the spider.

The courage displayed by the parent in the protection of her cocoon is really surprising, when contrasted with her habitual cruelty towards any other being. Avoiding danger with suspicious care at other times, she braves it then, and nothing can terrify her from her post of duty. Her limbs may be torn one by one ; but she will not use the

very last one, to make an attempt to escape; and when all her legs are severed, she is seen to grasp her cocoon with her fangs, and dies in defending her progeny. There is an almost magical effect in the sight of her dear treasure, for if, by force, the cocoon is removed at some distance, the poor mutilated mother instantly loses all her energy; she makes no effort to escape; she is paralyzed. She is willing to die; she has lost all for which she lived. But return her young family to her, and at once you may discover in every fibre of the mangled insect, that life, hope and energy are returned. She seizes the cocoon, and will renew the struggle, which overpowering force alone can decide against her.

It seems as if nature had granted the mother the power, if not to remove the sting of death, at least to postpone it. A gigantic female *Dolomedes* was once taken by a child, who thrust a large pin through her body, and brought her thus to the writer of this article. She held her cocoon firmly in her jaws, notwithstanding her wound. A large glass jar was procured, into which she was gently dropped, after removing the pin from her breast. She was motionless for some hours, during which her wound closed. She then made a web for the protection of her eggs, and embracing her precious cocoon within her long hairy legs, she patiently waited for the birth of her family. In a few days the little monsters, one by one, cut through their silken bag, and spread in myriads around her. Then she made, for the first time, a few feeble movements, indicative of maternal joy. But nature could do no more. Her duties were accomplished. She died, still hugging her cocoon to her mutilated breast!

Thus far, we have reason to admire; but it is with abhorrence, that we see the same creature display indiscriminate ferocity to other animals; and particularly toward the other sex of her own species. By a very strange freak, or rather, by a signal provision of the preservative wisdom of nature, the females in this family of invertebrate animals, are invariably larger, more muscular, and consequently stronger than the males. It is with the greatest caution and trembling that he ever approaches his mate or his tyrant; and well may he dread her vicinity, for there is not a moment when she may not turn a communion of

love into a scene of slaughter, and devour him in the midst of his timorous wooing.

Look in yon dark corner, and observe that female *Theridion*. She is motionless, and reposes her sleek fat body, after an ample repast upon gnats, and for aught we know, upon spiders also. Luxuriously she doses, and dreams perchance—not of love—but of a sumptuous banquet of blue flies or tender moths just born—and do you see far below her web, an attenuated, slender, ghost-like spider, with terror in his lean looks? It is her lover. Notwithstanding her well known ferocity, notwithstanding his timidity and conscious weakness, he has been drawn here by that passion which tames Neros and hyenas. But watch his motions. He is still remote from her dominions, and has not yet reached the frontiers of her habitual range. She does not even suspect the existence of such a spindle-shank as he. And yet he has already made preparations for a sudden escape, in case of a sudden attack. He is ever provided with a long thread which he fastens to every object that he touches, so that at a moment's warning he can leap into the vacant air and remain suspended at a respectful distance, and beyond the reach of the object of his terror as well as his love.

Do you notice how slowly, how cautiously, he moves his long slender legs? At last he is in sight of his beloved, dreaded one; and she still seems immovable. But he will not trust to an appearance of pacific disposition, which has cost the lives of many a lover of his acquaintance, and caused him to take many a leap, and brought about many a hairbreadth escape. Having obtained a view of the object of his attraction, he will now remain, perhaps an hour in quiet admiration of her fatal charms. Meanwhile, should the digestion of her heavy dinner induce her to stretch ever so slightly one of her limbs—down—he disappears in the untravelled realms beneath, trusting to his filmy chord for immediate escape. With increased cautiousness he will at last re-appear, ever ready to take a true lover's leap. He will in no case consider his addresses as favorably received, except when she remains perfectly motionless during his courtship. This he repeatedly tries as he approaches by gently pulling some of the threads on which she is suspended; and frequently it happens that the poor wretch, delu-

ded by her apparent acquiescence, at last falls a real victim to her treachery.

The writer once observed a male of a different subgenus, the female of which dwelt in a crevice of a wall. This male had been for more than twelve hours advancing by imperceptible motions towards her abode. He had already advanced as far as the web with which she had surrounded the orifice of her palace, and his yet invisible deity, perhaps seemed propitious to his ardor. The observer, at that moment, desirous to secure a new specimen, with a pin, suddenly transfixed the poor lover, then little dreading harm from any quarter, save from that of the object of his passion. At that moment, roused by the commotion in her web, and before he could be removed from her toils, she rushed impetuously, disregarding any danger, and grasping him in her talons and jaws, used her utmost endeavors to drag him in her den. She yielded only to actual force, compelling her to abandon a prey which she indeed considered as her own property.

In describing the singular habits of spiders, their arts, their skill and wisdom, we will speak of the female only. We have finished the history of the male. Beyond these traits just described, he is a mere cypher. Except when in search of his mate, he is never seen, but hides in some dark corner, satisfied with the scantiest fare. He seeks no power, claims no authority, and has resigned the sceptre to the being, whose sway he never could presume to dispute or oppose.

We spoke above of the maternal virtues of the spider, but her arts in making preparations for the cradle of her progeny are truly wonderful. In almost all species her eggs are enclosed in a cocoon, a silken bag most artfully woven, in a shape which varies infinitely in the different species. Sometimes it is orbicular, and lined inside with the finest and softest down. When of this shape it is usually carried by the mother, who never leaves it, even in her excursions for prey. But when it belongs to a mother not given to distant expeditions for her sustenance, it is firmly fastened by myriads of protecting chords, so artfully interwoven, as not only to secure it in its place, but also to guard it against the elements and its natural enemies. It is also sheltered by tents, or tubes, or canopies, varying in shape or extent in each species, but always uniform in the same. Some are

perfect representations of balloons, with their parachutes; others resemble the gourd of the pilgrims; others, when danger is apprehended by the exposed situation of the web of the mother, are artfully disguised, and concealed under the mutilated remains of insects or leaves.

But now let us pass to the various arts of this singular tribe of beings. Did it ever happen to you to inquire, as you rambled in the woods, how a spider had contrived to build its beautiful geometrical web across that babbling brook? Swim it cannot; still less can it fly. Let us watch the proceedings of the one which, as you see, has ascended one of the branches of the bush of elder, that spreads over the noisy stream. Having reached its extremity it has come to a pause, as if waiting with some object. It is watching the fluctuations of the evening breeze. Now it has caught the breath of the changing zephyr, which turns towards the other bank; and darting a long filament, which it held folded in readiness for the occasion, the filmy chord is borne with the current of air, and soon becomes entangled in the bough of a tree growing on the banks of the *terra incognita*. Now we have a suspension bridge, safe and firm, for it was just woven of the best materials; and by a little stretching it has given dame spider an admirable way to cross the little stream. Fearlessly she advances, sailor-like, over the untried path, to a new world, and she has already reached midway, when she suddenly pauses again. Can she have misgivings? does the slender cable give indications of a fatal rupture? No. It is firm and amply secure. But some problem of Euclid has to be solved. She has reached the intended centre of her future edifice, and there she glues another thread, which she extends as she resumes her journey, and having attained the other shore, she descends a little lower on the same tree, and there attaches the new filament, which she has stretched with care. This now serves her to return to the centre, where she again fastens a thread, which she will carry to the bush from which she first departed, and this will soon form a second brace to her web. In a few minutes, you will see a multitude of silken strings, all tending from every direction, though in the same plane, towards the same central point. The most remarkable part of her structure yet remains to be finished. For this, she returns to the point where all the angles meet, and she begins to turn round

and round this centre, uniting every space with a new thread that now describes a spiral figure constantly increasing, and which, crossing the original radii, will soon complete the web of our adventurous Epeira. There she will now await the capture of incautious insects, placing herself either in the middle of her geometrical toils, or above, in a tent formed in the shape of an inverted cup; but wherever she is, the tension of the strings is such, that she is instantly informed by their vibrations whenever one of her victims is entangled, or is but touching one of the fatal filaments. See how rapidly she has reached the spot where the poor insect is struggling! She measures it at a glance, and judges of its strength, as well as of the quantity of strings required to confine its limbs. If its weight be found too great for the existing threads, see how often she has already ascended to the branch above, where each time she has attached a new chord to strengthen those from which the prisoner is suspended. But suppose the victim, by its fearful efforts, has broken the supporting threads; it is not yet freed from danger; nor is the spider daunted or discouraged, for she had foreseen the accident, and had fastened to one of its limbs another string, from which it is now suspended again a little farther down, without the means of reaching other threads which might assist it to tear its bonds. Look at her, bustling above and below, mending a knot, adding another, renewing braces; and making, in a few seconds, this new band a far stronger one than the first. Suppose her prey, a hundred times larger than herself, has wings and tries to use them; a big wasp for instance, whose ample pinions are powerfully at work. Well! great commotion to be sure is produced, but all in vain, for the play of those wings only serves to cause the foolish wasp to whirl and revolve again with tremendous rapidity. And is the little heroine now terrified by the whirling and the noise? Nothing like it. There she sits coolly, fearlessly, willing to waltz with her prey, for it has not left the spot of danger; and you may see it within the reach of the powerful sting of its enemy, fearfully brandished at random, in the air; there she patiently revolves with the infuriated wasp, waiting till its strength will fail; and fail it must, for the silken band is stronger than ever, and every pause made by the prisoner serves to confirm its doom. See her now spinning with such rapidity an endless thread, which,

with her hind legs, she winds round every limb of the weary wasp. Now it becomes sensibly weaker, and every motion is made with slackening energy. It makes another pause. Now cautiously she advances, and grasps in her fangs one of the joints of the wasp's feelers or legs, and inflicting a small wound, she is now slyly instilling the unfailing venom which nature has granted to the spiders as well as to the serpents, for the destruction of their prey, or of their enemies. Unfailing it has ever proved to be; for by releasing the insect thus wounded, from the toils of the spider, it has invariably been discovered that it is already paralyzed, no longer able to direct its flight, and that it must die in an hour or two. The doom of the weary, unconscious wasp is now sealed. It may make a few faint efforts, but it becomes weaker apace; its shackles are tightened with little interruption; and in a few minutes more, it will be firmly, closely bound in a straight jacket, being now reduced to the stillness of the grave; and its puny conqueror can at leisure feast upon its carcass, and prepare for another conquest.

The vulgar supposition that there are flying spiders, arises from the fact that these insects are often seen in mid air, apparently without support, and it is thence concluded that they must have wings. This is as rational a conclusion as that of the child asserting that some men live on steel because he saw a juggler swallow a broad-sword. Many species of spiders can float in the air, and thus perform long journeys; but they certainly have no wings. How is it done, then? Come with me in the fields, about an hour after sun-rise, and I will show you. First observe that the heat of the sun rarefying the vapors of the morning, has produced a current of air upward, so that any down or fairy film thrown loose, instead of falling, will ascend quite rapidly. And now, do you see that little spider upon a twig so busy, so active, and yet apparently working so faithfully without an object? With its hind legs it is winding a ball of gossamer, actually lighter than air in some circumstances. Now, it has thrown it up, and it floats, and it rises apace, though confined by a thread which the spider is lengthening, until finding the conveyance safe and ready, she launches herself without fear, trusting to a balloon which is assuredly founded upon safer principles than those of man's invention; for there is no danger of explo-

sion, or of the escape of gas, or a thousand accidents which have baffled human wisdom and science in aerial voyages.

We have spoken above of the skill and ingenuity of spiders in building their cocoons; but their labors are not less remarkable in the construction of their various abodes. The *mygale*, and the *atypus* seemingly conscious of their horrible appearance, not only shun the light of day, but industriously dig caverns in the earth, sometimes two feet in depth. These tubular dwellings are lined with silk to prevent the caving of the soil, and provided with a *door*, which perfectly fits the aperture, and which has a hinge, a real scientifically constructed hinge. This, by its own weight, is sufficient in a moment to hide the opening. The spider, however, can close it inside so effectually, that it requires a considerable effort to force it open. The upper surface of this door is lined with a coat of the very soil which surrounds the aperture, so that when closed, it is impossible to discover its existence. Frequently has the observer, after succeeding in finding such an abode, made a mark or planted a stick to indicate its situation; and, after all, failed a second time to discover the place, without raking up the soil. We are surrounded every where with wonders, not revealed to our senses, until we laboriously pierce through the veil placed by nature to hide her designs. The writer of this article, informed of the existence of such skilful spiders, had for years, in vain, looked for the door of a *mygale*, often taking long walks for this purpose, till an accident revealed to him the fact that many such spiders, with their nests, could be found a few inches from his own door steps.

Thus far, we have found spiders, exercising the various professions of the weaver, the engineer, the locksmith, the miner; but what will you say when we introduce to you a practised mariner, fisherman and diver, with a bell constructed on the most scientific principles? The industrious *argyroneta*, though not yet discovered on our American shores, is frequent in the stagnant waters of the old continent. She not only dwells under water, but there spreads her nets, builds her dwelling, and even there deposits the cocoon which contains all her hopes and her joys. She selects an abode in a pond, among aquatic plants, and first builds her diving bell in the real shape of an inverted cup which is firmly attached to the stems of such plants as al-

ways grow under water. This bell is woven with such care as to be able to retain the air, which she gradually introduces under it in the progression of her sub-marine palace. This is quickly accomplished, by frequently rising to the surface, from which, each time, two bubbles of air are found to adhere to her body, like two costly pearls, which she adds to her store, and which she has the art to detach permanently from her sides. Our fond fancy loves to make us dream of Naiads, of aquatic fairies, and of Undines of our own imagination; and now, save the fair form of a nymph, the *argyroneta* has realized our fanciful fictions. The crystal wave her dwelling; silken draperies and damask canopy her pavilion; now bathing in ether, and basking on a smoother mirror than ever was invented by man; now wrapped in the witching solitude of her diamond abode, secure from the intrusion of mortal fiend. The blue sky, the green wave, the watery grove are her realms. What more could fair fancy wish?

If the question be asked, of what use are spiders, we answer; in the economy of nature they perform an important function, freeing the air from myriads of insects, which, without them, would annoy, perhaps endanger man. But the labors of spiders are capable of becoming highly beneficial to our race. The web of the *tegenaria*, when applied to a cut, has the power of arresting the flow of the blood. It has been also used by physicians internally, as a powerful narcotic. The threads which compose the cocoons of several species, are possessed of extreme pliancy and strength, and have actually been reeled and woven into gloves and stockings. But the ferocious habits of these industrious beings is a serious obstacle to their being extensively used in this way. Whenever several have been collected together with that object, they have invariably waged with each other a war of extermination; and the only alternative, for the manufacturer, would be to supply each spider with its own apartment.

Thus far we have viewed this race as a terror to other beings. Is it invincible? Their physical construction would speak the reverse. Their feeble, slender limbs are torn from their bodies, by the slightest shock. Their body is so soft and so unprotected externally, that a mere scratch of the skin may allow their life blood, or at least the fluid on which their life depends, to exude in profusion, and at once prostrate and paralyse them. Indeed, such is their

physical debility, that it seems almost miraculous, that they could ever conquer or even confront the fierce warlike wasp, with its impenetrable armor and panoply of steel. But it is only on their toils and nets, that they depend for victory. Deprive them of their web, and they must passively submit to the overwhelming strength of their numerous enemies. Among these is a very curious insect called the *sphex*, by naturalists, and known in the south, by the name of *dirt-dauber*. These curious masons build in the dark corners, even of our apartments, regular edifices of moistened clay, which soon hardens into very strong mortar. These edifices are formed in the shape of needle cases, placed side by side, sometimes in considerable number, making large concretions, which disfigure the chambers, that are not daily visited by the broom of the industrious housekeeper. In each of these tubes, are placed two or three eggs, the offspring of the *sphex*. These soon hatch out, and must be fed. They can eat nothing save soft, tender, delicate spiders. And how are these young epicures to be supplied with fresh meat? All this has been provided for, even before their birth, by their provident mother. Before sealing the opening of the nursery, she has there accumulated, twenty, thirty and sometimes even forty, delicious little spiders, for the meals of her yet unborn progeny. And now mark the admirable provision made by nature for the sustenance of all beings! See, as it were, the finger of creative wisdom, showing clearly the existence of causes preceeding effects! Had the *sphex* inclosed in her tube *dead* spiders, they would have presently withered and contracted to dry mummies, unfit, as food, for the soft little white worm just issuing from its egg. No. They are not dead, nor likely to die for many weeks. But they have been *paralyzed*, or nearly so, by the sting of the *sphex*, which contains just venom enough to accomplish that object. Thus, the poor helpless prisoners are kept fresh and tender, so that the young vampire may, as it grows, find the daily meals, which will at last increase its size sufficiently, to fill its then solitary cell. Had the spiders been wounded by the sting of the malignant wasp, for instance, no such provision could have been made, for the support of the young *sphex*. When such facts are unfolded, it seems that men must be strangely blinded, who refuse to acknowledge the existence of a pre-existing, universal, irresistible wisdom. N. M. H.

ART. III.—EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Life of Emanuel Swedenborg, with some account of his Writings. By NATHANIEL HOBART. Second Edition, enlarged. Boston: T. H. Carter and Company, and Otis Clapp. MDCCCXLV.

TIME is beginning to pass a just judgment on the character of that extraordinary man, Emanuel Swedenborg,—certainly one of the most gifted geniuses that ever appeared on the face of the earth. Seventy-four years have elapsed since his death. This period has constituted the mere sunrise of his fame—the dawn of a meridian splendor that is yet to bless the nations. By his far-seeing contemporaries he was considered, and was pronounced, and justly too, the greatest man of his country and age, whether regard were had to the herculean powers of mind with which Providence had endowed him, his laborious researches into the mysteries of the universe, his profound knowledge of human nature, acquired in travels as extensive as those of the ancient philosophers, the light which he shed over every known department of science by his fearless investigations and wonderful discoveries, or finally, the exceeding beauty of a life sanctified by the sincerest piety and glowing with the charms of the most enlarged and fascinating philanthropy. No author, since the discovery of the art of printing—nay, none since the invention of letters, has ever written so many books—or so many good ones—books that will survive the wreck of an ephemeral literature and a transient theology, and will exercise a benign and ennobling influence on the successive generations of men, whatever language they may speak, and wherever and whenever they may appear, to take their place and act their part on the great theatre of life.

Who ever thought so profoundly on great and noble themes as Swedenborg? What patriot was ever more just, generous, considerate and active? What merely finite human being was ever so highly favored by the

* This article is evidently from the pen of a receiver of the doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg. It is chiefly biographical in its character, and therefore not objectionable. An increasing interest exists in this quarter to know something more than is known of the character of the Swedish sage, and we trust, therefore, that this narrative will not be unacceptable to our readers. [*Ed. S. Q. Rev.*]

Almighty? Illustrious sage! A true saint! if there ever was a saint, and yet one who never desired to be canonized. An apostle of truth, but one whose message, unfit for the market-place, was never heard in louder tones than those of a deep and solemn conviction—a co-worker together with the Creator in the achievement of the grandest designs of Providence, but who regarded the title of his servant, if justly acquired, the highest glory to which man can aspire. The fame of Bacon and Newton and Locke—of Milton and Shakspeare and Scott, pales and grows dim before the brighter glory that clusters around the name and acts of this renowned individual! They acquired distinction for the splendor of their success in particular departments of inquiry, and in certain spheres of intellectual labor, but it was reserved for the more fortunate and celebrated Swede to master, not one science, but the whole circle of arts and sciences, and to understand and reveal the great connecting links that subsist between mind and matter, time and eternity, man and his Maker, in a far clearer manner than any, the most gifted and inspired of his predecessors.

The world may be challenged in vain to produce, in the history of any single individual, such a combination of gigantic and well balanced powers of mind, with such vast and magnificent attainments of all sorts. If Tully was thought to have bestowed high and immortal praise on the great Plato for saying that he brought down philosophy from the skies to dwell among men amid cool and shady retreats, where, in fact, it has been sullied and profaned by human passions, how much higher, and how much more immortal praise belongs to Swedenborg, who, with the spirit of an angel, has carried philosophy up to the skies, the birthplace and home of the just, where it glitters all over with the beautiful and brilliant rays that emanate from the Sun of Righteousness! Proceeding from the outer and earthly, he has penetrated to the inner and heavenly worlds proper to man, has revealed their mysteries, and promulgated the laws of the great Legislator which govern them. The whole universe, in its general aspects, is the object of his meditations and study, and, not omitting particulars, he finds as profound and beautiful a significance, and sees as speaking a manifestation of the power and love of the great Creator in the pebble on the sea-shore, or the leaf that waves in the breeze, as in a star of the first magnitude that decks the

firmament. He did not look upon the world around him with the eyes and feelings of ordinary men. With religious veneration and in the spirit of a true philosophy, he at all times connected the finite with the infinite, and saw in every thing that exists in the animal, the vegetable and mineral kingdoms of nature, as well as in that kingdom which is above nature,—the spiritual—some image or shadow of a great and Divine Presence.

Jesper Swedberg, the father of the great Swedenborg, was himself a man of remarkable learning and piety. It is said, that he had written manuscripts enough to have made ten cart-loads—most of which were published. He was the Bishop of Skara in West Gothland, Sweden, and also of the Swedish churches of Pennsylvania in the United States, and of London, England. Bishop Swedberg had eight children, four sons and four daughters. Emanuel was his third child, and was born on the 29th January, 1628. There were several bishops in the family of Swedenborg: first, his father; afterwards, one of his sisters married Erinc Benzeliuſ, Archbishop of Upsal; again, the Bishop of West Gothland, Fileniuſ, married his sister's daughter, and finally, Benzelstierna, bishop of Westmania and Dalecarlia, was the son of his second sister; so that there were no less than three bishops and one archbishop in his own immediate family. In a letter written by him to the excellent Dr. Hartley, he ſays alſo that he was on terms of intimacy with all the bishops of his country, ten in number, ſo that his family and his connections may be regarded as eminently theological; beſides that ſeveral of them were elevated to civil offices of diſtinction. Lars Benzelstierna, who married his ſecond ſiſter, was promoted to a provincial government, and other relations enjoyed various ſtations of dignity—not to mention thoſe filled by Swedenborg himſelf, who was a Peer of the realm, the intimate friend and counſellor of his ſovereign, the honorary or *de facto* member of various learned ſocieties both at home and abroad, and the highly appreciated friend and correſpondent of the moſt celebrated ſavans of Europe.

Bishop Swedberg entertained ſingular notions on the ſubject of naming his children. He was ſtrictly ſpeaking a Bible man, and it was one of the concluſions to which he had arrived, after thoroughly ſearching the ſacred Scriptures, that in all the Old Teſtament no authority was to be found

which would justify parents in giving to their children their own names, or the names of their kindred ; and although, in New Testament times, it would seem that the practice prevailed to some extent, yet he regarded it as an innovation, and preferred giving them names out of his own immediate family, and such as would either remind them of their constant dependence on Almighty God, or of the virtues and bright examples of some remarkable persons after whom they were called. It is certainly a singular circumstance that the name, Emanuel, should have been given to Swedenborg. Speaking on this subject, when Swedenborg was forty years of age, the good Bishop says,

"Emanuel, my son's name, signifies 'God with us,' and blessed be the Lord's name, God has to this hour indeed been with him ; and may God be further with him, until he is eternally united with him in his kingdom !"

It is also a curious fact, that not only the father, but seven out of eight of his children, were Sunday children, that is, were born on Sunday, and that Swedenborg was not only born on Sunday, but also died on Sunday, and what is still more strange, that one month previous to his dissolution, he actually predicted, on two occasions, the day of his death, which took place accordingly. Of this fact the testimony is unquestionable, it having been certified to by those in whose presence the prediction was made, and in one instance, in the most solemn manner, on oath, before the Lord Mayor of London, in which city Swedenborg died.

Swedenborg was distinguished for his early piety. All his biographers agree on this point. In one of his letters addressed to a friend, he says,

"From my youth to my tenth year, my thoughts were constantly engrossed by reflecting on God, on salvation and the spiritual passions of man. I often revealed things in my discourse which filled my parents with astonishment, and made them declare at times that certainly the angels spoke through my mouth. From my sixth to my twelfth year, it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning faith, to whom I often observed, that charity or love was the life of faith, and that this vivifying charity or love was no other than the love of one's neighbour, that God vouchsafes this faith to every one, but that it is adopted only by those who practice that charity."

In all his writings, no more profound maxim is advanced than this saying of his childhood. The life of faith is love,

but God gives this faith to no one who is not in the exercise of charity to his neighbours. This is the basis of all theology and all morals, and the announcement of so sublime a truth in his childhood, proves, that at that early period, he was not far from the kingdom of God, and that if angels, in deed and in truth, had spoken through his mouth, he could not have uttered any thing more sublime and heavenly.

In various of his manuscripts may be found the following rules, which he adopted for the regulation of his life and conduct. 1st. Often to read and meditate on the Word of God. 2d. To submit every thing to the will of Divine Providence. 3d. To observe, in every thing, a propriety of behaviour, and always to keep the conscience clear. 4th. To discharge with fidelity the functions of his employment, and the duties of his office, and to render himself in all things useful to society.

He thus marked out for himself a course of conduct, which was eminently in accordance with the will of God. He aimed to do good, or, in other words, to perform useful actions, 1st. because God had commanded them to be done, and 2d. because he loved to do them. There may have been many men in the world as pure minded and as well disposed as Swedenborg, but the instances are rare, in the history of our race, of such disinterested love of truth, such inflexible regard for justice, such entire devotion to the interests of religion and humanity as he manifested; and if there be significance, and there doubtless is infallible truth in the declaration, that only the pure in heart shall see God, there may have been substantial reasons why, owing to the eminent purity of his heart and excellence of his life, he, above all others, was selected as a fit and illustrious instrument to disclose truths of the utmost importance, and to bring about events of the most solemn and lofty interests to our whole race.

Let us pursue briefly the career of Swedenborg, and notice some of the leading incidents of his eventful life, from his youth to the period of his illumination. He was educated at the university of Upsal in Sweden, where his favorite studies were the learned languages, mathematics and natural philosophy. Immediately on leaving the university of his native country, where he graduated at the age of twenty-two years, receiving the degree of doctor of philoso-

phy, he with a view to perfecting his education, commenced his travels in foreign countries. He first directed his course to London, and subsequently to Oxford, the seat of one of the most celebrated universities in Europe, where he for some time prosecuted his studies. We next find him in Utrecht, then in Paris, and afterwards in Griefswalde. In 1714, having been four years absent from home, storing his mind with various knowledge, we find him again in Sweden, and in 1716, he commenced, and in 1718, gave to the world the first fruits of his inventive genius and superior education in a work entitled the "*Dædalus Hyperboreus*," being a record of various mathematical and physical discoveries made by himself and the great Swedish engineer, Polhelm. His singular merits now began to attract the attention of men of letters, and of his sovereign, Charles XII., who accordingly took him under his patronage, and as a testimony of his high consideration and confidence, appointed him Assessor in the Royal Metallic College, in which office he continued for the space of twenty-seven years, when he resigned it, but the salary attached to it was continued to him, as a testimony of respect, during life. He did not enter upon the office of Assessor until six years after his appointment, as he was anxious for some time longer to prosecute his scientific researches, and, particularly, to perfect himself in the science of metallurgy. In 1718, says Counsellor Sandal, ●

"He executed a work of the greatest importance, during the memorable siege of Frederickshall, by transporting over mountains and valleys, on rolling machines of his own invention, two galleys, five large boats, and a sloop from Stromstadt to Iderfjol—a distance of fourteen miles! Under cover of these vessels, the king brought his heavy artillery, which it would have been impossible to have conveyed by land under the very walls of Frederickshall."

This was certainly something quite novel in the art of strategy—and furnishes another instance of how much may be sometimes accomplished, in difficult circumstances, by the suggestions of men of genius. During the same year, he produced several works in the department of mathematics,—a treatise on algebra and on the differential and integral calculus, and an attempt to find the longitude by means of the moon. The Queen now began to shower her favors on the youthful sage, and, the ensuing year, ennobled him, and changed his name from Swedberg to Swedenborg on account of the eminent services he had performed for his

country. He thenceforth took his seat with the nobles of the equestrian order in the triennial assembly of the states. These civil distinctions, the marks of the extraordinary favor in which he was held at court, did not, however, inspire him with political ambition, or distract his mind from that enthusiastic pursuit of the sciences which seemed, in early life, to constitute the sovereign passion of his soul. He now became a still more voluminous author than ever, and in 1719, published three works in the Swedish language. 1. A proposal for a Decimal Arrangement of Coinage and Measures, to facilitate calculation and suppress fractions. 2. A Treatise on the Motion and Position of the Earth and Planets. 3. Proofs derived, from appearances in Sweden, of the Depth of the Sea, and of the greater Force of the Tides in the earliest ages. Occasional contributions appear, also, this year from his pen, in the "*Acta Literaria Suecia*." In 1721, he again commenced his travels and residence in foreign countries, and passing through Denmark to Holland, published at Amsterdam six works, of which the following are the titles. 1. A Specimen of Principles of Natural Philosophy, consisting of new attempts to explain the phenomena of chemistry and physics by geometry. 2. New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, with a new method of constructing stoves. 3. A New Method of finding the Longitude of Places, on land or at sea, by lunar observations. 4. A Mode of Constructing Docks. 5. A New Way of making Dykes. 6. A Mechanical Method for testing the capacity of Vessels. It will be perceived that all these treatises are upon inventions of his own, and that they all relate to matters of practical utility. We next find him at Aix-la-Chapelle, then at Liege, and next at Cologne, where he visited the mines and smelting works in that vicinity. In 1722, he passed over to Leipsig, and published there a work in three parts, entitled, "*Miscellaneous Observations on Natural Objects, particularly minerals, fire and mountain strata*." At Hamburg, he published this same year, a fourth part to this work, on "*Minerals, Iron and the Stalactites in Baumann's Cavern*." At Blankenburg, he was received with great courtesy by the Duke of Brunswick, who defrayed the whole expense of his tour, and, on his departure, presented to him a gold medal, and a weighty silver goblet, as a testimony of his respect and friendship for so distinguished a visitor. After an ab-

sence of one year and three months, he returned home to Stockholm, where he published, anonymously, a work on the Depreciation and rise of the Swedish Currency, and, shortly after, entered upon the duties of Assessor in the Royal Metallic College, to fit himself for which he had undertaken his late tour through Europe.

The next ten years were divided between the labors which this office devolved on him, and his literary pursuits. In 1724, he was invited, by the consistory of the University of Upsal, to accept the professorship of pure mathematics, vacated by the death of its incumbent, the celebrated Nils Celsius. The highest compliments were, on this occasion, bestowed on his literary qualifications; and the advantage that would accrue to the students, and the honor that would be reflected on the university by his acceptance of the situation, were the arguments employed to persuade him, but employed in vain. In 1729, he was duly elected a member of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences of Stockholm. In 1733, he again travelled into Germany, visited Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Carlsbad and Leipsig, and, at the last place, put to press his great work entitled "*Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*," in the preparation of which he had expended the study and labors of several years. During the printing of this work, he spent a year in visiting the Austrian and Hungarian mines. The "*Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*" was printed wholly at the expense of his patron, the Duke of Brunswick, and consisted of three volumes, the first being entitled the "*Principia*," or "the Principles of Natural Philosophy," and the second and third volumes, "*the Regnum Minerale*," or "Mineral Kingdom," treating of the various methods, employed in all parts of Europe and America, of working and preparing the less costly metals,—iron, copper, and brass.

The fame of Swedenborg was now extended throughout Europe, and the most learned men, in all countries, sought the honor of his acquaintance, and learned societies were anxious to enrol his name among their members. On the 17th Dec., 1734, the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg appointed him a corresponding member. In 1736, he undertook another tour for literary objects. In 1738, he visited Italy and spent a year at those favorite seats of the muses and commerce, Rome and Venice. The journal of this three year's tour is preserved in MS. in the academy at

Stockholm. About this period, he turned his attention to the study of anatomy and physiology, and gave to the public the result of his investigations, in a splendid work, entitled, "*Economy of the Animal Kingdom*," in two vols. quarto, published at Amsterdam, in 1740 and '41. In 1741, he became by invitation, a Fellow of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm. In 1745, he published another magnificent work, entitled "*the Animal Kingdom*," a new and costly edition of which, translated into the English language, has recently been issued in London by Mr. Wilkinson, Fellow of the Royal Society, and which, for elegance of style and profound learning, cannot be surpassed by any work in any language. We have recently devoted some time to its perusal, and now that we have it in an English dress, it cannot fail to attract the attention of our most distinguished literati.

In 1745, he published a work, entitled "*the Worship and Love of God*," full of the most beautiful and sublime speculations, and which constitutes a kind of intermediate link between his physiological works and that voluminous class of his productions which are purely ethical, metaphysical and theological, and which, from the extraordinary circumstances attending his career, have attained a celebrity not accorded to those that are merely literary and scientific. The latter, however, are in the very highest repute among learned men, and are daily increasing in reputation, of which the new translations and costly editions, recently issued from the London press, afford evidence. It is now beginning to be discovered and acknowledged how much even the present enlightened age is indebted to the herculean labors and rare discoveries of this transcendent genius—a concession which would have been sooner made, had it not been that his greatest works were composed and published in a dead or foreign tongue, unfamiliar to the generality of readers; besides that his claims as an illuminated expounder of Divine Revelation have thrown a temporary cloud over his literary reputation, which is now being dissipated by the force of truth; and we may add, that the great body of scholars of the present century have been too much occupied with modern works of value, to pay that attention to the labors of their distinguished predecessors, which their merits challenge at their hands. A period of literary repose of long continuance, and freedom from

the distraction of wars and political convulsions has, however, latterly furnished them with leisure for more thorough investigations, and enabled them to be more just to the claims of illustrious persons who have passed off the stage. After surveying, in so cursory a manner, what Swedenborg accomplished in various fields of science and how largely he extended their boundaries, we are now prepared to acquiesce in the highest estimate of M. Sandel, who, in the eulogium which he pronounced in 1772, on his character, before the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, as if oppressed with the dignity of his subject, exclaims :

“How can I delineate so extensive, sublime and laborious a genius, who was never fatigued in his studious applications, and who unweariedly pursued his investigations into the most profound and difficult sciences ; who, for several years successively, has made many useful efforts to discover the secrets of nature, opened and made clear the way to certain sciences, and, in the end, penetrated into the most profound secrets, without ever having lost sight of sound morality or the fear of the Supreme Being, and preserving the whole strength of his mind to the last, without experiencing the decay of mental faculties, to which so many are subject.”

Such is the tribute paid to his character by one of his learned and distinguished contemporaries, who knew him intimately, and it would be easy to multiply similar testimonies from other sources equally respectable. Indeed we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of adding, in this place, the testimony of that eminent statesman, Count Hopken, the Prime Minister of Sweden, who says :

“I have not only known him these two and forty years, but have also for some time daily frequented his company. A man who, like me, has long lived in the world, and even in an extensive career of life, may have numerous opportunities of knowing men as to their virtues or vices, their weakness or strength, and in consequence thereof, I say, that I do not recollect ever to have known any man of more uniformly virtuous character than Swedenborg ;—always contented, never fretful or morose, although throughout his life, his soul was occupied with sublime thoughts and speculations. He was a true philosopher, and lived like one ; he labored diligently, lived frugally without sordidness ; he travelled frequently and his travels cost him no more than if he had lived at home. He was gifted with a most happy genius, and a fitness for every science, which made him shine in all those he embraced. He was, probably, without contradiction, the most learned man in my country ; in his youth, a great poet ; I have in my possession some remnants of his Latin poetry, which Ovid might not have been ashamed to own. His Latin, in his middle age, was an easy, elegant and ornamental style ; in his latter

years, it was equally clear, but less elegant, after he turned his thoughts to spiritual subjects. He was well acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek." p. 16.

Carl Robsham, director of the Bank of Sweden, and the confidential friend of Swedenborg, has written a very interesting memoir of his life, which has lately been translated into English from the Swedish, and from which we make the following extract :

"As Swedenborg, in his youth, had no thought of the employment of his coming life, it may be easily believed, that he was not only a learned man and a gentleman after the manner of the times, but a man so distinguished for wisdom as to be celebrated throughout Europe, and also possessed of a propriety of manners that rendered him everywhere an honored and acceptable companion. Thus he continued to old age, serene, cheerful and agreeable, with a countenance always illuminated by the light of his uncommon genius. How he was looked upon in foreign lands I do not know; but in Stockholm, even those who could not read his writings, were always pleased to meet him in company, and paid respectful attention to whatever he said.

"Many persons have wondered that he never was in want of money for his frequent journeys and other expenses; but when it is considered, that he lived very moderately on his journeys, and that his books on philosophy and mineralogy, as well as his theological writings, never remained long on the booksellers' hands, but always met a ready sale, and that he inherited from his father, Bishop S., a considerable sum, it will be easily understood, how he was able to accomplish all his designs." pp. 219-20.

The Marquis de Thomé, on the publication of the report of the Commissioners, appointed by the king of France, to investigate the subject of Animal Magnetism, makes the following comments on Swedenborg's great work, the "*Opera Philosophia et Mineralia*," in which the theory of magnetism as applicable to the formation of the world, was, for the first time, promulgated. 'The Commissioners had asserted, that there did not exist, as yet, any theory of the magnet. The Marquis contradicts this assertion, and claims for Swedenborg, the honor of a theory of the magnet, introducing him as an "illustrious man of learning, not long since deceased."

"Three folio volumes," he says, "were printed at Dresden and Leipsig in 1734, under the following title: '*Emanuelis Swedenborgii Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*.' The first of these volumes is entirely devoted to a sublime theory of the formation of the world, founded on that of the magnetic element; the existence, form and mechanism of which are demonstrated by the author from experi-

ence, geometry and the most solid reasoning founded on these two bases. The subject of these volumes being foreign to that of this letter, I shall content myself with saying, that in the whole of the work, there is such an abundance of new truths, and of physical, mathematical, astronomical, mechanical, chemical and mineralogical knowledge, as would be more than sufficient to establish the reputation of several different writers. Accordingly, he acquired so much fame by its publication, that the Academy of Stockholm hastened to invite him to become one of its members. This production of the Swedish philosopher has continued to maintain the same degree of esteem in all Europe, and the most celebrated men have not disdained to draw materials from it to assist them in their labors; some too have had the weakness to dress themselves in the feathers of the peacock, without acknowledging where they obtained them." pp. 229-30.

In this connection, we would remark, that since the translation of Swedenborg's great works into the English tongue, the depredations of soi-disant philosophers have become more apparent than heretofore; for it is now ascertained, that they have abstracted from his writings, not only "line upon line and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little," but have appropriated to themselves, without remorse of conscience, whole discoveries.

The author of a dissertation on the Royal Society of Sciences, at Upsal, published in 1789, mentions, that,

"Swedenborg was one of its first and best members," and says, "that his letters to the society while abroad, proved that few can travel so usefully. An indefatigable curiosity, directed to various important subjects, is conspicuous in all. Mathematics, astronomy and mechanics, seem to have been his favorite sciences, in which he had already made great progress. Every where he had become acquainted with the most renowned mathematicians and astronomers, as Flamsteed, De la Hire, Varignon, &c. This pursuit of knowledge was also united with a constant zeal to benefit his country. No sooner was he informed of some useful discovery, than he was solicitous to render it beneficial to Sweden, by sending home models. When a good book was published, he not only gave immediate notice of it, but contrived to procure it for the library of the university." pp. 48-9.

The Rev. Mr. Collin, who a few years ago, in 1831, and perhaps later, was living in Philadelphia, and the minister of a Swedish Church there, visited Swedenborg in his youth, and has published an interesting account of him.

"In the year 1765," he says, "I went to reside in Stockholm, (he then being 20 years of age;) and continued partly in that city and partly in its vicinity for near three years. During that time, Swedenborg was an object of great public attraction in that metropolis, and his

extraordinary character was a frequent topic of discussion. He resided at his house in the southern suburbs, which was in a pleasant situation, neat and convenient, with a spacious garden and other appendages. There he received company. Not seldom also, he appeared in public, and mixed in private societies. Therefore sufficient opportunities were given to make observations on him. He was universally esteemed for his various erudition, and for his probity, benevolence and general virtue. Being very old when I saw him, he was thin and pale, but still retained traces of beauty, and had something very pleasing in his physiognomy, and a dignity in his tall and erect stature." pp. 51-2.

We now approach the most interesting period of this great man's career—that of his spiritual illumination. After having been favored with a more unclouded vision of the profound mysteries of the physical universe, than any philosopher who had preceded him; after mastering, illustrating and extending the limits of various sciences already known; after, with indefatigable industry, tracing out and revealing laws of nature that were unknown; after multiplying discoveries upon discoveries of the most valuable and interesting description, it pleased the All-wise Disposer of events, as he affirms, to open his spiritual senses, in order that he might see into the spiritual world, while, as to his body, he was an inhabitant of the natural world, and this, with a view to his unfolding the inner or hidden sense of the Word of God, and various arcana relating to God, to man, to heaven, hell and the world of spirits, important to be known. In a word, while in the very meridian of life, and in the full enjoyment of all his powers, mental and physical, as well as of all earthly honors, calculated to satisfy a rational ambition, this eminent scholar suddenly withdrew from the further study of the sciences and those literary pursuits so dear to his heart, solemnly affirming that he had received a direct call from heaven to unfold the truths of the New Dispensation—in other words, to explain the principles and doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church, which St. John saw in the Revelation, and which he prophetically described as descending out of heaven from the Lord. In accordance with the views which he had always maintained, that the mind is progressive and acquires important knowledge, not by sudden illumination, but by the free exercise of its faculties, and that Providence, according to certain established rules of order, always adapts the degree and kind of truth it communicates, to the state of the mind for receiving

it, he now believed and announced, that in the whole of his previous life and course of studies, he had been divinely led, first to investigate the laws of the physical world, which, he declares, in all particulars, corresponds to the spiritual world, as face answers to face in a mirror,—in order that he might truly unfold the internal sense of the Sacred Scriptures, which he says are wholly divine, and written strictly in accordance with that law of correspondence. For the space of twenty-seven years, till the close of his natural life, Swedenborg, then, professes that heaven was actually opened to him, not by partial glimpses, as it was to the ancient patriarchs, prophets and apostles, but continually, that is daily, and every day during that long continuous period, when he received the most minute instructions concerning the true meaning of the Word of God, and the state of the soul after death, which he was commanded, as he says, to publish, and which he did actually publish, for the benefit of society. His theological works amount in number to thirty large octavo volumes, and in addition to his voluminous expositions of the Sacred Scriptures, contain full, new and most interesting disclosures respecting the world of spirits; the nature of heaven and heavenly joy; the state of infants in heaven; memory in the other life; correspondences and representatives in heaven; hell and its miseries; the heavenly societies; situation and place, distance and time in another life; the perception of spirits and angels; spheres in another life; the light in which angels live; the paradisaical scenery and habitations; the speech of spirits; the intercourse of the soul and body; the process of dying; the nature and operation of influx from the spiritual world; the distinction between men and brutes; the resurrection and last judgment; the three-fold distinction of the heavens; the appearance, situation and plurality of the hells; the true nature of angels; the employments of the angels of heaven; the influence of the ruling love on destiny; the true nature of life, physical and spiritual, animal and vegetable; human freedom, and various other matters connected with the future life equally interesting, and all treated with a minuteness of detail and a completeness that are truly astonishing, and scarcely to be explained on any other ground, than that he was actually an eye and ear witness of the things he has described. What shall we say to these things? If Swedenborg was really commanded from above to make these

disclosures, they come to us with an authority that challenges the most serious attention. A strong degree of doubt and skepticism, in respect to such lofty and astounding claims, is natural enough. But every individual of the human race is too much interested in such communications, not to receive them, if true,—not to reject them, if false. The curiosity of the human mind to know the certainty, and enter into the particulars of those things which shall be, when we shuffle off this mortal coil, is universal, intense and overwhelming, and the very announcement of such sublime revelations as are contained in the writings of Swedenborg, uttered with an air of perfect sincerity, great earnestness, and a thorough conviction of their truth, are calculated to produce a profound sensation; nor can it be doubted, if the great interests of our race are not to be treated with indifference, that, in an age when miracles are almost becoming ordinary events, and ceasing to create surprise at their occurrence, we are bound not to turn a deaf ear to the voice that calls aloud to us from the spirit-land, in heavenly accents, bringing wonderful tidings, but to listen to it with the calmness of philosophers, and the reverence of christians.

There are three lights in which Swedenborg may be viewed and his disclosures considered, and we shall examine them very briefly. And 1st, it is asserted, that Swedenborg was an impostor, and should be treated with the contempt due to all imposture; or 2d, if not an impostor, that he was insane, a monomaniac on the subject of religion; or 3d, if neither an impostor nor insane, that he was what he assumed to be, a divinely commissioned expounder of the heavenly mysteries; and that all that he has written and published, in respect to the word of God and the life after death, is undoubtedly true. One or other of these propositions must be maintained, in respect to the claims of Emanuel Swedenborg.

And in respect to the first assertion, that he was an impostor, we would remark, that impostors in religion, who set up exaggerated pretensions, are usually influenced by one of two motives; 1st, the desire of fame; 2d, the desire of gain,—neither of which motives could have exerted the slightest influence on the mind of Swedenborg; for, so far was he from the ambition of founding a sect, that he continued in the bosom of the Swedish Church to the time of

his death ; and so little did he seek notoriety from his writings, that he positively prohibited his publisher from disclosing his name on the first publication of his theological works ; and that the love of gain was not the motive, is equally evident from the fact, that he gave the whole of the large profits of his works, which commanded a ready sale, for the propagation of the gospel in foreign countries.

The charge that he was insane, and a monomaniac on the subject of religion, has been made, but never substantiated by the slightest evidence, any more than the like charge, made by the Pharisees against our Saviour himself, that "he hath a devil and is mad," or that brought by Festus against Paul, that "much learning" had turned his head. All his biographers agree in representing that his bodily health was excellent, and that his memory, judgment, and various mental powers remained perfect and unimpaired to the time of his death ; and the idea of his monomania on the subject of religion, is repelled by the fact, that his religion is a system, embracing not one subject matter, upon which monomaniacs always dwell, but a great variety of subjects of the most weighty interest, and that this system is a complete and harmonious one, not in the slightest degree visionary and chimerical, but solid and substantial,—sustained by the soundest logic, and the most cogent reasoning, and in all its parts, consistent with the laws of God's moral universe, as far as disclosed to us.

Our conclusion, then, in the 3d place, would be, inasmuch as Swedenborg was neither an impostor, nor insane, that he actually was, what he assumed to be, a divinely commissioned expounder of the Word of God, and that all he has written and published on the spiritual world and the life after death, is true.

But, if divinely commissioned, it may, and will be asked, Where and what is the evidence of his commission ?

On this subject, we would observe, that evidence is of two kinds,—internal and external. Internal evidence of any system, is that which results from the character of the system itself, in which truth is recognized by its own light, and is received with undoubting conviction. External evidence is the evidence of miracles, by which a forced assent is given to a proposition, or a system, that is not rationally embraced. Internal evidence is the highest kind of evidence, because it is best adapted to beings endowed with reason and consci-

ence, and because it may be appreciated and apprehended. External evidence, or miracles, is best adapted to persons in a very external state, who possess little moral or intellectual elevation, such as were the Jews at the time of our Saviour's first coming. Our Saviour, it is true, wrought miracles, and appealed to them in evidence of his divine mission, but he, at the same time, distinctly declared, that the demand, so frequently made, for such kind of evidence, was only a proof of the deep depravity of the age, and, that if men would not hear Moses and the prophets, neither would they hear, though one rose from the dead. Swedenborg says, that miracles are not wrought at the present day, because *their tendency is to force the mind*, and because it is not in accordance with the laws of Divine Providence, that the human mind should ever be forced at all; freedom in the reception of truths, as well as in the discharge of duty, being that property of the soul which, above all other properties, constitutes manhood, and produces responsibility. The system of Swedenborg, therefore, rests not on miracles, but on the evidence of truth and divinity contained in the system itself. The receivers of its heavenly doctrines adopt them rationally, and yield their assent to them freely, because they recognize in them, in deed and in truth, the fulfilment of prophecy as to the second coming of the Lord,—because they behold in them new heavens and a new earth, and the descent of a new and celestial church,—because, in their adoption, they see old things, which have performed their uses, passing away and all things becoming new,—because they perceive, with perfect clearness of vision, greater beauty, greater power and greater beneficence in these doctrines than in all other doctrines,—a more striking adaptation in them to the constitution, wants and hopes of man,—more elevating and glorious views of God and of human destiny; and because, accordingly, they love and cherish them with all the heart, all the soul, all the mind, and all the strength,—as God, who shines through them, and endows them with divinity, is loved or should be loved.

But, although Swedenborg worked no miracles, and regarded them as wholly uncalled for in that purer, more elevated, and more spiritual state of society which is to prevail at the second coming of the Lord, and unnecessary for the vindication and establishment of divine truth, which,

if embraced at all, is to be rationally embraced in the love of it ; still, some very extraordinary circumstances are related of this gifted seer, which, although not evidence, and never appealed to as evidence, of the truth of his doctrines, are yet referred to, and do, in reality, furnish the strongest of human testimony to the reality of his open intercourse with the spiritual world and its inhabitants. We shall relate some of these extraordinary circumstances, from which it will appear clearly, that the fact of Swedenborg's holding intercourse with angels and departed spirits, is testified to by the most respectable and impartial witnesses, and does not rest, for its verity and credibility, on his own unsupported assertions.

I. We here introduce, first, the relation which passed between Swedenborg and the Swedish queen, Louisa Ulrica, wife of Adolphus Frederic, and sister of Frederic the Great of Prussia, as given by M. Thiebault, Professor of Belles Lettres in the Royal Academy of Berlin :

"I know not," says the Professor, "on what occasion it was, that conversing one day with the Queen on the subject of the celebrated Swedenborg, we, the members of the academy, particularly M. Merian and myself, expressed a desire to know what opinion was entertained of him in Sweden. The Queen, after alluding to some anecdotes relative to Swedenborg's interviews with the spiritual world, replied, that though she was but little disposed to believe in such seeming miracles, she nevertheless had been willing to put the power of M. Swedenborg, with whom she was acquainted, to the proof; that M. Swedenborg, having come one evening to her court, she had taken him aside and begged him to learn of her deceased brother, the Prince Royal of Prussia, what he said to her at the moment of her taking leave of him for the Court of Stockholm. She added, that what he had said, was of a nature to render it impossible that the Prince could have repeated it to any one, nor had it ever escaped her own lips. At their subsequent interview, the Queen said, that Swedenborg addressed her as follows: 'You took, Madam, your last leave of the Prince of Prussia, your late august brother, at Charlottenburg, on such a day and at such an hour in the afternoon. As you were passing through the long gallery, in the castle of Charlottenburg, you met him again. He then took you by the hand, and led you to such a window, where you could not be overheard, and then said to you these words.'—The Queen did not repeat the words, but she protested that they were the very same her brother had pronounced, and that she retained the most perfect recollection of them. She added, that she nearly fainted at the shock she experienced." pp. 54-5.

Now if the Swedish Queen did not lie, and was not deceived, we have here the most positive testimony to Swe-

denborg's intercourse with departed spirits; for, let it be remarked, that this thing was expressly propounded to Swedenborg, as a test of his alleged power. The conversation which he was called upon to visit the spirit land, in order to reveal, had never been disclosed to mortal ear; it was of such a nature, that it could not be communicated; it was held between the parties under such circumstances that it could not possibly be overheard. Yet Swedenborg related this conversation exactly as it took place, and with all the detail of circumstances, time and place attending it. It is very evident, as he could get his information from no other source, he must have derived it from the deceased Prince himself; and it is not surprising, that when the Queen heard this secret conversation, the tenor of which was confined to the bosoms of only two persons in the world, herself and her deceased brother, repeated to her, word for word, as it actually occurred, that she was so shocked and confounded by the unexpected revelation, that she nearly fainted away.

2. We next introduce the testimony of the celebrated Stilling, than whom a higher or more beloved name is not known to philosophy or moral science.

"About the year '70, of the last century," says Dr. Stilling, "there was a merchant in Elberfeld, with whom, during seven years of my residence there, I lived in close intimacy. He was a mystic in the purest sense. He spoke little, but what he said was like golden fruit on a salver of silver. He would not have dared, for all the world, knowingly to have told a falsehood. This friend of mine, who has long ago left this world for a better, related to me the following tale:

"His business required him to take a journey to Amsterdam, where Swedenborg at that time resided, and having heard and read much of this strange individual, he formed the intention of visiting him, and becoming better acquainted with him. He therefore called on him, and found a very venerable looking and friendly old man, who received him politely, and requested him to be seated; on which the following conversation began:

"*Merchant.* Having been called hither by business, I could not deny myself the honor, sir, of paying my respects to you; your writings have caused me to regard you as a very remarkable man.

"*Swedenborg.* May I ask you, where you are from?

"*Merchant.* I am from Elberfeld, in the Grand Duch of Bery. Your writings contain so much of what is beautiful and edifying, that they have made a deep impression on me; but the source from which you derive them is so extraordinary, so strange and so uncommon, that you will perhaps not take it amiss of a sincere friend of

truth, if he desires incontestible proofs, that you really have intercourse with the invisible world.

"Swedenborg. It would be unreasonable if I took it amiss; but I think I have given sufficient proofs which cannot be contradicted.

"Merchant. Are they those which are so well known, respecting the Queen, the fire in Stockholm, and the receipt?

"Swedenborg. Yes, those are they, and they are true.

"Merchant. And yet many objections are brought against them. Might I venture to propose that you give me a similar proof?

"Swedenborg. Why not? Most willingly.

"Merchant. I had formerly a friend, who studied divinity at Duisburg, where he fell into a consumption, of which he died. I visited this friend a short time before his decease. We conversed together on an important topic. Could you learn from him what was the subject of our discourse?

"Swedenborg. We will see. What was the name of your friend?

"The merchant told his name.

"Swedenborg. How long do you remain here?

"Merchant. About eight or ten days.

"Swedenborg. Call upon me again in a few days. I will see if I can find your friend.

"The merchant took his leave, and dispatched his business. Some days after, he went to Swedenborg, in anxious expectation. The old gentleman met him with a smile, and said, 'I have spoken with your friend; the subject of your discourse was, the restitution of all things.' He then related to the merchant, with the greatest precision, what he and what his deceased friend had maintained. My friend turned pale, for this proof was powerful and invincible. He inquired further, 'How fares it with my friend? Is he in a state of blessedness?' Swedenborg answered, 'No! he is still in hades, and torments himself continually with the idea of the restitution of all things.' This answer caused my friend the greatest astonishment. He ejaculated, 'My God! what, in the other world?' Swedenborg replied, 'Certainly, a man takes with him his favorite inclinations and opinions, and it is very difficult to be divested of them. We ought, therefore, to lay them aside here.' My friend took his leave of this remarkable man, perfectly convinced, and returned back to Elberfeld." pp. 56-7-8.

Now, in respect to this extraordinary narration, we may ask, did Stilling tell an untruth? Was the story made up for effect? Stilling was without a motive to deceive. He was not, although a most excellent man, a receiver of the doctrines of Swedenborg. He was only a lover of truth, and a wholly unprejudiced witness. Did the Elberfeld merchant lie? Stilling tells us, that he would not have dared, for all the world, knowingly, to have told a falsehood. The inference is fair, nay it is irresistible, that Swedenborg actually had an interview with the deceased clergyman, who detailed to him the conversation in question.

3. A third anecdote of Swedenborg is inserted in Stilling's

"Pocket Book for the Friend of Religion, 1809," which is related by one, who, from his piety and love of truth, must be regarded as a credible witness.

"I was in Amsterdam," says this individual, "in the year 1762, on the very day that Peter the Third, Emperor of Russia, died, in a company in which Swedenborg was present. In the midst of our conversation, his countenance changed, and it was evident that his soul was no longer present, and that something extraordinary was passing within him. As soon as he came to himself again, he was asked what had happened to him? He would not at first communicate it, but at length, after being repeatedly requested, he said, 'this very hour, the Emperor, Peter III., has died in prison,—mentioning at the same time, the manner of his death. 'Gentlemen will please to note down that day, that they may be able to compare it with the intelligence of his death in the newspapers.' The latter subsequently announced the emperor's death, as having taken place on that day." p. 59

4. Mr. Springer, the Swedish Consul, who was for many years the intimate friend of Swedenborg, both in Sweden and England, resident at London, and a gentleman of the utmost veracity, makes the following statement :

"Fifteen years ago, Swedenborg was about to depart for Sweden, and desired me to procure him a good captain, which I did. I made the agreement with a person named Dixon. When the captain of the vessel came to fetch Swedenborg, I took my leave of him and wished him a happy voyage. Having then asked the captain if he was provided with good and necessary provisions, he answered me that he had as much as was needful for the voyage. On this, Swedenborg said, 'My friends, we have not need of any great quantity; for this day week, we shall, by the aid of God, enter the port of Stockholm at two o'clock.' On Captain Dixon's return, he related to me that this happened exactly as Swedenborg had foretold."

"All," the Swedish Consul goes on to remark, "that Swedenborg has related to me respecting my deceased acquaintances, both friends and enemies, almost surpasses belief. He explained to me in what manner the peace was concluded between Sweden and the King of Prussia, and he praised my conduct on that occasion. He even told me who were the three great personages of whom I made use in that affair; which, nevertheless, was an entire secret between them and me. I asked him, 'how he could be informed of such particulars, and who had discovered them to him.' He answered, 'who informed me of your affair with Count De C——? You cannot deny the truth of what I have told you. Continue,' he added, 'to deserve his reproaches. Turn not aside, either for riches or honors, from the path of rectitude, but on the contrary, keep steady in it, as you have done; and you will prosper.'" pp. 61-62.

5. Swedenborg on two several occasions, as we have before stated, predicted the time of his death,—1st. in a correspon-

dence with the celebrated John Wesley, the Methodist divine ; and 2d. to the family with whom he was residing in London, at the time of his decease. In the latter part of Feb., 1772, Wesley was in London, and several ministers were in attendance on him, receiving his instructions and assisting him in preparing for a great circuit, which he was about to commence. While thus in attendance, a letter came to Mr. Wesley, which he perused with evident astonishment. After a pause, he read the letter to the company. It was couched in nearly the following words :

"Great Bath Street, Cold Bath Fields, Feb., 1772. Sir : I have been informed, in the world of spirits, that you have a strong desire to converse with me ; I shall be happy to see you, if you will favor me with a visit. I am sir, your humble servant,

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG."

Mr. Wesley frankly acknowledged to the company, that he had been very strongly impressed with a desire to see and converse with Swedenborg, and had never mentioned that desire to any one. He wrote for answer, that he was then closely occupied in preparing for a six months' journey, but would do himself the pleasure of waiting upon Mr. Swedenborg, soon after his return to London.

Swedenborg wrote in reply, that the visit would be too late, as he should go into the world of spirits on the 29th day of the next month, never more to return.

This statement is certified to by Mr. Robsham, Director of the Bank of Sweden, by Mr. Hawkins, a well known engineer, and by the Rev. Mr. Smith, a man of great piety and integrity, and who was with Mr. Wesley at the time.

6. We extract from the affidavit of Mr. and Mrs. Shearsmith, with whom Swedenborg resided at the time of his death, and taken before the Lord Mayor of London, the following statement :

"That, towards the end of February, 1772, he (Swedenborg) declared to Elizabeth Shearsmith, (then Reynolds,) and to Richard Shearsmith's first wife, (then living,) that he should die on such a day ; and that the said Elizabeth Shearsmith thinks she can safely affirm, on her oath, he departed this life on the very day he had foretold, that is, one month after his prediction. That about a fortnight before his death, he received the Lord's Supper from the hands of Mr. Ferelius, a Swedish minister, whom he earnestly recommended to abide in the truth contained in his writings. That, during his latter days, as on the former, he retained all his good sense and memory in the most complete manner. That on the Lord's

Day, 29th March, hearing the clock strike, Mr. Swedenborg asked his landlady and her maid, who were there, both sitting by his bedside, what it was o'clock, and on being answered it was five o'clock, he replied, 'It is well, I thank you, God bless you both!' and then, a little moment after, gently gave up the ghost." pp. 98-9.

Dr. Hartley, in his last visit to Swedenborg, in company with Dr. Messiter, asked him to declare whether all he had written was strictly true, or whether any part or parts thereof were to be excepted?

"I have written," answered Swedenborg, with a degree of warmth, "nothing but the truth as you will have it more and more confirmed hereafter, all the days of your life, provided you always keep close to the Lord, and faithfully serve him alone, in shunning evils of all kinds as sins against him, and diligently searching the Word, which, from beginning to end, bears incontestable testimony to the truth of the doctrines I have delivered to the world."

7. We now introduce the testimony of the celebrated philosopher, Kant, respecting the fire at Stockholm:

"In the year 1756, says Kant, when M. De Swedenborg, towards the end of September, on Saturday, at 4 o'clock, P.M., arrived at Gottenburg from England, M. William Castel invited him to his house, together with a party of fifteen persons. About 6 o'clock, M. De Swedenborg went out, and, after a short interval, returned to the company, quite pale and alarmed. He said that a dangerous fire had just broken out in Stockholm at the Sudermalm, (Gottenberg is 300 miles from Stockholm,) and that it was spreading very fast. He was restless, and went out often. He said, that the house of one of his friends, whom he named, was already in ashes, and that his own was in danger. At eight o'clock, after he had been out again, he joyfully exclaimed, 'Thank God! the fire is extinguished the third door from my house.' This news occasioned great commotion through the whole city, and particularly amongst the company in which he was. It was announced to the governor the same evening. On the Sunday morning, Swedenborg was sent for by the governor, who questioned him concerning the disaster. He described the fire precisely, how it had begun, in what manner it had ceased, and how long it had been continued. On the same day the news was spread through the city, and as the governor had thought it worthy of attention, the consternation was considerably increased; because many were in trouble on account of their friends and property. On the Monday evening a messenger arrived at Gottenberg, who was despatched during the fire. In the letters brought by him, the fire was described precisely in the manner stated by Swedenborg. On Tuesday morning, the royal courier arrived at the governor's, with the melancholy intelligence of the fire, of the loss which it had occasioned, and of the houses it had damaged and ruined, not in the least differing from that which Swedenborg had given immediately after it had ceased, for the fire was extinguished at 8 o'clock."

"What," exclaims Kant, "can be brought forward against the authenticity of this occurrence? My informant has not only examined the circumstances of this extraordinary case at Stockholm, but also about two months ago at Gottenberg, where he is acquainted with the most respectable houses, and where he could obtain the most authentic and complete information; as the greatest part of the inhabitants, who are still alive, were witnesses to the memorable occurrence." pp. 71-2

It would be easy to multiply cases equally remarkable,—but these will suffice. Such testimony would be admitted, be respected, and obtain confidence in any Court in Christendom. Of what does it consist? Not of the solitary declaration of a single individual, whose motives might be suspected, but of a combination of concurring testimonies from different quarters and different persons, of the highest character, so that if there is any force in human testimony at all, we have just as much authority for believing that Swedenborg had intercourse with the spiritual world, as we have for believing that Victoria is the present reigning Queen of Great Britain. The highest of all testimony, however, is that which is drawn from the word of God, and the possibility and probability of such a communication with the spiritual world as was vouchsafed to the gifted Swedenborg, may be successfully demonstrated by arguments derived from that source.

ART. IV.—*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. To which are added a few Poems.* By ALEXANDER H. EVERETT. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845.

WE have derived great pleasure from the perusal of this book, and we mean to speak of it as we think it deserves. It is possible that a few readers may think that we go too far; but even they will not doubt our sincerity, when we confess that we were over two months reading it, without growing weary of our task. It certainly argues something in favor of an author in these days of rail-road speed, that one should be content to keep his book at his side, and travel slowly through it, every day soiling the edge of a few more pages, with the pressure of his glove; and it

takes but little from the value of the compliment to acknowledge, that during this time, we were wandering through a beautiful country, and had but little time to read.

When our trunk was first packed, this book shared a corner, with a half dozen other volumes, but after a while, it had the corner to itself. One by one the others fell away, some were given to friends, others were forgotten upon leaving a steamboat, or a coach, or a rail-road car, and now upon our return, this volume lies upon the desk, as the solitary memorial of our wanderings. Except those books, which have more sacred associations than any earthly travel can give, and which go with the christian everywhere, we have only this volume, to remind us of many a scene of quiet enjoyment. Now, were we an old Spaniard, instead of a young American, we might pause to apostrophise the paper and the type; and sober and modern-minded as we are, we cannot help fancying that we see a sort of map of our travels, upon the edges of the leaves, as they lie closed before us. That dark streak near the beginning, tells us something of the pitch and smoke of the Georgia rail-roads; those yellow splashes, here and there, indicate very plainly that the waters of the great Mississippi have been running not very far off; and as we look, we behold enough to remind us, that the pages have suffered by turns, from contact with the granite dust of Pennsylvania, the clay of Virginia, and the sands of the Carolinas. The journal would have been perfect if the magnolia leaf which Florida contributed, had not slipped from the pages. Our business, however, is not with the outside, though every loving student is, like Scott, something of a coxcomb in these matters; and we proceed to introduce the reader to the inside of this pleasant book.

It consists of essays or reviews, contributed during the last twenty years to various periodicals. In the course of them, our author treats in an interesting and instructive way, of several important matters, such as the Life and Writings of Madame de Sevigné, Bernardin de St. Pierre, Schiller, Voltaire, Canova, Sir James Mackintosh and Cicero; he almost settles the disputed point, that Le Sage did not write Gil Blas; he gives an amusing picture of Chinese manners; teaches, in a happy manner, the art of being happy, and concludes the first part of his miscellanies with some beautiful remarks upon the Sabbath. The large field,

which is thus covered, would of course make it impossible for any particular portion to be minutely investigated ; but it is really wonderful, how many judicious observations he has made upon these various subjects : and although there can be no purely artistic unity among them, yet one is drawn along, by as deep an interest as if there had been. One may listen to an intelligent companion for an evening or a day, and though the conversation may take a wide range, and the manner be sometimes grave and sometimes gay, yet he at no time fails to perceive that the character of the speaker remains unchanged ; and so with these *Miscellanies* of Everett, whatever may be the subject of which they treat, it is evident that they proceed from one mind and heart ; that mind well endued with classical learning, and that heart full of kindly impulses, and subject to Christian influences. This is almost as much unity as we ever see, and certainly as much as we need desire. Authors write long essays and call them by single names, when in truth, the subject changes every dozen pages, or the book becomes tedious in the extreme. Pope writes an *Essay upon Man* and divides it into four epistles. He might just as well have divided it into as many more, and they would have read as well under any other name. We think we could prove, if it were worth while, that Everett's *Miscellanies* are in an equal degree an essay upon man ; but we shall content ourselves with furnishing our readers with the hint, that under this running title, they may apportion the remainder, to "man, as a fool, a gossip, a poet, a historian, a statesman, and so on."

We are aware that there is a growing spirit of opposition to periodical writings, on the ground of their being superficial and fragmentary ; and we make these remarks, the rather, because we believe that the true objection lies against superficial thinking on the part of the readers. The largest and most perfectly connected book, that was ever produced, must have been written periodically ; for authors, like other men, must eat and sleep. Histories and poems do not come from the press, as Minerva did from the brain of Jupiter, at a single step ; and compact as they look in their binding on the shelves, it must be remembered that they once existed in the shape of loose sheets, flitting about the printing office, or swelling out the sides of the bulky portfolio. Smoothly as sentence follows sentence upon the printed page, and

regular as is the interval between chapter and chapter ; if the secrets of the study were revealed, it would be seen, that there was many an interruption, and that business, or pleasure, or sickness, or disgust had occupied the author for months, whilst the manuscript was lying hid away in some forgotten drawer. Hood teaches this in a ludicrous manner, in one of his little poems, and every man who has attempted to write has felt it. There being no valid objection to periodical writings on this score, we think they enjoy peculiar advantages, inasmuch as their brevity requires condensation of thought. When a man undertakes to write a long essay, and for this purpose begins to divide and subdivide his subject, we feel like the old Scotch deacon, inclined to look for our night-cap ; we have a presentiment that we are about to be put to sleep, and we make our preparations accordingly. We know he is about to treat it as the spider does the fly, and we bide our time, until the infinite web is wound around the legs and wings and eyes of the unhappy subject, and we only look in again, when he is about to make a stab at the vitals. Now an essayist like Mackintosh, Macaulay, or our author, never tempts us in this way. They rush at once into the midst of things. We find that we must wake up, if we would understand what they are about. Our perceptive faculties are kept constantly on the stretch, and when we get to the end, we feel invigorated and refreshed, as if we had been contending with the breakers, and not lying half asleep in luke-warm water. Let a man *think* when he reads, and he will sometimes find, in a scrap of newspaper, the germ of important truths, as the philosopher does in the falling of an acorn or an apple. Let a man think, and he will derive more real instruction from a well digested article in a review, than from many a larger volume of greater pretensions.

In these writings of Everett, there are two styles which predominate ; in one, he proceeds upon the Horatian maxim of teaching the truth laughingly ; in the other, he approaches his subject more directly, and in good set terms delivers himself of what he has to say ; and perhaps we cannot enable our readers to obtain a just appreciation of the whole, in any better way, than by giving them a specimen of each.

Some Frenchman, who rejoices in the name of Droz, and who is an honorable member of the Academy, chose to write a foolish book upon the art of being happy ; and

while showing his stupidity and the unsoundness of his maxims, our author, in a vein of quiet humor takes occasion to prove, that the vigilant pursuit of an honest occupation, the decent regard for the judgment of those around us, and the constant endeavor to attain the highest perfection of which our natures are capable, are the most effective means, we can employ, for the attainment of happiness. M. Droz maintains that a man cannot be happy who has any thing to do, and quotes the following from Franklin to prove it:

"Although I have not attained the perfection at which I aimed, and have even fallen very far short of it, my endeavors have nevertheless rendered me better and happier than I should have been if I had not made the attempt, as a person who tries to improve in penmanship by imitating a copper-plate model, although he should not equal the correctness and elegance of the engraving, may yet acquire a more easy and legible hand than he had before. It may be interesting to my posterity to know, that I owe, under Providence, to this little artifice, the happiness which I have constantly enjoyed up to my seventy-ninth year, in which I write these lines. Should the rest of my life be disturbed by misfortunes, the recollection of the preceding period will enable me to support them with resignation."

"While we perfectly agree," says Everett, "with M. Droz, in his estimate of the character of our illustrious townsman, and particularly in his approbation of the doctrine contained in the above extract from the Memoirs of his own Life, we cannot but remark that it does not appear to confirm, so explicitly as our author supposes, his favorite notion of the great importance of making the direct pursuit of happiness the principal object. Dr. Franklin assures us, that by the use of certain means, he had lived happily to a very advanced age. But what were those means? Did they consist in making happiness the direct and principal object of pursuit? Quite the contrary, as appears from the showing of M. Droz himself. 'I have often perused,' he says, 'the pages in which Franklin describes his plan for arriving at *moral perfection*.' Moral perfection then was the mark to which our philosopher directed his view. By aiming not immediately at happiness, but at moral perfection or virtue, he succeeded, it appears, in making himself to a certain extent both virtuous and happy. The conclusion is, so far as his example is worth any thing, that if a man would be happy, he must endeavor to be virtuous, and if he succeed tolerably well in this, happiness will come of itself. Had M. Droz examined more carefully, and followed out into its consequences the principle supposed in this single passage, he would probably, if he really feel the veneration which he professes for 'the pride of the new world,' have spared himself the trouble of writing his book, at least in its present shape. His theory and that of Dr. Franklin, instead of coinciding, plainly exhibit the adverse colors of the two great rival schools of philosophy,

into which the moral world has always been divided. Franklin wishes us to frequent

‘The marble porch where wisdom wont to talk
With Socrates and Tully;’

While M. Droz would induct us, in preference, to certain pleasure gardens of somewhat doubtful fame, which were laid out in olden time in the neighborhood of the said porch, but were never much patronized by the good society of Athens. We regret by the bye to learn, that our fair friend, Miss Frances Wright, lately consented to pass a few days in these same suspicious gardens; but venture to hope, that she has only been upon a tour of observation, and will not think of making them her habitual residence. * * * There are some things which are come at by an indirect process, more easily than by a direct one; and many competent judges believe that happiness is one of the number. We strongly incline to this opinion, and suspect that the pretended *art of being happy*, is very much like the art of making gold, which at one time occupied the attention of so many of the learned, but which has long been admitted to be almost the only process by which gold cannot be made. Make shoes, make coats, make hats, make houses, make almost any thing you please, (except perhaps books,) and you in fact make *gold*, because the product of your labor, whatever it may be, converts itself naturally in your hands into that valuable metal. But once attempt to make gold by a direct process, and you not only fail in your object, but sustain a total loss in the time, labor, and capital employed in the operation. The case, we imagine, is nearly the same with studying directly the *art of being happy*. Study politics, study law, study commerce, study agriculture, study any of the fine or mechanical arts, and you in fact study happiness; because independently of the immediate fruit of skill, in this or that department of knowledge and practice, which you derive from your studies, there is no more certain way of being happy than to pursue, with activity and diligence, almost any honest employment. But no sooner does a man set about studying directly how he shall be happy, than he is pretty sure to become completely miserable.”

All this, our readers will allow, is in an exceedingly happy vein. He goes on thus, through some thirty pages, demolishing one after another of the props, by which the Frenchman attempts to support his theory, pursuing him with keen irony, in all his windings, and every now and then making a stroke which M. Droz himself will admit to be a palpable hit. His victim says, for example:

“The only true independence is that which we enjoy when we dispose of all our time at discretion, without being embarrassed with professional or other business. This sort of liberty is oppressive to the unoccupied, (*hommes inoccupés*,) but to others, a source of real happiness. How charming it is to say to oneself, upon awaking in the morning, ‘this day is wholly my own.’ The epicurean passes a de-

lightful hour, before he rises, in reflecting on the pleasures of independence."

Our author compares this to the doctrine of Gonzalo in the Tempest :

"No kind of traffic
Would I admit ; no name of magistrate ;
Letters should not be known ; no use of service
Of riches or of poverty ; no contracts,
Successions ; bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none ;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil :
No occupation ; all men idle, all ;
And women too ; but innocent and pure ;
No sovereignty. * * * * *
All things in common, nature should produce,
Without sweat or endeavor ; treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
Would I not have ; but nature should bring forth
Of her own kind, all foison, all abundance
To feed my innocent people."

"The picture, no doubt," says Everett, "has a very reducing aspect. It may be observed, however, that in the case of our author, as in that of the honest old Counsellor of Naples, the latter end of his Commonwealth forgets the beginning. Gonzalo, after declaring that he would have no sovereignty in the Island, concludes by affirming that he

'Would with much perfection govern, sir,
To excel the golden age ?

M. Droz, in like manner, while setting forth the freedom from all occupation as the chief element of happiness, remarks in the same sentence that to *unoccupied men* the want of occupation is oppressive, but that to others it is a source of real happiness. Now we profess ourselves unable to conceive who are the *others* intended in this phrase. We agree with our author in thinking that persons who remain unoccupied will be unhappy ; but in our view of the subject, all persons who have no occupation are unoccupied. The *others*, who on the theory of M. Droz, are to enjoy the delights of the *dolce far niente*, seem to us to belong to the same category with *the rest* of the three children, who ran away when their comrades fell into the water.

'Three children sliding on the ice,
All on a summer's day,
It so fell out that they *all* fell in,
The rest they ran away.'

M. Droz may perhaps reply, that the *happy few* intended, are those who really having nothing to do, are able to choose their employments ; but how does it appear that the occupation which a man creates for himself, is so much more agreeable than that which devolves upon him by the effects of circumstances ? Is occupation, in the opinion of our author, a sort of moral disease, which is fatal

when forced upon a man in the natural way, but which, when he gives it to himself, is not only less malignant, like the small-pox when contracted by inoculation, but is actually inverted into a principle of health and well being? Does experience confirm this singular theory? Count de Caylus engraved, that he might not be obliged to hang himself. Many excellent citizens of all countries have obtained reputation, wealth and happiness, by pursuing, as a means of support, the same respectable occupation of engraving, which, by his own confession, conferred upon the Count no other benefit, than that of saving his neck from the pocket handkerchief or the pen-knife. The Marquis of Spinola, an Italian general, celebrated for his military exploits in the war of the independence of the Netherlands, passed the latter part of his life in retirement, upon a handsome pension, and of course in the full fruition of the *dolce far niente*; but being one of those persons without occupation, who are also unoccupied, he found himself (as usually happens, even according to our author, with gentlemen of this description,) rather ill at ease. While in this situation, he was informed of the death of one of his ancient comrades of inferior rank in the army, a captain perhaps, or possibly a colonel; and upon inquiring into the nature of the disease, was answered that he died of having nothing to do. *Basta*, replied the unhappy Marquis, with a strong feeling of sympathy in the fate of his departed of the war, '*basta per un generale*!' 'Tis enough to have killed him, had he been a general!'

The whole of the article, from which we make this extract, and several of the others, will be discovered to be full of the same charming pleasantry; but our author never forgets the great end of the moralist, and under every variety of style, he makes it his business to inculcate the truth. A fair specimen of his graver style will be found in his essay upon the Sabbath.

"Of all the subjects that can be presented to the consideration of the people at large, religion is the one in which they take the deepest interest. Of all the occupations in which they can be engaged, religious exercises are those, which habitually produce in their minds the strongest excitement. If it were the object of a law-giver, independently of every other consideration or duty, merely to provide the people with the means of agreeable occupation and amusement for a day of rest, he could not do it so well, if at all, in any other way, as by instructing them to devote it to religion.

"Religion reveals to us the secret of our higher and better nature; lifts us above the common offices of daily life, into communion with the sublime Spirit, whose word created, and whose incomprehensible essence informs and sustains the universe. It teaches us, that we are not, as the base theories of a detestable sophistry would represent us, merely a different order of the same race of beings with the brutes that surround us, destined like them, to pass an ephemeral existence, and then sink into nothing; but that we possess within us the germ of a heavenly nature, for which death is only the opening

of a new form of existence, and which will develop its faculties hereafter, through countless ages of happiness or misery, accordingly as the opportunities for improvement afforded here have been used or neglected.

"The mightiest minds of every age and country, have exhausted the resources of language in expressing the delight with which they habitually dwelt on this subject. 'I would rather,' says Lord Bacon, 'believe all the fables of the Talmud and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind.' Schiller, in his beautiful Hymn to Pleasure, represents her banner as waving upon the sun-bright rock of religion. With the monarch minstrel of Scripture, the being of God is made the motive for general exultation and jubilee. 'The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice.' He does not consider it a tiresome or gloomy occupation of time to attend public worship. 'I was glad when they said unto me, let us go up to the house of the Lord; my soul longeth, yea fainteth for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh cry out for the living God!'

"Where the attention is deeply, without being painfully engaged, the frame of mind is for the time agreeable: and I am far from being certain that any thing would be gained on the score of cheerfulness even, by substituting a different method of observing the Sabbath from that which is generally in use in this country. It has been my fortune to witness the celebration of this sacred festival, in some of the capitals of Europe, where the greater part of it is regularly devoted to public sports, and where the theatres are open twice as long as on any other day of the week. I have seen the French peasants dancing under the trees on Sunday afternoons, in their holiday dresses; and I can say, with perfect truth, that I know no place, in which the return of the Sabbath is welcomed with so much satisfaction, and the occupations it brings with it, pursued with so much interest, as in the metropolis of the Pilgrims, where it is wholly devoted to religion. Let any one walk the streets of Boston, on a fine Sabbath morning, when the bells are all ringing, and the whole population of both sexes in their best attire, repairing to their respective places of worship, and if the scene do not produce upon his mind a more pleasing impression than the tumult of a bull-fight, or the noisy mirth of a rustic dance, I can only say that his mental constitution is different from mine."

It is to be regretted, that all the statesmen, whom we send abroad, do not use their opportunities of observation, to strengthen their own love of their country, and its institutions, and that they do not attempt, like Everett, to extend a regard for them among their constituents. It is to be regretted that so many of them come home altogether changed in character and manners, having relinquished the republican simplicity in which they were educated, and for the most part forgetful of the religion upon which the republic was founded. And for this, as well as for other reasons, it is to be regretted that all of us are not better acquainted with the grounds of our faith, both political and religious.

The practice of mankind, of taking up opinions and custom by inheritance, rather than upon examination, is one that should be guarded against by every man, who justly estimates his character as a rational being. It may have salutary effects in restraining the thoughtless from rashly plunging into offences against the common sense of society; but at the same time, it prevents that serious investigation, without which there is no profound conviction, or at all events, none of the active consequences, which conviction always should produce. There are multitudes who have a general impression that Christianity is true, because it was professed by their fathers before them; but as they make no examination of it themselves, its sacred truths "lie bedridden in the dormitory of their souls," and are entirely inoperative upon their lives and characters.

As with the truths of our most holy religion, so with the customs, that were instituted to keep those truths in the mind; the ivy of antiquity, with which they have been clothed, is too venerable not to be respected, but many behold them, only as the ruins of an edifice, which was intended for the use of former days. To none of them will this remark apply with greater force than to the sacred institution of the Holy Sabbath; it comes to us from the remotest antiquity, it enjoys the sanction of the laws, it obtains the recognition of society, it is applauded by statesmen and philosophers and philanthropists; and yet its objects are not remembered, it is not kept holy to the Lord. As one day in seven, it must be remembered, because the almanac, and the prescriptive customs of society, will have it so; but with the laboring classes, it is too often a day of merely physical relaxation and dissipation; with the rich, it is a day of listlessness and fatigue; with the merchant, it is a day of balancing accounts; and with the planter, it is a day for procuring stores, inspecting work, and arranging the operations of the coming week.

The solemn tones of the bell are borne along upon the morning breeze, and the swelling notes of the organ mingle with them, and compel all to think a moment, that some intend on that day to pray; but though their consciences will be wakeful for a while, and their occupations, for a brief period, be uneasily pursued; still those who are engaged in business, will soon become too much absorbed to hear the sound, and those who are seeking pleasure, will

forget its solemn associations, even whilst they are enjoying its faint and distant cadences.

Surely it was for a more important purpose than this, that one day in seven was solemnly set apart by the Lord, and that his ordinance concerning it has come down to our time. And that we may know this purpose the better, let us look into the history of this sabbath, upon which our author has pronounced so decided an opinion.

The history of the world and the history of the Sabbath begin upon the same page of the Sacred Scriptures. "On the seventh day, God ended his work that he had made. * * And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work, which God created and made." After this record, we do not find the Sabbath mentioned until the time of Moses, a period of almost 2500 years. He mentions it, in giving orders to the people, to gather a double portion of manna, on Friday, "because tomorrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord." Shortly after, he records it as a part of that decalogue, which was delivered to him with so much solemnity upon Mount Sinai; and he subsequently mentions it frequently, either historically, or in connection with some precept for its better observance. From the time of Moses till the time of the captivity, a period of 1,000 years, it is mentioned incidentally in four or five places, and once or twice in the 500 years intervening between that period and the birth of Christ. In the course of the gospel history, frequent allusion is made to the day, and to the manner in which it should be observed. The hypocrisy and punctiliousness of the laws, placed our Saviour in a peculiar position in regard to it, and although he had come as a preacher of all righteousness, he found it necessary to rebuke the sanctimoniousness of the people among whom he dwelt, and to make the duties of the day easier than those were inclined to do, who observed it in appearance and not in heart. But while he taught that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, we find that it was his constant habit to attend the worship of the Temple when at Jerusalem, and of the Synagogue when he was travelling in the country. It was thus that it became him to fulfil all righteousness, and it was thus that not one jot nor tittle passed away from the law, until all was fulfilled in the death and resurrection of Him who was the end of the law.

After this great event, we begin to perceive a change with respect to the particular day upon which the disciples of Christ were accustomed to assemble together for divine worship. Our Lord was crucified upon Friday; he lay in the grave the whole of Saturday, which was the Jewish Sabbath, and upon Sunday, the first day of the week, he arose from the dead. He appeared to a few of his disciples that morning, and in the evening to all of them, in a general assembly. Again, after eight days, that is, upon the following, we read of another appearance to his disciples, who were again assembled together for religious purposes; and, upon the first day of the Pentecost week, they were once more assembled together, and the Holy Spirit descended upon them, and they were miraculously endowed for the work of the ministry, to which their lives were thenceforth to be devoted. In another portion of the Acts of the Apostles, we read that the disciples came together upon the first day of the week to break bread, for the Communion, and that Paul preached to them; and in one of the Epistles we have directions for a stated collection to be made upon the the first day of every week, showing that such was the time when the people came together for divine worship.

It is not improbable, that at first, the followers of the new religion were in the habit of keeping both the Jewish Sabbath and their own Sunday, just as many persons were both circumcised and baptized; but by degrees, as their numbers increased, and the distinctions between them and the Hebrews became more marked, the Jewish rites fell into disuse, and the peculiar institutions of the Christian dispensation were alone observed. Abundant information upon this subject is furnished by the writings of those who were the companions and successors of the Apostles. Ignatius, who was a contemporary, writes: "Let us no longer sabbatize," that is keep the Jewish Sabbath, "but let us keep the Lord's day, upon which our life arose." Justin Martyr, who lived at the close of the first, and beginning of the second century, says: "On the day called Sunday, is an assembly of all who live in the city or country; and the memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the prophets," (that is, the Old and New Testaments,) "are read." Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, who was the favorite scholar of St. John, wrote in the second century: "On the Lord's day, every one of us christians keeps the Sabbath, meditating in

the law and rejoicing in the works of God." These quotations might be indefinitely extended ; but there are enough to exhibit the fact, and the reason for the fact, that Sunday instead of Saturday, was observed by the early christians, as the day of their solemn assemblies.

From this brief sketch, our readers may learn, that the sanctifying *one day in seven*, was the first act of the Almighty, after he had completed the work of creation. For want of observing this, some persons are accustomed to found the duty of keeping the Sabbath holy, upon the fact, that it is so enjoined in the ten commandments ; and thus leave those, who believe the Mosaic institutions to have been abrogated by the law of Christ, without any moral obligation whatsoever. It is a sufficient proof to the contrary, that we read in the book of Exodus, of the Sabbath being kept, at least one month before it was solemnly enjoined with the other commandments from Mount Sinai. It was not frequently mentioned previously to the time of Moses, nor often subsequently for the same reason ; namely, the exceeding brevity of the records, which belong to both these periods. Notwithstanding the infrequency of the notices of it during the later period, no one supposes that it was not regularly observed ; and we cannot see why the same circumstance should be entitled to so much greater weight, when it relates to an earlier date. The awful solemnities, with which it was announced from Sinai, are no more a proof that it was then announced for the first time, than that the prohibition of murder and theft and adultery, which were accompanied with the same solemnities, were then for the first time made known to men. Long before this, Cain had been punished for the murder of his brother, and a whole world had been swept away for similar offences.

But there is another and independent argument for the antiquity of this usage, which may be drawn from the oldest Pagan writers. Learned men have collated many of these authorities, and from them we learn that Homer, who lived nearly a thousand years before the time of Christ, calls the seventh day in every week "holy." Hesiod and Callimachus give it the same title. Theophilus of Antioch calls it "the day which all men do celebrate." Porphyry says, "the Phœnicians consecrated one day in seven as holy." Linus says, "a seventh day is observed among all saints or holy people." Eusebius writes, "almost all the philosophers and

poets acknowledge the seventh day as holy." Clemens Alexandrinus says: "the Greeks as well as the Hebrews observe the seventh day as holy." Josephus declares: "no city of Greeks or Barbarians can be found, which does not acknowledge a seventh day's rest from labor."

Many similar passages might be mentioned, but these will suffice to show, that there must have been an universal tradition upon this subject, among nations which could have had no intercourse with the Jews, and which, consequently must have derived it from some source far earlier than the time of Moses. There is no way of accounting for this universality and coincidence, except by supposing, that the tradition is to be traced to the instructions which Noah, the preacher of righteousness, gave to the generation which sprang up after the flood. The proof is conclusive, that the holy Sabbath was observed not only before the time of Moses, but before the time of Noah; that it was regarded by Enoch and Methusaleh, and venerated in Paradise by the first created of the human race.

But while one day in seven has been consecrated by all men, since the beginning of the world, the particular day to be kept, and the peculiar reasons, why it was kept, have been frequently changed. At first, it was a day for the commemoration of the great work of the creation of the world, for adoring the perfections of the Almighty Being who made man, and for thanksgiving for the many benefits mental and physical, with which man was endowed. In the patriarchal ages it was the means of keeping alive the spirit of religion among the scattered tribes, into which mankind was divided; and when one nation was set apart to be the peculiar depository of the divine truth, it received a modification, to render it more suitable to the wants and character of the people, and became a sign of their deliverance from captivity, as well as of the creation of the world. In the first announcement of the law, the reason given for its observance is that "in six days, the Lord made heaven and earth, therefore the Lord blessed the seventh day;" but when the laws are recapitulated, the additional reason is assigned: "remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand, and a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day. At last, when the fulness of times was come, and the types and

shadows of the Mosaic dispensation, were to give place to the realities of Christianity, a still further modification became necessary. A greater work than the creation of the world was now to be commemorated, even the new creation of the souls of men, through the agency of him, by whom, and for whom, all things were at first created. As upon the first day of the first week of time, at the command "let there be light" there was light; so upon the first day of the new era of the world, a grave was opened, and through it a greater light arose than that which first struggled with the darkness of primeval chaos. It was then that the Sun of Righteousness arose with health upon its beams, and soaring upward in its path of light, shed upon the darkness of this world its rays of life and gladness. It was then that the star in the east, which had been so long dimmed by the earthly haze, by which it was surrounded, arose above the horizon of Judea, and shone out fair and lustrous for the illumination of all mankind;—to be for them, forever the bright and morning star—a star, which ariseth without setting in the human heart.

Whether we consider this Sabbath, of which we have now traced the history, *politically*, or in a *religious* point of view, we shall find it to be the wisest and most benevolent institution which exists among men. With what joy, to begin with the minor consideration, must it be hailed by those who are compelled, in the sweat of their brow, to procure their daily food. Day after day, such an one has been toiling at some laborious task, from early morn until late at night; his body and his mind have been engaged, and his strength has been upheld only by the expectation of approaching rest. What cruelty would it be to deprive him of this hope! How would his spirit fail, and his heart die within him, if there were no prospect of such a change; if there spread before him one unvarying endless round of occupation, which could be terminated only in the grave! He would long for death, and despair would soon prepare him to rush into its embrace. A regard for his own interest, therefore, as well as the dictates of benevolence, and the commands of God, should make the master careful to remember the Sabbath day, so that neither his man-servant nor his maid-servant be compelled to perform any unnecessary labour.

The day is not of less importance to those voluntary

slaves, who are under the hard task masters of their own avarice, or their own ambition. God has interfered to save man from himself; and it is the duty of society, not only to regulate the intercourse of man with man, but also to throw its restraints around the man himself.

The temporary rewards, before men, by being constantly beheld, assume in their eyes an importance, which they do not essentially possess; and they become so engrossing and transcendent, as to appear to be worth any sacrifice which they can make. Time, and comfort, and health are of no moment to the man, who would be rich, or to the man who would be great. They are bartered away readily for any thing that promises to bring him nearer to the prize; and one is never convinced of the cruel inequality of the exchange, until his nearness to the other world enables him to make a more correct appreciation of the things of this. Though it does not altogether prevail, yet the recognized rest of one day in seven tends to check this fiery pursuit after wealth or fame. Standing aside from it for awhile, men are more able to appreciate the value of the object which they pursue, than when animated and eager in the chase: and when they renew it, it is apt to be, with slackened speed and less destructive energy. What would this world become, and what would the men and women be, who compose it, if a sanction was given to prostituting the services of this sacred day to the occupations of all the rest? Let Dr. Dwight answer this question for us:

"The moral world becomes a desert where life never springs, and beauty never smiles. The beams of the Sun of Righteousness never dawn upon the miserable waste. Putrid with sin, and shrunk with ignorance, the soul of man loses its rational character, and prostrates itself before devils, men, reptiles, insects, stocks, and stones. To these, man offers his prayers, his praises, and his victims; to these he sacrifices his children; and to these he immolates the purity and honour of his wife. A brutal worshipper of a brutal God, he hopes for protection and blessing, from the assumption of every folly, and the perpetration of every crime. Or, if his mind becomes enlightened by science, and these absurdities become too gross to be received, he is converted into an infidel, or a sceptic, or an atheist. The absurdity is not the less absurd under this character than the other, but it is less palpable, less exposed to vulgar eyes, and less susceptible of ridicule; the only difference between them being that one is the madness and folly of the learned man, and the other that of the ignorant. Elevate such men to the seats of learning and of power, and the Sabbath is changed into the *decade*, the house of God into a sta-

ble, the bible is paraded through the streets upon an ass, and consumed upon a bonfire, immortality is pronounced a lie, the Redeemer is postponed to a murderer, and the prostitute goddess of reason is set up to be worshipped in the place of God.

This passage must have made the walls of old Yale tremble, when it was first uttered, for every thing was just then tottering under the effects of the grand *bouleversement* of the French Revolution. The people, in their delirium, had blotted out the acknowledgment of God and the Sabbath from their institutions; and the end was legalized plunder and butchery, fields drenched in blood, and cities burned by human incendiaries, bewildering the gazing world with astonishment, awakening the shouts of fiends, and covering heaven itself with sack-cloth. Let the man, who habitually, or occasionally, pursues his own worldly business or pleasure, through the unbroken circle of each succeeding week, reflect upon the results of this conduct upon himself, and by example, upon others. Is he willing to see the society, in which he may be a son, or a father, or a brother, reduced to a level as low as this; and for his own selfish gain, or pleasure, or emolument, bring down so much suffering and sorrow upon those whom he is bound to cherish and protect? For though it requires a multitude to do evil, before the results are discovered in any wide-spreading iniquity, yet the individual is accountable for the offences of which he is guilty, whatever may be the result. He that desecrates the Sabbath, in however private a manner, does what in him lies, to abolish the ordinance, and it is only because his example is not followed, that the evils, which desolated revolutionized France, do not fall upon his own country, and convert its happy fields, and peaceful abodes, into scenes of wretchedness, rapine and iniquity. Let a man think of this, when tempted upon the Sabbath, to enter his counting-room or his office, or to continue his week-day occupation, whatever it may be, whether of the hand or of the head. His gains upon that day, are deceitful gains, which he purchases at a fearful loss. His money will be like the fabled money of the faries, which mocks the holders of it; it will bring the curse of poverty upon his store. His knowledge gained upon that day, will only help him up towards a bad eminence: it will be like the knowledge of our first parents: they sinned against God, that they might know good and evil, and for it, they gave

up Paradise, and entailed the curse of their own expulsion upon all their children. It has not seldom happened, among their posterity, that wealth improperly obtained, has been miserably used ; and that knowledge acquired by the incessant application of the mind, has proved the knowledge of the way to unhappiness. The powers of the mind have been unstrung by the over-exertion to which they have been subjected ; the piled up coffers have been overturned, in adding too hastily to their number.

Important as the Sabbath is to man, considering him only as one of earth's children, and a member of a rational society ; it will, without doubt, be admitted, that it is still more important, when we allow him to have a spiritual nature, and to be susceptible of spiritual improvement. Ignorant, forgetful, and careless of God, as the world is, with all the checks and corrections of Sabbaths constantly recurring, what would be its condition, if no such thing had been ordained ? It is hazarding little to suppose that instead of the thousands of decent assemblages, which gather every week throughout the length and breadth of the land, for the serious worship of the unseen and omnipotent Jehovah, there would be heard the howl of the noisy Bacchanal, or the shout and laugh and frantic gestures of those, who worship the stocks and stones and other senseless idols of the heathen. Instead of striving to offer unto the Lord the living sacrifice of a purified heart, we should be crowding the altar with our oxen and our sheep. Instead of attempting to subdue our passions, we should be lacerating our bodies. Instead of seeking for the mercy of Christ by repentance and amendment, we should be purchasing that mercy of the gods, by the gifts of our hands, while our hearts were far from them.

We are so much accustomed to the advantages resulting from this institution, that we are in danger of considering them as matters of course, and of forgetting to trace them to their real source ; but whence is derived that generally extended knowledge of *the unseen and eternal*, which may be found in all orders and degrees of men ? A pure and holy God is acknowledged, spiritual, perfect, and omnipotent ; the immortality of the soul is recognised ; a future existence of happiness or misery is confessed. They are believed and rejoiced in, not only in circles of refinement and intellectual culture, but in ranks of society devoid of

the common means of information. It is the holy Sabbath that has broken down the narrow and exclusive walls of the academy, and has multiplied the number of its teachers, and has gathered disciples from the highways and hedges, and sent them out again as philosophers, though they labor at the anvil, and at the plough, and upon the loom. The mysteries of knowledge, which in former days, were whispered in the closets of the learned, are now proclaimed upon the house tops ; and the ways of wisdom, which once were known to priests and prophets only, are made so plain that the wayfaring man and the fool need not err therein. It is the Sabbath that has poured this flood of light upon the minds of men. Impartial as the sun and rain and dew of heaven, it blesses the poor and ignorant, not less than the rich and the learned, with its heavenly influences ; and a man must be careless indeed of the higher nature, with which he has been gifted, who does not value for himself, and for his fellow men, the means of improving and enjoying that higher nature which it affords.

But the object of religion is not merely to improve the intellect with knowledge, but to warm the heart with feeling. Religion is not merely a science ; it is an art, and an occupation, and a life. There is high learning in it, rivetting the attention of the loftiest mind ; but it is a learning of what we are to do, and how. The more gigantic the intellect which may be employed upon it, the more numerous and weighty will appear the reasons, the stronger the inducements, and the more cheering the hopes, which will concentrate upon the mind, in urging one forward in the accomplishment of his religious duties ; but the duties themselves are invariable. The great philosopher Newton, whose eye could scan the stars, and whose hand could trace their courses in his book, had to bow with the same humility before his God, as the hired servant, whom he paid to wait upon his person. The faith of the one was founded upon deep researches into philosophy ; his mind may have had to struggle through the mists of doubt, and to wrestle with the objections of infidelity, and to battle with the repugnance and opposition of his own heart, before he could step upon the rock of his confidence in Christ ; whilst the other may have known nothing of the subtleties of scepticism, nor of the answers which have been given to them ; but received his religion as it came to him, because it suited

the cravings of his nature, and brought him comfort in this life, and in the prospect of the next ; yet variously as their faith was derived and built up, it brought the same obligations upon both. All must bow down in adoration to God, all must be humbled in view of their infirmities, all must love with the utmost ardor of their natures, the good God, who hath done so much to bless them. For the cultivation of such feelings, how great is the opportunity afforded us in the holy Sabbath. The distinctions of worldly rank being laid aside, we behold how equal we are in the sight of God ; the glare and lustre of earthly objects of admiration, no longer dazzling, we may appreciate the majesty of Him, that ruleth over all ; the wonders of his love in its highest manifestation, being represented to us, we cannot easily withhold a return of love. It was a feeling thus produced, which dictated the glowing words of the poet, to whom Everett calls our attention ; "one day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a door keeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of wickedness." Happy is the man who has imbibed their spirit, and made their sentiment his own ; and to this end, happy is the man who uses the means in order that he may rejoice in the result.

Bishop Jebb well says : "this holy day may be regarded as a golden chain let down from heaven to earth, that it may draw us up from earth to heaven." The links of this chain are firm and compact and ought not to be disjoined ; and if we but hold the lowest and the nearest in our hand, and are steadfast in our grasp, we shall be raised by a power not our own, from link to link, and from gradation to gradation. Beginning with conscientious abstinence from that which is forbidden, we shall be advanced to the cheerful enjoyment of that which is prescribed. Beginning with the fear of God, we shall be exalted to his love. Beginning as his faithful servants, we shall be promoted to the station of his children and his friends.

The mind of man will be employed, and if a firm resolution is made, to abstain upon the Sabbath from all common business and all ordinary pleasure, the active powers of the intellect will turn into another channel, and vigorously pursue, and finally enjoy the duties and pleasures of religion. In the conversation and companionship of the good, and in the study of their books abundant employment will

be found ; and as one reads and thinks, his relish for devotion will be increased. He will discover new pleasures in the services of the sanctuary ; he will take increased delight in the devotions of the closet. An ever widening field will open before him, of improvement, both moral and intellectual, delightful to the mind, and salutary to the heart ; the horizon will recede and expand as he advances, and every new acquisition will increase his appetite for acquisitions still more extensive and enlarged. Thus learning, and thus living, he will be brought to delight himself in the Lord, and obtain an inward and a present heaven, the pledge at once, and foretaste of the eternal rest, that remaineth with the people of God. It would seem enough to deter a man from ranking himself with the Sabbath breakers, that by declaring the duties of an earthly Sabbath to be uncongenial to his tastes and feelings, he is pre-judging himself to be unfitted for the eternal rest of heaven. There, the business and pleasures of this life cannot go, and it is a wonderful thing, that any man with an intelligent mind and the consciousness of the possession of an immortal soul, can find the hours of that day to pass heavily, which is intended to invigorate his intellect and purify his heart for the enjoyment of that after world. Is he active and stirring in his habits ? The great business of his own soul, and the eternal welfare of his family and friends and neighbors will furnish him employment. Or is he imaginative and thoughtful ? There are bright fields in heavenly meditation, in which the highest minds may find pleasure ; and beyond the loftiest height, that man has yet attained, there is still a loftier, bearing him onwards and upwards forever. Or is he studiously inclined ? There is no other subject so vast, that the human mind can be called upon to investigate. When a life-time has been spent in vain attempts to grasp it, we feel that it is too great for our narrow comprehension. We stand upon the shore of a majestic ocean, we watch the waves as they roll on with ceaseless flow, we gather the treasures they strew upon the sand, but we cannot survey their bounds, we know not the depths of the treasure house from which they come. Great minds at the end of a life devoted to the business, study, and contemplation of religion, have not wanted employment in their dying day ; and the well remembered words of Bacon, which have been already quoted on our pages, should remind the morning

lounger of the boudoir, or the stroller of the Sunday afternoon, that there is something in religion for *him* to learn.

We have dwelt longer on this subject than we intended ; and perhaps some of our readers may accuse us of using Everett's Miscellanies, to entrap them into the study of a disquisition upon the Sabbath: but if they do, we shall appeal to Everett himself for our justification. We laid down the book one day, and it was seized upon by a pious and learned prelate, who was sitting near us. Turning over the pages, his eye was caught by the running title "Chinese Manners," and having special reasons to be interested on that subject, and knowing the author's relations to that land, he eagerly commenced reading. But two pages were enough, he threw the volume aside with a sigh ; even the tedium of rail-road travelling did not persuade him to wade through a long Chinese novel, when he was expecting to be instructed by a competent teacher, in the ways of the celestials.

If any of our readers have felt inclined to do likewise, we hope they will try again. The dictionary says, "miscellany is a collection formed out of various kinds," and we are only following out the definition, and walking in the footsteps of our author, when we give them the grave as well as the gay.

At the end of the volume we have fourteen interesting poems, which show that Everett, in the midst of his various and pressing engagements, has still found time to refresh his spirits with a draught from Helicon.

His description of an oriental scene in "the Hermitage," is very pleasing :

"All-giving nature poured profusely there,
In tropic wealth her gayest fruits and flowers.
The golden lemon scents the vernal air
With sweetest fragrance: the pomegranate bowers
With scarlet blossoms glow ; erect and fair
The stately tufted palm above them towers ;
While fluttering round, on richly painted wing,
The feather'd warblers hail the genial spring.

"And little streams to cool that garden green,
With purest waves run gently purling through ;
And here and there, a silver lake is seen,
O'erspread with lotus, purple-flower'd and blue :
While sailing slow, the fragrant cups between,
The milk-white swans their steady course pursue,
And birds of every name disporting lave
Their plumes, and dash around the sparkling wave."

In a different style, but equally good, are these stanzas from his ode entitled "The Young American :—"

"Scion of a mighty stock!
Hands of iron,—hearts of oak,—
Follow with unflinching tread
Where the noble fathers led !

Where the dews of night distil
Upon Vernon's holy hill ;
Where above it, gleaming far,
Freedom lights her guiding star ;

Thither turn the steady eye,
Flashing with a purpose high !
Thither with devotion meet,
Often turn the pilgrim's feet."

We were reminded of these lines very lately, while sailing down the Potomac. We had noticed among the passengers two young cadets, who were hurrying from West Point, to spend a short furlough at their homes in the distant south. They were full of life and hope and glee, and merry, as the school-boy always is, at the beginning of a vacation. One moment we saw them at the wheel, joking with the pilot ; directly after, they were in the engine-room, driving the engineers mad with their questions ; and at another time they were quizzing the steward in his pantry : we were not therefore prepared to find them, when we walked to a retired part of the boat to get a better view of the tomb of Washington, standing, where they did not suppose they would be observed, with uncovered heads, and rapt countenances, gazing upon the final resting-place of the mighty dead. It spoke well of the school in which they were nurtured ; and although we do not know their names, we expect great things from those "Young Americans."

L.

ART. V.—ROMAN LITERATURE.

Geschichte der Römischen Literatur. Von DR. JOHANN CHRISTIAN FELIX BÆHR. Carlsruhe: 1832. (History of Roman Literature. By DR. JOHN C. F. BÆHR.)

GERMANY is emphatically the land of scholars. Debarred by the institutions of the country from participation in political affairs, her master-spirits resort to literature, as the only field in which they can hope to reap the rewards of honor and fame. In this they have labored with untiring zeal and signal success. The literary institutions of Germany are the admiration of the world; their professors the instructors of all civilized lands. Even from this young commercial country, where the *protinus ad censum* principle has attained such ascendancy, hundreds of aspiring youth are yearly wending their way to that great mart of learning and science, to return richly freighted with intellectual wealth. "Book-making Germany," observes a distinguished American scholar, who resided several years in that country, "is the mistress of the press, as decidedly as commercial England is mistress of the ocean. On the whole of the continent of Europe she is at this moment exerting a literary influence, scarcely inferior to that of England and all the rest of Europe combined. Denmark and Sweden are almost entirely under her intellectual guardianship; Russia has manned her institutions chiefly with Germans or with natives trained in the German schools, and they are employed in importing German scholarship into that empire; Poland and Hungary, and all the various border tribes from the eastern extremity of the Baltic to the Adriatic, are rising in intelligence, under the fostering genius of the German schools. Greece, now undergoing a regeneration, is not only copying every thing from Germany, but actually has a German king and court, German statesmen, German professors and scholars in her institutions, and in all her literary and scientific enterprises. Italy receives but little influence from abroad; as much, perhaps, from Germany as from any country." France and England,

* We may add that the most liberal and enlightened scholars in Rome make free use of German literature. Dr. Wiseman has shown, in his Lectures on Science and Religion, how much he is indebted to German scholarship.

and Germany, are on terms of fair reciprocity. Switzerland borrows the best of her literary institutions from Germany, although her social character may be equally under the influence of France.* It is thus that Germany sways her sceptre over the literary world, and maintains the position so proudly challenged for her by one of her most gifted sons.

"Hell schimmernd in der Weltgeschichte Tempel."†

No subject in the extensive domain of classic literature has escaped the searching scrutiny of German scholarship. In archæology we have Böck, Wachsmuth, Hermann, Müller, Schömann, and Eschenburg; in philology, Matthiæ, Buttmann, Winer, Kühner, Zumpt and a host of others. Becker, in his *Gallus* and *Charicles*, and Böttiger in his *Sabina*, have laid open to us the domestic manners and customs of the Greeks and Romans; Meier and Savigny have illustrated their judicial proceedings; Tennemann and Ritter have traced the progress of their philosophy; while Bernhardt, Eichhorn, Wachler and Bæhr have made us acquainted with the whole circle of their literature.‡ The fact cannot be disguised, that we no longer repair for information on these topics to Oxford and Cambridge, to London and Edinburgh. We must go to Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg and Halle. English scholarship has fallen from the high estate which it enjoyed in the days of its Porsons and Bentleys; and no longer gives law to the world. Its most ambitious aspirations are satisfied with the work of translating from the great German masters. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities is little more than a *raccolta* of scraps, gleaned from the vast field of German literature. Even in this humble department, the achievements of British scholarship have not come up fully to the loftiness of its pretensions. A late clerical editor complains of the indifference of his countrymen on this very subject. "That Winer's Grammar has neither been translated in England, nor the American translation republished here, furnishes lamentable proof that, although we may be im-

* Dr. Sears, in *Christian Review*, June, 1841.

† Mächler. *An die Deutschen*.

‡ The best German works seldom reach this country. We can well sympathize with the disappointment felt by Legatié, in his failure, after repeated efforts, to get a copy of Becker's *Demosthenes*, a work which we have long had in our possession. It is invaluable.

proving, we are still far, in this country, from having reached the height to which Germany and the American States have attained, in the scholastic study of the New Testament.”*

We are happy to say that the literature of Germany receives a large share of attention in our own country. We cannot speak very confidently with respect to the southern section of the Union; but it is impossible to take up a new edition of any of the classics published in the North, without perceiving the indebtedness of the editor to our transatlantic brethren. We think that Dr. Anthon, notwithstanding the censures which have been passed upon him for concealing the amount of his obligation to his German cousins, deserves credit for availing himself so amply of his familiarity with the results of their labors. It is an honor to American literature to have given skillful translations of the grammars of Winer, Buttmann and Kühner, the lexicons of Wahl and Gesenius, Gieseler's Church History and Hengstenberg's Christology; not to mention other equally valuable works which the industry of our countrymen has added to our literary stores.

With respect to the History of Roman Literature, there is no work in the English language which fully meets the demands of the student. Dunlop's work, although entitled to very great praise, is written on a faulty plan, which he was, perhaps, led to adopt on account of the success which attended a previous work on the History of Fiction; and besides, is not sufficiently comprehensive and complete. Occasional contributions to this subject, have been made in Reviews; and notices of individual authors may be found in classical dictionaries or editions of their works; but no attempt has been made to present a full view of Roman literature, from its rise to its fall. This, it must be confessed, is an undertaking of no little toil and hazard. The language of the Eternal City, so perfect a counterpart of the proud and martial spirit of the various tribes that were gathered and blended within its walls, stretches far back into the twilight of history. To disintegrate this language, and point out the original elements which entered into its composition; to trace its history up to the fountain-head, and mark the

* Diodati, de Christo Græce loquente Exerc. Ed. O. P. Dobbin. Pref. p. xxiv.

successive points at which its volume was augmented by tributary streams; and to appreciate the various influences by which it was purified and enriched, until it fell in magnificent numbers from the lips of Cicero and his compatriots, and rolled with the voice of law and empire throughout the civilized world; and thence, to trace its subsequent degradation and corruption, demands the highest powers and attainments of the philologist and the antiquarian. It is even questionable whether the libraries of this country can furnish the materials from which such a history might be written.

Dr. Bæhr has sought to accomplish this work, in the history before us. It is an admirable specimen of the profound and various learning which distinguishes the productions of his countrymen, and has won for its author, by universal consent, the highest rank in this department of historical inquiry. It is, of course, impossible to do justice to the work, in the notice which we are about to give of it. The most that we can promise our readers, is to take them over a small portion of the extensive field through which the author has travelled.

It was the design of the author, to prepare a work which should cover the whole extent of Roman literature, embracing the results of the various investigations which have been made into its general history, as well as the particular history of individual writers, down to the present time, and by copious references to original sources, placing the reader in a condition to examine the subject for himself. In pursuance of this design, he presents in the first book, a general view of the origin and formation of the language and literature, and the different periods which marks their development and decline. The balance of the work is devoted to the different departments of Roman literature. The writers in each are noticed separately, and in chronological order. The limits of this article will permit us to follow the author only in his general introduction.

Upon a subject so obscure as the original settlement of Italy, one upon which, even after the learned and sagacious researches of Niebuhr and others, antiquarians are still divided in opinion—it will scarcely be expected that Dr Bæhr has thrown any additional light. Without going into a detailed examination of the different hypotheses which have been propounded on this intricate point, we may safely re-

gard Latium—that portion of central Italy which lies between the Tiber and the Liris—as the land in which the different tribes which afterwards constituted the Roman people, whatever may have been their origin, and whence soever they may have migrated, were fused together into one nation, speaking the same language, the Latin, a language composed of two radical elements, Greek and Barbarian, the latter of which is to be ascribed to those races that passed from the North over the Alps, into Italy and settled there. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, at this late day, to distinguish the separate elements which constitute the Latin language. Whatever cannot be referred to the Greek, particularly to the Æolic and Doric dialects, which approach nearest to the ancient Pelasgian language, or whatever does not occur in other old Italian dialects, which contain little or nothing in common with the Greek, must be ascribed to this barbarous element, which is found, according to Niebuhr,* in the Oscan language, but in the opinion of others, is derived from the Celtic or German.† The Latin language, thus formed, spread with the conquest of Rome, over her less potent neighbours, and finally gained the ascendancy over all Italy, and many other parts of the civilized world.

The history of Roman literature is divided into five periods, each of which is distinguished by certain marked peculiarities. These we shall proceed to sketch, adhering in the main, to the views of the author of the work before us.

The first of these, in which indeed the Romans cannot be said to have possessed a literature, in the proper sense of the term, extends from the founding of the city to Livius Andronicus, about A. U. C. 514. after the successful termination of the first Punic war. Notwithstanding the restless activity with which the Romans, during this period, sought to develop their political resources and extend the limits of their empire, they made no direct efforts to build up a na-

* Hist. Rome, 1. p. 55. Am. Ed.

† G. J. Voss. *Praef. ad lib. de vitis serm.*—ab his tribus Græcorum commigrationibus in Latium est illud, quod lingua Latina, si exceperis ea, quæ vel ex primogenia lingua retenuit, vel a vicinis Celtis accepit, tota pæne fluxerit e Græca etc. Funccius *De origg. Ling. Lat.* cap. 1. § 14. Scilicet aviam Latinæ linguæ incertam statuo, matrem Celticam, magistram Græcam. Grotefend. *Lat. Gram.* II. § 194. The reader will find this subject discussed in Dunlop, vol. 1. Southern Rev. No. 2. Edinburgh, No. 80. Penny Cyclop. 20. p. 112.

tional literature; and their language itself was yet rough and unpolished. Hence there are no writers belonging to this period. A few religious hymns, unintelligible in the Augustan age, convivial songs, prophecies, a kind of drama in a foreign dialect, but yet intelligible to the Romans, the *Atellanæ*, scanty chronicles and calendars kept by the priests, and fragments of laws and inscriptions are the only remains of it, of which we have any knowledge. The use of Greek letters seems according to a passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus,* to have been already introduced among the Romans in the time of Romulus.

The second period begins with the introduction of Grecian literature, and the rise of a literature more peculiarly Roman, but stamped throughout with the impress of the former. The constant wars in which the Romans were engaged abroad, and the contests which disturbed their peace at home, presented great obstacles to the spread of literature among a people originally so unsusceptible of scientific culture. Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth, whom the fortune of war brought to Rome, introduced the Roman drama, about 514, A. U. C. His production, although composed in the national language, was merely an imitation or translation of some Grecian model. The success which attended this effort induced many others to follow his example. Here we behold the dawn of Roman poetry, which was soon succeeded by the first attempts in prose. The conquests of the Romans in Greece and Asia afforded still further facilities for the ingress and diffusion of Greek culture, though not without some opposition. The older inhabitants of the city contemplated with a jealous eye, the introduction of foreign modes of thought and expression; and their patriotic solicitude was awakened lest the national spirit should be weakened and their institutions overturned. But these were feeble obstacles to the ardent and impetuous youth of Rome. They were smitten with the love of Grecian art, and strove to introduce into Rome the learning and science which had so long adorned the city of Minerva. The triumph of Greek culture and literature was completed by the embassy (A. U. C. 599,) from Athens to Rome, of three of the most eminent philosophers of the age, Carneades the Academic, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the

* *Antiq. Rom.* l. 36. *Plin.* N. H. vii. 56. *Tac. Annal.* xi. 14.

Peripatetic; so that Cato who had hitherto resisted the innovation, undertook the study of Greek in his old age. The tendency of the age was greatly augmented on the one hand, by the influx of luxury and wealth which streamed into Rome from all parts of the world, Greek literature becoming one of the elegances of life among the higher classes—and on the other, by the zeal with which the Romans now turned their attention to the study of philosophy and eloquence, as the means of increasing their importance in the state and accomplishing their political ends.

The duration of this period reaches down to Cicero, A. U. C. 648; or, according to others, to the death of Sylla, in the year 676. The principal writers are Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Attius, Plautus, Terence, Cæcilius Statius, L. Afranius, S. Turpilius, Fabius Dossennus, Licilius, Lucretius, Fabius Pictor, Cato Censorius, and some annalists and orators, whose works, together with most of those that we have mentioned, have perished. On account of the loss of these writers it is difficult to appreciate the progress of Roman literature during this period, and describe its character. The remains which have come down to us, in poetry as well as prose, do not indicate that attention to the external form and polish of the language, which distinguishes the productions of the following period, and finally became the predominant characteristic of Roman literature. With much power and strength of expression, they yet betray considerable harshness and want of harmony, defects which readily yielded to the rhetorical influence of a subsequent period. Of all the writers of this period, Terence alone is entitled to rank, in purity and elegance of style, with those of the Augustan age.

The third period begins with Cicero, or the death of Sylla, and extends to the death of Augustus, A. U. C. 767, or A. D. 14. The language was now brought to its highest state of perfection, under the plastic influence of Grecian models; and the literature of Rome became a reflection, however inadequate of the literature of Greece. The attention of the Romans, so long engrossed in politics, was directed to less exciting topics; and when after the termination of the civil wars, all power was centered in the hands of a single despot, political science lost its attractions, and literature offered the only resource for their ambition and talents. The progress of this period developed a great

change in the feelings and sentiments of the sturdy old republicans themselves. Their repugnance to Greek literature gave place to a warm zeal and even enthusiasm in its favor; so that thenceforward nothing possessed any value in their eyes, but what was conformed to Grecian models. Greek scholars and artists flocked to Rome and filled the palaces and country houses of the patricians. Greek literature and art were with them, as we have mentioned above, articles of luxury and ornaments of wealth and distinction. Hence they freely opened their houses to grammarians, rhetoricians, philosophers and other learned Greeks; as is evident from the example of Archias, who was patronised and cherished by Cicero, Lucullus, the Metelli, and other leaders of the Roman aristocracy. Greek literature having thus become a necessary accomplishment of a Roman gentleman, and Greek being employed as the instrument of social intercourse and epistolary correspondence, it became necessary for all who aspired to *ton* in society to affect, if they did not feel, an admiration for these pursuits. This state of things was peculiarly acceptable to Augustus, who encouraged the movement and endeavored to bind the minds of the Romans with these silken fetters, that they might not have power or inclination for political speculations. Thus Rome became completely Hellenized. The education of the people was Grecian. Their teachers were Greek, and the young Romans finished their education in Greece. Apollonia, Rhodes, Mytllene, and, above all, Athens opened their learned schools to the Roman patricians. Many, whom military service or political negotiations carried to Greece, brought back with them on their return to the city, the love of Greek literature; while the intimate knowledge which the Romans acquired of Alexandria and the schools established there, towards the close of the republic, contributed still further to increase the tendency to foreign literature.

The introduction of Grecian culture, however advantageous to the Roman people, and honorable to Augustus, who encouraged it, was attended with at least this evil consequence; it eradicated the national element from their own literature, and introduced a false taste, which, particularly during the next period, became more and more degenerate. It fostered a love of rhetorical display, and impressed, upon all the productions of this period, one uniform stamp. The

practical character of the Romans led them to attach value only to what stood in immediate relation to the interests or enjoyments of life. Pure speculation possessed little attraction for such minds, and hence the tardy advances which were made by those who sought to imbue them with a taste for Grecian philosophers.* Dialectics, in its relation to eloquence, and ethics in its direct influence upon practical life, met with a readier reception. Moved by these considerations, Cicero who was by birth an orator, directed his efforts to the cultivation of eloquence, as the only means of securing political eminence, and leading his countrymen to a higher scientific cultivation. Uniting in his own person all the learning of the times, and animated with a patriotic solicitude to diffuse and perpetuate its ascendancy in Rome, he encouraged, both by precept and example, the study of Grecian literature, made his countrymen acquainted with its results in his own writings, threw around every subject which he treated, the fascinations of philosophy and eloquence, and thus made large and permanent contributions to the intellectual advancement of the age. Under such influences as these, history began to flourish; and poetry, which had been checked and depressed by the civil wars, formed after Grecian models and elevated by the study of eloquence, plumed its wings and soared to its loftiest heights, to adorn the peaceful empire of Augustus, and celebrate the glory of his reign.

During this period, the ascendancy of Greek mythology and poetry was complete. The ancient national traditions, which might have been wrought into forms of poetry stamped with the features of a truly Roman literature, were neglected and despised. The materials of poetry were taken, for the most part, from the Greek; its form was determined by Grecian models, and originality of conception was lost sight of, in the pursuit of a graceful and elaborate style. This proceeding was, of course, fatal to the existence of a national literature. The youth of Rome trained under Greek masters, and habituated to the harmony and elegance of that noble language, turned with disdain from the rugged productions of their old writers; and when some of the contemporaries of Horace, stimulated by national pride, praised the poets of former days, and held them up as models for

* Vid. Tennemann's *Histoire de la Philosophie*. (Cousin's Tr.) §§173, 199.

imitation, they only provoked the ridicule of a poet, who imbued with the taste of the age, could find nothing worthy of imitation except the creations of Grecian genius.

The patronage bestowed upon poetry by Augustus and his court, excited many to cultivate it, and the temple of the Muses was soon filled with a crowd of versifiers whose vocation was any thing but clear. This is apparent from several passages of Horace, who indeed, wrote his epistle to the Pisos, with the design of setting forth, in opposition to these pretenders, the nature of genuine poetry.

The causes to which we have alluded above precluded, also, any thing like a national drama. Epic poetry enjoyed more favor and was furnished with better means of development. It stands more nearly related to history and rhetoric, the departments of literature most cultivated during this period and was more consonant to the genius of the Roman people. With these inducements to compose a great national epic, with the perfect model of Homer in his hands, and the favor of the emperor to stimulate and reward him, it is not surprising that Virgil attempted and achieved his great work—the *Æneid*—the only production in this department of literature which reflects honor on the Roman name. But poetry was a plant of foreign growth among the Romans. Its cultivation contributed to the richness and finish of the language; but it never struck its roots deep among the people. The taste of a Horace or a Virgil was, by no means, that of the whole nation. Hence its transient splendor, its sudden corruption, and its rapid decline. The works of this period are deformed by mannerism and a straining after effect; while in style they betray a redundancy of rhetorical ornament, without, however, those violations of propriety and good taste which characterize the following period. They had the art to conceal art. As eloquence exerted the greatest influence upon the Latin language and developed it, in its greatest power, and as the art reached its point of culmination in Cicero, the greatest Roman orator may be regarded as the central point of this whole period, and indeed of the whole of Roman literature.* His writings present the language in its greatest purity and perfection. Rome yet constituted the centre of the language as well as of the empire. There it was spo-

* This is also the opinion of Niebuhr. Rom. Hist. 5, p. 76.

ken in its purity, whilst in the provinces of the Roman empire, it was constantly becoming more impure from the reception of foreign words and forms. This circumstance explains the allusions which have been made by ancient writers to the Latin languages as spoken in Spain, and the taste which prevailed there, as well as the censure pronounced by Asinius Pollio upon the style of Sallust, Cæsar and others, and the patavinity of Livy.*

Great facilities were afforded for the study of literature, during this period, by the establishment of public libraries. Private libraries had hitherto existed, which contributed much to the cultivation of the national taste. But the use of these was limited. Paulus Emilius is said to have transported to Rome the library of Perseus, king of Macedon, A. U. C., 595; and Scilla brought back, from the plunder of Athens, in 667, the valuable collection of Apellicon of Teios containing most of the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus. This collection was arranged by Tyrannio, a grammarian whom Lucullus took prisoner during his campaign in Pontus, conducted to Rome, and liberated. He was employed, at a subsequent period, for the same purpose, by Cicero, in whose house he taught; and, if Suidas is to be credited, accumulated himself a library of thirty thousand volumes. Of still greater influence was the library of Lucullus, a cultivated and opulent patrician, who acquired a taste for Grecian philosophy and science by his expedition into Greece and Asia, and aided their diffusion at home, by the liberality with which he opened his splendid library for the use of learned men. We must not omit to mention here the private collections of Atticus, Cicero, and his brother Quintus, as also that of Varro. But of these, only slight notices have come down to us.

To Julius Cæsar belongs the honor of having first planned a public library, the care of which was to be committed to the learned Varro. This plan, which was defeated by his early death, was carried into effect by Asinius Pollio, who devoted a part of the wealth which he had acquired from the spoils of the Dalmatian war, to the erection of a splendid gallery, adjacent to the Temple of Liberty, which he filled with books and the busts of the learned. This was followed

† We ought to mention that the critical study of language commenced in this period. Grammar, etymology and antiquities excited considerable attention

by two public libraries established by Augustus, one on Mount Palatine, in a portico of the Temple of Apollo, A. U. C. 726. The other, in a portico of the Theatre of Marcellus, which he had erected, and named after his sister Octavia, in 721.* From some remarks which occur in Vitruvius, we learn that a library became, in the course of time, an indispensable appendage to the palaces of the distinguished and opulent citizens of Rome. "It became the fashion," says Becker, "to have a room elegantly furnished as a library, and reserved for that purpose."† Many indeed, like some of our modern patricians, were more anxious to purchase books than to read them. Seneca, at a later day, plays off his wit upon certain gentlemen, who admired the outside of their libraries, but were utterly ignorant of their contents.

This period has usually been denominated the golden or Augustan age of Roman literature. It is also called the classic—a term borrowed from the political division of the Roman citizens, in which, those of the first class were called *classici*. The writers are Varro, Cicero, Julius Cæsar, (Hirtius and Oppius) Nepos, Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Livy, Ovid, Sallust, Vitruvius, Laberius, Publius Syrus, Cornelius Severus, Manilius, Grattius, Pseudo Albinovanus, Hyginus, Germanicus, Verrius Flaccus. To these may be added some others, of whom only a few fragments remain, as Valerius Cato, Cornelius Gallus, etc.

The fourth period of Roman literature embraces the so-called silver age, which begins with the death of Augustus. According to Scioppius, it terminates with the death of Nero; and the succeeding period, down to the death of Hadrian, is the fifth or brazen age. But Olaus Borrichius, Facciolati, and Funccius, with more propriety, extend the duration of the silver age to the death of Trajan; Wolf and Schöll, to the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, i. e. from A. D. 14 to 117; Walch and Cellarius, down to Antoninus Pius, A. D. 138. This period is characterized by Funccius as the *imminens senectus* of Roman literature. It was the age of Phædrus, Curtius, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Celsus, Scribonius Largus, the two Senecas, Persius, Lucan, Asconius Pedianus, Columella, Palladius, Pomponius Mela, Petronius, Quintilian, the two Plinys, Juvenal, Suetonius,

* Southern Review, 1, p. 401, where the reference to Dunlop ought to have been, vol. 2, pp. 79-84.

† Gallus, l. 160.

Tacitus, Frontinus, Statius, Florus, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Martial, Justin, A. Gellius, Terentianus, Sulpicia.

Roman literature had already begun to decline, towards the close of the preceding period, during the reign of Augustus. Some have attempted to account for this phenomenon upon the principle of a tendency to deterioration, inherent in all human affairs. That the operation of this principle is cognizable, to a certain extent, in the literature of Rome, cannot be denied; but the real solution of the phenomenon is to be sought in the loss of civil freedom, and the corruption of morals. Augustus, indeed, maintained the appearance of outward freedom and political life, and was, moreover, a zealous and generous patron of learning and the arts; but under his despotic successors, corruption and servility spread and increased; every thing noble and generous was checked and crushed; and the basest flattery was every where encouraged. The crushing influence of the despots who, during this period, ruled the destinies of Rome, their violent hostility to literature and its friends, the destitution of all efficient encouragement and patronage, and finally the rapid increase of luxury and immorality, which in consequence of a perverted system of education, had spread widely among the youth of Rome, sufficiently account for the decline of its literature. These causes were apparent to some of the ancients themselves. The dialogue, *De causis corruptæ eloquentiæ*, is particularly instructive on this subject. In their judgment, these causes were to be sought in the faulty education of the younger, and the mistaken views of the older Romans, as well as the misdirected efforts of the masters, to whom the education of youth was entrusted; whilst a false taste crept into the public schools, which, at variance with nature and good taste, fostered a far-fetched, exaggerated and artificial style, but could never produce a vigorous and manly eloquence. The desire not only to rival but also to surpass, or, at least not to fall below the beautiful and sublime productions of the classic period led to exaggeration, and to the affectation of a brilliant and artificial style, which corrupted both oratory and poetry. The writers of this period outdid themselves, and in reaching after originality, fell into the opposite extreme. That this was the case, particularly in those sciences which penetrate and vivify all other sciences—rhetoric and eloquence—it is unnecessary to labor to prove. We

now behold an effeminate age which employed all its power in attempts to please the ear with the harmony of fine periods, and to excite admiration by tricks of rhetorical legerdemain, and launched forth into every species of exaggeration and extravagance to accomplish these ends.

Among the outward causes which were prejudicial to the literature of this period, we may mention the act of publicly reciting literary productions. This custom—so natural and laudable in its origin—of reading to a select circle of literary friends one's own production, to obtain the benefit of their criticisms and suggestions, and then to a larger number of literary gentlemen, whose character and attainments entitled their opinions to respect, seems to have prevailed, to some extent, in the earlier times of Rome, especially in reference to poetry. In the Augustan age it became still more frequent. Asinius Pollio gave to it a more systematic form, and employed it for valuable purposes, and in an age in which critical journals and public arbiters of literary taste were unknown. But the increasing prevalence of this custom, and the abuse of it by an effeminate generation, that was destitute of moral power and dignity, and employed it only as the means of obtaining notoriety, and dazzling the minds of their contemporaries, with a false splendor, exerted a most disastrous influence upon literature, converted even this praiseworthy custom into an instrument of corruption, and brought it into contempt; especially since other objects were associated with it, and dishonorable means were employed to accomplish them—a coterie of friends and parasites having been invited to an entertainment, and feasted and bribed to forestall public opinion with respect to a work, and insure its favorable reception.*

We have adverted to the beneficial influence which was exerted, by the institution of public and private libraries, during the preceding period of the history of Roman literature. Our remarks are equally applicable to the period now under review. Even the assistance and patronage, which were afforded to learned men by some of the emperors, were not so efficacious in eliciting and diffusing a taste for literature, as these libraries. Although the Pala-

* A similar abuse has well nigh brought periodical literature, especially in Great Britain, into contempt. It is not too much to affirm that many reviews have been dictated by personal or party malevolence, rather than a regard for the interests of learning.

tine library, which had been founded by Augustus, perished in the burning of Rome, in the reign of Nero, and the Octavian shared the same fate, in the reign of Titus, yet a library, of which however, at the present day, we know very little, was established by Tiberius, and another by Vespasian, in the temple of Peace, erected by him after the destruction of Jerusalem. Even Domitian, as little as he was inclined to literature,* labored with great zeal to restore and replenish the libraries which had been burned, both by making new collections of books and by sending copyists to Alexandria, to transcribe the manuscripts which were deposited there. After him, Trajan founded a library in the Basilica Ulpia, (so called after the name of the emperor Ulpian,) in the forum of Trajan. In the age of Vopiscus, we find it attached to the *Thermæ* of Diocletian. The Capitoline library, which was destroyed by fire, when the capitol was struck by lightning, in the reign of Commodus, was not founded by Vespasian, nor was it the same as that already mentioned in connection with the temple of Freedom, but was most probably erected by Hadrian. Private libraries were not less numerous in this than in the foregoing period. Even in other parts of the Roman empire, libraries sprung up in connection with the public schools, as e. g. in the cities of Milan, (*Mediolanum*,) and Como.

Up to this time, the schools and institutions of learning which existed in Rome, were of a private character, and the grammarians and sophists who taught in them, neither enjoyed very high consideration, nor found their occupation

* Niebuhr has given a very flattering account of this emperor. "Domitian's taste for Roman literature," he remarks, "produced its beneficial effects. He instituted the great pension for rhetoricians, which Quintilian, for example, enjoyed, and the Capitoline contest in which the prize poems were crowned." *Hist. Rom.* 5. p. 117. We think, however, that Dr. Bæhr is right. Domitian did, indeed, in early life, affect a taste for literature; (*Suet. Dom.* 2, *Tac. Hist.* iv. 86,) but he was a vulgar and illiterate man. It is true that he endeavored to replace the libraries referred to in the text; but he banished the philosophers from Rome. (*Suet. Dom.* 10.) His literary taste was easily satisfied. *Præter commentarios et acta Tiberii Caesaris nihil lectitabat.* *Suet. Dom.* 20. Niebuhr is equally wrong in ascribing to him the "pension for rhetoricians." The honor belongs to Vespasian. *Suet. Vesp.* 18. *Ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit; primus e fisco Latinis Græcisque Rhetoribus annua centena constituit.* Of this emperor, Niebuhr remarks: "He neglected altogether the higher and intellectual pursuits, and had a downright antipathy against persons of education, philosophers," &c.—a singular instance of *lapsus memoriæ* or something worse. This fifth volume of the great historian, (*sit venia verbo*), is a very shabby production.

very profitable. But a change was effected by Vespasian, who appropriated from the public exchequer, a considerable sum to the support of Latin and Greek rhetoricians; so that now, for the first time, we meet with professors, who were employed and paid by the state, among whom the celebrated critic, Quintilian, may be mentioned. His example was followed by Hadrian, in the constitution of his Athenæum—a kind of university with a staff of professors in the various branches of study*—and by Antonius Pius, who extended the provision of Vespasian, to the teachers of philosophy, and stationed rhetoricians and philosophers in Rome and in the provinces of the Roman empire. The enterprise was still further promoted by his successor Marcus Aurelius; so that in his reign, public schools, formed after the model of those in the imperial city, with salaried teachers, were established in all the most considerable cities of the Roman empire—in Italy, Gaul and Africa. In these schools instruction was given, at first, in grammar, (including philology and criticism,) rhetoric and philosophy; afterwards, at a later period in the history of Roman literature, in the sciences of jurisprudence and medicine. Large numbers of rhetoricians and grammarians were found in the houses of the great and the palaces of the emperors, who superintended the whole education of the higher classes in these departments of learning, and made a display of their erudition and skill, in the solution of problems or theses, which they regarded as one of their highest and most valuable accomplishments. These problems were often of a most trivial character, and the practice soon degenerated into a puerile and worthless ostentation. The instruction afforded in these public schools was systematic, arranged with reference to the condition and capacity of the students. The course of study in the higher branches began with the reading of the poets, namely, Homer, Horace and Virgil.

These measures could not prevent the decline of literature and the corruption of the language, much less could they secure the free development of genius, which, in the schools to which we have referred, was directed, for the most part, to the most trivial subjects. Yet this period was

* Smith's *Dic. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* Athenæum. Of this prince, it is remarked by Winckelmann: "Sa passion pour les beaux-arts l'avait engagé à rendre à la Grèce entière la jouissance de sa liberté. Monumens inédits de l'Antiquité. Tom. I, ch. 4, p. 152.

not destitute of writers who were worthy of a better age. But we look in vain, in their works, for that purity of taste and noble simplicity of style, which distinguish the productions of the classic age; we find only artificial refinements and rhetorical inflation. With respect to poetry, there were not wanting writers who labored in this department. Many, indeed, followed it as a trade, as is evident from some expressions and hints which occur in Juvenal, and still earlier, in Horace; so much had this art sunk in public estimation, and so much had its professors fallen from the high position, which they had formerly maintained. Some of these poets found favor with the emperors, as Saleius Bassus, who was patronized by Vespasian and who was presented by that emperor, with five hundred sesterces; others were fostered and encouraged by the nobility; but if we may credit the representations of Juvenal, in his seventh satire, their condition, upon the whole, was far from enviable. Their productions were, in general, destitute of particular merit, evincing neither pure taste nor genuine poetic spirit. The essential elements of poetry were wanting. Erudition and rhetorical glitter had usurped the ascendancy, and these were displayed merely in imitating and copying Grecian models. With the changes which took place in the political condition of the state, poetry also changed. The decay of morality and virtue effected a corresponding deterioration in this department of literature. Deprived of all real power and worth, in consequence of the low and debasing ends to which it was perverted, it sunk into deserved contempt. The satirists of the age, who chastised the vices of other poets, and sought to effect a reformation in the art, failed to accomplish their object, by the extremes to which they were driven, and their neglect of the graces and ornaments of style. Poetry which, especially in some of its branches, had always been a foreign art to the Romans, lost the natural simplicity which had characterized former times, and was now degraded to a mere means of obtaining a livelihood or securing personal consideration. The notion, which became prevalent, that poetry might be learned, just as any other art, in the schools of the rhetoricians, produced a great many tame and spiritless poems, and contributed still further to the depravation of taste; which was satisfied with a merely negative correctness, and pleased with a redundant and bombastic style,

clothed common-place thought in pompous phrases, and prided itself only in far-fetched and strained expressions.

Eloquence still maintained the highest place, and continued to be the chief pursuit of the Romans, as well as the foundation of all scientific culture. Its importance in the State, the influence, respect and honor which it secured in political life, together with the glory which it had conferred on distinguished orators in Rome and in other countries, and even the pecuniary emolument reaped by judicial orators, stimulated ambition and cupidity to enter on this field as the surest path to wealth and distinction. Hence the study of eloquence was prosecuted with the utmost zeal in the schools of the rhetoricians, which have already been noticed, public as well as private. But this also caused a depravation of taste, which penetrating into all other sciences impressed upon the productions of this period, a rhetorical and declamatory character. Eloquence was no longer distinguished by the manly skill and noble simplicity of a former age. The free expression of the orator was too much checked, his free activity too much restrained, and his efforts, therefore degenerated into artificial declamation, or fulsome panegyric. The false taste of the age displayed itself here, as well as in poetry, in a sort of indefinite and transcendental style, incident to an effort to surpass every thing that had preceded it, in a straining after high sounding epithets, artificial and particularly, antithetic sentences, and in a studied and often exaggerated brevity, combined with the most puerile and empty bombast. The limits between poetry and prose, which had been so carefully distinguished in all previous periods, were gradually blended together, and the one passed over into the other, not only in the general form of representation, but also in particular forms, expressions, and application of language.

The same taste which was nourished and diffused by the schools of the rhetoricians, exhibited itself in the treatment of other sciences, particularly history. This science manifests very clearly the influence of the outward relations, to which it was subjected, during the period over which we are now passing. In consequence of the despotism of the Cæsars, and the moral degeneracy which marks this era, history could no longer fulfil its high mission, and furnish a representation of the age, in its real character. Dry biographies and inflated panegyrics were written. History

consisted of little more than isolated sketches and narratives strung together, without any effort to unite them by an internal connection, and form them into a complete whole. Individual exceptions need not excite surprise. The muse of history exhausted her last efforts in the creation of a Tacitus.*

The study of philosophy found numerous votaries, particularly that of the stoics, in which alone the soul could find support, amidst the deep gloom which the condition of affairs produced. Philosophy was, moreover, regarded as the most dignified occupation for a man of the world, during his seasons of retirement; and hence the study of it was indispensable to every one who made any pretensions to a polite education. The sciences of criticism and grammar, were cultivated with more success, than during any former period, and the study of them was greatly facilitated by the institutions of learning, to which we have already, more than once, referred, and the generally diffused taste for literature.

The literature of Rome seems during this period, to have gained in extent what it lost in inward excellence; but even the zealous efforts of Vespasian and Trajan, could not prevent its decline. Notwithstanding these efforts, it continued to decay, and the language of Rome departed more and more from the purity and simplicity of its earlier period. The concourse of foreigners to Rome, from every region of the then known world, and the residence of citizens of Rome in the provinces, favored the corruption of the language, partly by the admission of a multitude of foreign words and partly by changes in their signification and construction. This corruption seems to have occurred earlier in prose than in poetry, which adhered more closely to the models of the foregoing period, and besides, from its very nature, admitted of more license in its forms of representation.†

The fifth period of Roman literature reaches down to the time of Honorius, and the conquest of Rome by Alaric, A. D. 410, over Romulus Augustulus and the overthrow of the Roman empire in the West, A.D. 476. Funccius designates this period, the *vegeta linguæ Latinæ senectus*;

* Wolf. *Gesch. Röm. Literat.* S. 22.

† Dr. Arnold has made some sensible remarks on this period, in his *History of Rome*, 3. p. 539.

but it has, usually, been denominated the brazen age. Scioppius, however, whose brazen age coincides with our fourth period, calls it the iron age, and extends it down to the reign of Theodosius. The writers are Apicius, Dictys Cretensis, Solinus, Apuleius, *Tertulian*, *Arnobius*, Marcellinus, Vegetius, *Firmicus*, *Lactantius*, *Minucius Felix*, *Cyprian*, Macrobius, Ulpian and the other jurists, Censorinus, Spartianus, Lampridius, Capitolinus, Trebellius Pollio, Vulcatius, Vopiscus, Serenus Sammonicus, *Hillary*, *Prudentius*, *Juvencus*, Rhemnius Fannius, Victorinus, Claudian, Symmachus, Ausonius, Avienus, Julius Obsequens, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Sextus Rufus, Ampelius, Servius, Calpurnius, Nemesianus, Pacatus, Nazarius, Mamertinus, Eumenius, *Damasus*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, Rufinus.*

With the decay of the empire, good taste in literature and the purity of the language gradually declined. This change, as we have remarked, was perceptible in the preceding period. Learning possessed a zealous patron in Marcus Aurelius, but only to sink the more rapidly after his death, in consequence of the neglect of most of his successors. Its interest were also injuriously affected by the political revolutions which were constantly taking place, the rapid succession of emperors, who were frequently uncultivated men, chosen from the ranks of the army, and by military despotism in connection with the internal commotion and strife to which these circumstances gave rise. This was particularly apparent under the immediate successors of Marcus Aurelius. Neither under his son Commodus, who was, in every respect, very unlike his father, nor during the transient reign of Pertinax, who is said to have formerly taught a grammar school in Rome, nor yet under Didius Julian, did it receive any essential encouragement; and Septimius Severus, although he displayed considerable zeal for learning, chiefly philosophy, and friendship for learned men, repressed the free development of mind by his cruelty and tyranny. Under his successors Caracalla, Macrinus and Heliogabalus, the prospect was still more gloomy. Alexander Severus, himself a scholar and a poet, and ardently devoted to literature, lent the imperial influence and patronage to the support of science and poetry. He attended in

* We have indicated the Christian writers by placing their names in Italics.

person the rehearsals or recitations of the poets, made liberal appropriations to the public teachers, furnished them with lecture rooms, and encouraged education by apportioning stipends to poor and needy scholars. He also gave to the teachers of the science of medicine, the same salary that was enjoyed by the other professors.

But during the troublous times of later emperors, some of whom were men of low birth and uncultivated minds, who had cut their passage to the throne with the sword, literature remained destitute of encouragement. There were some exceptions, but their reign was too short to admit of any decided and permanent influence. Gordian evinced a taste for poetry and science, to which he was himself addicted; M. Claudius Tacitus was, also, a prince of high literary cultivation, and took a deep interest in the progress of letters, while Numerianus was distinguished for a similar character. In the time of Gordian, mention is made of a library, which was bequeathed to him by his instructor, Serenus Sammonicus, and is said to have contained 62,000 volumes. In the time of Publius Victor, and therefore in the fourth century, there were in Rome, as many as twenty-nine different libraries which were open to the public, besides public schools, with numerous teachers paid by the State.

The removal of the seat of government from Rome to Constantinople, did not promote the interests of literature, notwithstanding that it found in Constantine, a firm and generous friend. Of his good intentions we have ample evidence in the ordinances, in which he placed physicians in the same rank with grammarians and other professors, and conferred upon them equal rights and privileges, as well as in the immunities and benefits which he extended to the public teachers. Julian and Valentinian II., together with Valens, his associate on the throne, acted in a similar manner. From the ordinances of these princes much may be learned with respect to the studies of the age.

This zeal for learning was displayed most beneficially, at a later period, in the establishment of two universities by Valentinian III., one at Rome, the other at Constantinople, A. D. 425. In these institutions of learning instruction was not confined as in those of an earlier period, to the three departments of grammar, rhetoric and philosophy, but em-

braced, also, jurisprudence and medicine;* so that a university comprised five faculties, each of which had its own professor.† A broad distinction was, also, now made between public and private instructors. The schools which had been established, during the previous period, not only in Rome, but in other cities of Italy were in a flourishing condition. The same may be said of Africa and especially of Gaul, where schools with salaried teachers were supported, in almost every city of importance. So also, in Spain, science and poetry seemed to have been cultivated with zeal, and considering the period, not without success. But these circumstances were ineffectual to stay the progress of corruption, and Roman literature continued to decline.

Good taste was now completely banished from literature, and artificial refinement, redundancy, intolerable bombast, and sometimes a ridiculous pomp of words usurped its place. The language had departed still further from its original purity; many words had lost their distinctive meaning, and were confounded with each other; and so great had been the influx of foreign and newly-coined words and idioms, that it became necessary, in order to acquire a knowledge of the language, to go back to the productions of the classic age. With reference to this point, we must not omit to mention the meritorious labors of the learned grammarians of this period, nor the influence exerted by the public schools, which, as we have seen, had been established in Rome, and in other parts of the empire. They upheld, for a long time, the love of learning and stayed the advance of barbarism; although, on the other hand, it must be confessed that they inflicted irreparable injury by their spiritless treatment of the subject. The youth committed to their care were not fired with the enthusiasm of the scholar, and taught to direct their talents to the accomplishment of high and worthy ends. They were merely trained for the ordinary pursuits of life, in which the love of gain was the most potent, if not the only incentive to exertion. Never-

* The work which we are reviewing reads—*Artzneywissenschaft und Medicin*—which is evidently an error—perhaps typographical. The author himself shows that it should be *Rechtswissenschaft*.

† The number of professors was as follows. For grammar i. e. philology, twenty; ten for Greek and the same number for Latin; for rhetoric, five Greek and two Roman; for philosophy, one; for jurisprudence, two. The number of professors in the fifth faculty is not known.

theless, even this period was illustrated by a succession of noble spirits, chiefly poets, who elevated themselves, by their genius, above an age which was unworthy of them.

Poetry was little appreciated and still less encouraged, and was valued chiefly in its relation to other pursuits. The drama was silent. The peculiar nature of this art, together with the sedulous imitation of ancient models, guarded it, to some extent, against that irruption of false taste which overspread every other. Eloquence displayed, in their full extent, the vitiating influences of the period. Divorced from active life, and circumscribed within narrow limits, it flourished merely in the schools of the rhetoricians, or in the service of the emperors, who cherished it only as a means of gratifying their pride and vanity, or strengthening their authority and power. But it was as destitute of moral worth, as it was despicable as an art. Still less favor was extended to philosophy, which in some measure, yet flourished at Athens, in the schools of the Grecian philosophers. Grammar or philology, rose into great importance, as most befitting an age which was unambitious of originality, and was content to draw upon the labors of its predecessors for the matter and form of its productions. The spread of christianity has sometimes been alledged as one of the causes of the decline and fall of Roman literature. This, however, is destitute of proof. Christianity is guiltless of the crime. On the contrary, it may be affirmed, that the wide diffusion of the christian religion was one of the principle means of preserving the Latin language, as the language of letters and of books, and saving Roman literature amid the general wreck and ruin of the empire.

We have thus followed the footsteps of our author, in his cursory review of the history of Roman literature, from the incipient period of its development down to the fall of the Roman empire. It would be interesting and instructive to proceed further, and contemplate the Latin language and literature, in the changes which were impressed upon them by those barbarian hordes that overspread the civilized world, and drew over it the gloom of the dark ages. But our limits forbid.

In surveying the whole field of Roman literature, and tracing every where the influence of Grecian literature, alike in its materials and its form, we are compelled to deny to the former, almost all originality and independence, and as-

cribe to it, as its highest merit, a successful imitation of the latter. Although this cannot be denied, and is pre-eminently true with reference to some particular branches, especially poetry, yet the literature of Rome will ever be an attractive subject to the scholar and to the historian. Irrespective of the individuality and subjective character of certain writers, traits which are always displayed on such occasions as were fitted to develop them, and which are never entirely obscured, even by the imitation of Grecian models; irrespective, also, of the influence of the Roman language and literature, which is apparent in the whole history of the middle ages and in the institutions, political and religious, of the present age, the literature of this people possesses a character of its own, which is sufficiently peculiar to attract observation and inquiry. It is pervaded, throughout, by a truly national spirit. The majesty of Rome and her dominion over the nations of the earth are the ideas which constitute the peculiar spirit of Roman literature. A stern and proud patriotism filled the minds of her writers, and this, developed in their works, forms the life and substance of her literature. In this respect, there is an elevation, a power and a freshness in their productions, which we seek, in vain, in the elaborate efforts of Grecian rhetoricians and sophists. To the Roman, nothing possessed any value that did not tell upon the interests of his country, that did not look to the power, dignity, and glory of Rome. Hence the scorn with which he contemplated matters of pure speculation, unconnected with the practical realities of life. This test he applied to all literary and scientific pursuits; it was this that determined the literary activity of the nation, and formed its literature, which reflects, as in a mirror, the life and spirit of the Roman character. It is this peculiarity also, which constitutes the marked distinction between Greek and Roman literature. Hence it has been appropriately remarked by Ast, that the inward, intellectual and scientific life of the nations of antiquity is represented by the Greeks, while their outward, political and historical life finds its development in the Romans.* The language of this wonderful people accords most admirably with their national character. No one can fail to admire its compressed

* Grundriss der Philolog. S. 410. Herder's Ideen zur Philosoph. u. Gesch. der Menschheit. B. xiv, cap. 5.

and sententious brevity, its stern gravity, and the power and dignity of its majestic tread. It is a language befitting the conquerors of the world.

The characteristics of the two noble languages of antiquity have been so beautifully, and truthfully, exhibited by a late elegant scholar, that we cannot do better than transfer his remarks to our pages.

"Greek—the shrine of the genius of the old world, as universal as our race, as individual as ourselves; of infinite flexibility, of indefatigable strength, with the complication and the distinctness of nature herself; to which nothing was vulgar, from which nothing was excluded; speaking to the ear like Italian, speaking to the mind like English; with words like pictures, with words like the gossamer film of the summer; at once the variety and picturesqueness of Homer, the gloom and the intensity of *Æschylus*; not compressed to the closest by *Thucydides*, not fathomed to the bottom by *Plato*, not sounding with all its thunders, nor lit up with all its ardors under the Promethean touch of *Demosthenes*! And Latin—the voice of empire and of war, of law and of the state; inferior to its half-parent and rival in the embodying of passion and in the distinguishing of thought, but equal to it in sustaining the measured march of history, and superior to it in the indignant declamation of moral satire; stamped with the mark of an imperial and despotizing republic; rigid in its construction, parsimonious in its synonymes; reluctantly yielding to the flowery yoke of *Horace*, although opening glimpses of Greek-like splendor in the occasional inspirations of *Lucretius*; proved, indeed, to the uttermost by *Cicero*, and by *him* found wanting; yet majestic in its barrenness, impressive in its conciseness; the true language of history, instinct with the spirit of nations, and not with the passions of individuals; breathing the maxims of the world and not the tenets of the schools; one and uniform in its air and spirit, whether touched by the stern and haughty *Sallust*, by the open and discursive *Livy*, by the reserved and thoughtful *Tacitus*."

We have now accomplished all that we proposed to do, which was to give our readers a specimen of the work before us. We have followed the track of the author through the wide extent of Roman literature, abridging, retrenching or enlarging his observations, as seemed most convenient, but adhering, in the main, to his views. We now commend the work to our readers, as one of the most valuable contributions that have been made to the study of this interesting subject.

* H. N. Coleridge's Study of the Greek Classic Poets, p. 34.

ART. VI.—THE MEMPHIS CONVENTION.

*Report on the Memorial of the Memphis Convention :
made in the Senate of the United States, on the 26th
June, 1846.* By JOHN C. CALHOUN.

MACBETH's soliloquy, at the repeated rising of Banquo's Ghost, might well be applicable to the policy of internal improvements by the General Government—

—— “the times have been
That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
And there an end; but now, they rise again
With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,
And push us from our stools.”

Five Presidents have interposed the veto to arrest this policy,—Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Tyler and Polk. Yet it still lives, a portentous element in the politics of the Union; with a greater confusion of parties, and consequently a stronger combination of power than ever, upholding it. The chief cause of the vitality of this system, in the Legislation of Congress, is undoubtedly the lust of gain, seeking gratification in the form of imposing the taxes by the General Government, on the one hand, and their appropriation, on the other. But there is another cause, which has strongly conduced to render these successive vetos inoperative to destroy this policy—and that cause is in the vetos themselves. The messages, assigning the reasons required by the constitution, for interposing them, have not been satisfactory. They have not been convincing in their reasonings or positions, even to the minds of those who were opposed to the policy. It is, therefore, not at all surprising, that they carried no conviction to its advocates and beneficiaries. The Government of the United States is essentially one of principles. These principles in the main, regard the partition of powers between the Federal and State Governments. No policy can stand, especially if it is of the self-denying order, withholding from Congress the exercise of power, to which it is ever prone, that is not based on clear and fixed principles, vitally affecting the Government, and worthy to be vindicated in the organization of parties. Unfortunately, the veto messages put the question of internal improvement on no such principles. Mr. Madison placed his objection to the Bonus bill, entirely on

the power of the General Government, *by its own authority and agency*, to carry on internal improvements within the States. Mr. Monroe followed in the same track of jurisdiction; but both yielded all that was necessary to the system, the power in Congress to appropriate money to objects of internal improvement. Mr. Madison, said, "a restriction of the power, 'to provide for the common defence and general welfare' to cases which are to be provided for by the expenditure of money, would still leave within the legislative power of Congress all the great and most important measures of government." Mr. Monroe, laid down the same doctrine more distinctly—"that Congress have an unlimited power to raise money, and in its appropriation, they have a discretionary power, restricted only by the duty to appropriate it to purposes of common defence and of general, not local—national, not State benefit." With such concessions, it is surprising that any stand should have been made at all against internal improvements by the General Government; for what would its advocates care, for a distinction, which left the States or Corporations, for whose benefit appropriations might be made by Congress, the prodigious self-sacrifice of applying the money themselves, and of wielding thereby all the patronage it conferred? Or who, with the map of the United States before him, could suppose, that a restriction of appropriations to "national" objects only, according to the Congressional vocabulary, would in the slightest degree destroy the policy? Mr. Adams' administration followed, with these very admirable presidential democratic constructions of the Constitution; and fully and forcibly carried them out, in *appropriations only*, for rivers, harbors and canals. He avoided the horrid federalism of assuming jurisdiction. He stuck too, to the nationality, according to his understanding. Gen. Jackson could have overthrown the whole system, as he could also the protective policy; but whilst quoting, in his veto message on the Maysville Road Bill, he fairly shrunk from asserting, the old simple republican ground of 1793,—“whenever money has been raised by the general authority, and is to be applied to a particular measure, a question arises, whether the particular measure be within the enumerated authorities vested in Congress. If it be, the money requisite for it may be applied to it; if not, no such application can be made.” In abandoning this ground, he raised himself no higher than

Mr. Monroe's federal capitulation, distinguishing between works of a national and local character ; whilst in his veto on the appropriations for the Wabash river, he attempted to set up a still more ephemeral distinction between portions of a river lying above and below ports of entry. Such readings of the constitution proved to be consistent with appropriations for the Western rivers, and for harbors innumerable, Lake and Atlantic, during the whole course of his administration. Mr. Tyler's veto message on the Eastern river and harbor bill was equally useless, in satisfying any body, or in arresting a policy striking so deep into the interests of States and sections. The Western river and harbor bill he approved, contained appropriations as obnoxious to the principles he proposed to vindicate, as the bill he condemned, whilst the principles themselves, were far short of the evil to be remedied. President Polk, at the late Congress, gave by his veto the last blow—the last, we fear, in more senses than one, to internal improvement. But even he, if we understand him, confines his objections to the particular character of the bill presented to him. "Some of the provisions of this bill," he says, "are not subject to the objections stated, and did they stand alone, I should not feel it to be my duty to withhold my approval." What these provisions are, he does not state ; but the two chief objections he urges to the bill are, that it embraces objects "of a local character, and such as are within a State." It will not be unfair to infer from these positions, that he has not repudiated the distinction relied on by President Jackson, between objects of a national and of local or State importance. Certainly he does not place himself on the old republican ground of 1793, guarding and limiting the *appropriation of money* by Congress.

The question, how far the power of appropriating money, belonged to Congress, it is natural to suppose, would arise very early in the administration of the General Government. It is clear, that on the extent of this power, must eminently hang the extent of the government. If it is unlimited, then the government is limited, not in its objects, since all can be reached and controlled by money, but in its means only. If you add an unlimited power of taxation, then the means also are limitless, and the General Government is unlimited in its powers.

Alexander Hamilton, the great architect of the federal or

consolidation party, as soon as he was brought into the administration of the government, saw at once the importance of these two great points—the extent of the power of taxation, and the extent of the power, in Congress, of appropriating or applying the taxes. He put forth his great powers to render Congress omnipotent in both, and as if foreseeing the connection between them, which has arisen since under the name of the American System, in his celebrated report in favor of protective duties to support manufactures, made in 1791, he lays down the position, that it belonged “to the discretion of the national legislature to pronounce upon the objects which concern the ‘general welfare;’ and for which under that description, an appropriation of money, is requisite and proper. And there seems to be no room for a doubt, that whatever concerns the general interest of learning, of agriculture, of manufactures, and of commerce, are within the sphere of the national councils *as far as regards an application of money.*” Here is the origin of the doctrine of the “general welfare,” and of the omnipotence of Congress in appropriating money. However promulged since by Republican Presidents, and lately relied on in Congress, as sound democratic doctrines—they are original, unadulterated, flagrant, federal heresies. Mr. Madison, in that great embodiment of republican state rights principles, his report in the Virginia legislature on the alien and sedition laws, meets these positions of Alexander Hamilton, in the following words :

“Now whether the phrases in question, be construed to authorize every measure relating ‘to the common defence and general welfare,’ as contended by some ; or every measure only *in which there might be an application of money*, as suggested by the caution of others ; *the effect must substantially be the same, in destroying the import and force of the particular enumeration of powers* which follows these general phrases in the constitution. For it is evident, that there is not a single power whatever, which may not have some reference to the common or the general welfare ; nor a power of any magnitude, which in its exercise, does not involve or admit an application of money. The government therefore, which possesses power in either one or the other of these extents, is a government without the limitations formed by a particular enumeration of powers ; and consequently the meaning and effect of this particular enumeration is destroyed by the exposition given to these several phrases.

“This conclusion will not be affected by an attempt to qualify the power over the ‘general welfare,’ by referring it to cases where the *general welfare* is beyond the reach of *separate provisions* by the

individual states, and leaving to these, their jurisdictions in cases to which the separate provisions may be competent. For as the authority of the individual states, must in all cases be incompetent to general regulations, operating through the whole, the authority of the United States would extend to every object relating to the general welfare, which might, by any possibility, be provided for by the general authority. This qualifying construction, therefore, would have little, if any tendency to circumscribe the power, claimed under the latitude of the term 'general welfare.'

Mr. Calhoun in the report on the Memphis proceedings, which we have put at the head of this article, elaborates the same ideas ; but with far more distinctness and force.

"Your committee, after the most mature deliberation, are of the opinion that this power does not authorize Congress to appropriate and expend money, except as a means to carry into effect some other specifically delegated. In coming to this conclusion, they concede that the provision not only delegates the power to lay and collect taxes, but also that to appropriate and expend the money collected to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and the general welfare of the United States. Such they believe to be the plain import of the words. Indeed, they cannot see how any other construction can be put on them without distorting their meaning. But they deny that there is, in constitutional language, any general welfare of the United States but such as belongs to them in their united or federal character as members of the Union. The general welfare, in that language, is the welfare which appertains to them in that character, in contradistinction to their welfare as separate and individual States. Thus interpreted, the general welfare of the United States cannot extend beyond the powers delegated by the constitution, as it is only to that extent that they are united or have a federal character. Beyond this they constitute separate and distinct communities, and, as such, have no union, nor common defence, nor general welfare, to be provided for. It follows, as a necessary consequence, that no power can be derived from the provision which would authorize the appropriation or application of money by Congress, except to carry into effect the powers delegated. Money, indeed, is the great and almost universal power, or rather means by which others are carried into execution ; and, because it is so, is the reason why the power to raise and appropriate it was specifically delegated, instead of being left to be inferred, like the other implied powers, or means to carry the delegated into execution. It was, in a word, too great and important, viewed as means, to be left to inference. Without it the government could not be carried on. Viewed, on the contrary, as a power to be used without reference to the powers specifically delegated, to carry into execution whatever Congress, in its discretion, may think to be calculated to provide for the common defence or general welfare, would not only reverse what was intended in delegating it, but make the government, in practice, one of unlimited powers.

"Nor would it weaken the force of the argument to substitute 'na-

tional objects' for the general welfare, as is usually done by those who believe the power to extend beyond the limits which your committee have assigned. It is, indeed, but the substitution of an expression, unknown to the constitution, for the one which it uses, and which is not consistent with the character of the system of government it constituted. Ours is a union of sovereign States for specific objects. As members of the Union, they constitute not a single State or nation, but a constellation of States or nations: and hence its powers, and the objects for which it was formed, are appropriately called federal, and not national. But, whether the one or the other term be used, the reason already assigned to show why the general welfare, in constitutional language, does not extend beyond the welfare of the States in their united or federal character, that is, beyond the powers delegated by the constitution, is equally applicable. Nor would it be less applicable, be the character of the government what it may, whether federal or national, or partly federal or partly national. Be it one or the other, it is so only to the extent of the powers delegated, and to that extent only, be it which it may, is there a general welfare or a common defence to be provided for. All beyond would appertain to the States in their separate and individual character.

"Nor can your committee concur in the opinion of the Memphis Convention, that to provide for 'the defence of the country in time of war,' or, to express it in constitutional language, 'to provide for the common defence,' authorizes the exercise of the power. They regard the expression, like that, 'to provide for the general welfare,' to be not a delegation of power, but a mere general designation of the powers specifically delegated to the government for the purpose of defending the country, and which are enumerated in the after part of the same section. They are, to declare war; grant letters of marque and reprisals; to make rules for captures on land and water; to provide and maintain a navy; to raise and support armies; to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions; to provide for organizing the army and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States; to exercise authority over all places purchased, with the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings.

Such are the powers conferred on Congress for the purpose of providing for the common defence. On a careful examination of the whole, your committee are not able to designate one, the carrying of which into execution would authorize the appropriation and expenditure of money for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi or any other stream. That its improvement would aid materially in the defence of the country, they readily admit; but so would a good system of rail-roads, or any measure which would contribute to develop the resources and capacity of the country, physically, intellectually, or morally. There can no addition be made to the wealth of the country, the increase of its intelligence, or the im-

provement of its morals, which would not add to its capacity to defend itself. But it is obvious, that to admit a construction which would have the effect to embrace all measures calculated to have such effect, under any or all of these powers, would be to confer on the federal government unlimited powers."

These were the doctrines of the republican party, put forth on their first organization, broadly distinguishing them from their great antagonists of the federal party. It is impossible for deeper or more vital principles to divide men in the administration of a limited and free government. How came they to be abandoned—first by Mr. Madison, their foremost champion—and then by Mr. Monroe,—to be followed afterwards by all succeeding Presidents? We can only answer this question by looking to the circumstances which surrounded these men, and the republican party, when the policy of internal improvement by the General Government arose. The republican party had made the last war, and had carried it through to its consummation. The pressing exigencies of war are ever adverse to constitutional restraints limiting the powers of government. The minds of statesmen are fixed on its external operations, and the dangers they bring to the body politic. Hence parties become organized, not on principles applicable in peace, but on the policy created by war; and amidst the din of arms, and the desperate expedients to sustain an exhausted treasury, the limitations of the constitution are forgotten, or deliberately violated, in the name of patriotism. Before the war ended, relief and support to the government by paper money and a bank, was readily acquiesced in by all portions of the republican party. Such a policy was inconsistent with those strict views of the constitution on which the republican party was reared. Mr. Jefferson had opposed the first bank on constitutional grounds. Mr. Madison had denounced it in his report on the alien and sedition laws: and the republican party had allowed it to expire without renewing its charter. The administration of Mr. Madison pressed the erection of a new bank, mainly as an instrument wherewith to raise money. And when, at length, in 1815, Congress chartered a bank, he vetoed it, not because it was unconstitutional, but because in the first place, it was *required to pay specie in its operations*, and secondly, because "the full aid and co-operation of the institution was not secured to the government." He clearly wanted nothing

but a government paper machine, to sustain his administration in its pecuniary embarrassments. The grounds on which he yielded the constitutionality of such an institution—viz. the practice under the old bank, and the acquiescence of the people—can hardly be deemed sincere, after having recommended to Congress, in his second annual message, the establishment of a national university. The truth was, Mr. Madison, after being a strict constructionist under the influence of Mr. Jefferson, when possessed of power, easily relapsed back to the original federalism with which he began life, and with which he died. When at length, after the termination of the war, the late Bank of the United States was chartered, (which standing by itself, we are by no means disposed to condemn, on account of the condition of the currency and the country,) the barriers of strict construction, on which the republican party was built, were broken down. The consequences of this measure on other measures,—unseen and undesigned—were far more disastrous than any consequence resulting from its direct operation. With its many previous discussions and projects, it made the republican party, federalists. To defend and justify this measure, they were driven, necessarily, into latitudinous views of the constitution, which soon quickened into life those two kindred measures of policy, involving omnipotence in Congress in the taxing and appropriating power—a protective tariff and internal improvements by the General Government. Neither of these measures however, can properly be said to have triumphed before 1824, although many acts of Congress—almost the two first acts of the first Congress—the one, an act to erect light-houses, buoys and piers, and the other, laying duties on imports, are relied on, as precedents to support them. All previous tariffs—even that of 1816, which was temporary only, containing prospective reductions,—were revenue tariffs, although incidental protection was talked of, in enacting them: and in the building of light-houses, buoys and piers, the question of constitutional power in Congress to establish them, was never raised. They are justifiable on other grounds, as we shall show hereafter; but were they not, the fact that the power was never considered or analysed, in connection with a general system of internal improvement, would take away all ground for their being cited as precedents for this policy. They will stand like cases deci-

ded in our courts, which, although they may involve other principles, settle only those taken up in the cause. It was not until the manufacturers had opposed and arrested the prospective reductions contained in the tariff act of 1816; and in 1824, triumphed in passing a tariff, based on the principle of protection alone, that the sounder portions of the republican party, examined—and examining, condemned all duties for protection, as alike inconsistent with the constitution and the equal rights it guaranteed. By analogous reasoning, from the plain meaning of the constitution and its strict construction, they came to a similar conclusion as to appropriations by Congress, to carry on works of internal improvement. They rallied therefore, on the old grounds of the republican party before the war. The circumstances which had produced confusion in the proper organization of parties, had, with them, ceased their influence. The latitudinarian democrats—democrats only with respect to the war, but federalists in the construction of the constitution,—easily assumed an identity with the old federal party. Combining under the new name of national republicans, they succeeded in raising Mr. Adams to the presidential chair. The tariff of 1828, and appropriations for all sorts of internal improvements, marked their ascendancy. General Jackson, in the South at least, was supported for the presidency, to reform the government, on these vital points of usurped legislation. The old republican faith and policy, it was expected, would be restored again to life and vigor by his election and administration. How far their expectations were realized, it is not our purpose now to show; but the fact, that a bill framed expressly on the principles he laid down, has been vetoed by President Polk, shows, that at least, in arresting the system of internal improvement by the General Government, his work has been very incomplete. Indeed, by expressly yielding the principle, that Congress is omnipotent in appropriating money—it is doubtful whether he has not done more to rivet the system on the country, than any of his predecessors. He yielded, when to yield was fatal. He drew back the advancing convictions of his party, to the right principles of the constitution, when to lead them on to victory, was easy. The West would then have assented to those principles. Will they assent to them now? Thousands now cover

themselves with the livery of democracy he furnished them, who are whigs in all but profession and name.

But it is high time, to turn to that other cause we assigned, for the failure of five presidential vetos to overthrow the system of internal improvements by the General Government—the lust of gain, seeking gratification in the taxes imposed, on the one hand—and their appropriation, on the other.

It is impossible to estimate correctly the gain of the manufacturing interest, by the taxes of the General Government. The insidious and furtive method of collecting the taxes by duties on imports, effectually conceals from the people what taxes they pay on the articles they consume, and how they pay them; whilst the still more subtle exactions of the manufacturers, by the increased prices they obtain on the articles they manufacture, in consequence of these duties, baffles all accuracy in calculation. That they are enormous however, must be inferred from the rapid growth of the manufacturing interest, and its desperate tenacity of high duties as essential to its existence. The Secretary of the United States Treasury estimates them at upwards of ninety millions of dollars a year. Under such circumstances it is not surprising, that the strange anomaly in government is presented, of a whole region of country praying for taxes. Of course the taxes cannot come from them; or they must receive back far more than they pay. Their object is simply, that high taxes, in the shape of duties on imports, be laid. Their cupidity fixes its steady gaze on this operation of government. To accomplish this, they favor expenditures of every kind by the General Government, and amongst these, foremost in importance, all expenditures for purposes of internal improvement. If this policy can be firmly engrafted on the General Government, they look to it as an unfailing expedient to exhaust the treasury—a sort of balance wheel, by which high duties shall be forever kept up, by an eternal demand for expenditures, co-extensive with any supply to the treasury. Without some such sluice to the treasury, preventing accumulation of revenue, there is continual danger of a reduction of the taxes. That restless inquiry will be heard amongst the people,—“why are not the taxes reduced, when there is a superfluity in the treasury”—and that kindred cry of economy in expenditures, which is very common with those who

seek, but very uncommon with those who obtain power. The enlarged patriotism and benevolence of the manufacturing interest, embraces the whole Union, within the scope of its appropriating policy. A rock on the Lakes, without a hut within five miles of its paper-city—a creek, whose navigable waters cannot keep a calf from its dam—sand-bars, which every gale shifts from their beds—canals, rivers, harbours, waggon-roads,—all, witness the zeal of their disinterested patriotism in expenditures. War too,—the Mexican war,—finds them fully prepared to sustain their country. Such is one of the parties—one of the grand interests, by which the policy of internal improvement by the General Government is supported. The other parties are not less venal or unscrupulous. They consist of those, *who directly receive the benefit of the appropriations.* The manufacturing interest, of course, is not blind to this feature of the policy. They take good care that their region of the Union, shall have its full share of the spoils. Still the predominance of *this principle* is not chiefly with them. The growing—the mighty West, is undoubtedly the most formidable supporter of appropriations for internal improvement—looking only to the appropriations. There are democrats, and there are whigs, on other subjects; but upon the matter of appropriations for any Western object, whether of lands or money, the Western members of Congress move nearly as one man. If they differ, it is only because the sweep into the treasury is not large enough to make all participants. This is hardly to be wondered at—hardly to be blamed, under the past administration of the government. Right or wrong however, here they stand—whigs and democrats—co-operating with northern protectionists and federalists—with anybody, of any principles—who will aid them in grasping appropriations for their rivers and harbors. Hence a vast combination of interests for appropriations, embracing objects of internal improvement all over the Union, into whose yawning abyss, dark and fathomless; the treasury of the United States may pour itself forever. Nor will the treasury be emptied only. The manufacturers know this. Whatever may now be the opinions of the West as to the principles of taxation, they must soon give way to the insatiable craving for appropriations, and push taxation on imports to the utmost limit of speculative production. It is vain to hope, that the distinction between

objects of national, and of local or state importance, can arrest excess. The progress of events, has long since swept away the value of this distinction, if it ever had any, as a limitation on expenditures. What was once a local improvement, by a connection with other and more extended improvements, has become general in its operation and influence. Take, for instance the Hudson river. The time was, when it was the river of a State, on which floated only the commerce of a State, but it is now the main outlet of the commerce of the lakes. By man's art, the mighty St. Lawrence is superseded, and made subordinate in its use, to a narrow tract of land a hundred feet wide; and thus, the shortest rail-road in the Union, may be but a link in a chain of communication which shall span the continent. Shall the Mississippi river be said to be national, and therefore a fit object for internal improvement by the General Government? and shall not a canal, which turns into it the waters of a vast sea, be also national? Leaving out the consideration on which Mr. Madison dwells, that all objects, if at the discretion of Congress, may be construed to be national;—limit the system to objects only, which on account of their general use,—that being the criterion—all men must concede to be national, and there is no limit to the appropriations—and consequently no limit to the necessities of taxation.

There is another object which in combination with these more venal interests, powerfully aids the policy of internal improvement—we mean the political object of strengthening and consolidating the general government. This object chiefly prevails in the Northern States, amongst the whig or federal party. It is an error to suppose, that the northern whigs seek to extend the powers of the general government, solely with a view to particular measures of policy, like the tariff or a bank. Undoubtedly they see their interests in such measures of policy, and they see too, that they are the increasing and permanent majority in Congress, and of course, that extending the powers of the general government, is only extending power to themselves. They can use it, because they are the majority, whilst it cannot be used against them. But powerful as such motives are, to secure their co-operation in all measures which enlarge the sphere of the general government, there is a deeper motive than these which impels to this policy. They fear

their own people. They desire the general government to be strong, that it may be a protection to them against the progress of that spirit of equality, which, not content with equality of political rights, may insist on an equality in property, as well as of social conditions. The time may not be far off, when by universal suffrage and the necessary progress of poverty with population, the legislatures of the Northern States will be in the hands of the non-property holders. If the ægis of the Union, with a strong government supporting it, is not then over them, what must be their fate? Dorrism, or the will of a majority predominating over all laws and constitutions, although suppressed by the folly and cowardice of its upholders in Rhode-Island, is the creed of the democratic party of the North and North-West. The promptitude with which, on that occasion, the general government was appealed to, shows the source to which they look for aid, against the apprehended risings or oppressions of the many. As long as land is cheap and subsistence is easy, and population is sparse, and the majority of the voters are property-holders, legislation in the hands of a majority is safe. But will this always be the state of things? Does it exist any where in the world, but in these United States? And, with the cheap and easy access to the United States, now afforded to the surplus population of Europe, and our own natural progress in population, how long will it continue? We express no opinion, as to the reasonableness of those apprehensions and speculations; but we are satisfied that they exist, and constitute an influential element in Northern politics, in relation to the general government. It is not political *power* only, but *protection* they seek, in supporting all measures which will build up a strong central government in the Union. They would support appropriations for internal improvements, if general, merely as a source of strength to the general government, although they had no interest in the taxes or their expenditure.

Such are the elements of power, which we have endeavored briefly to expose, supporting the policy of internal improvement by the general government. Can they be resisted? Are they too strong for the constitution in their present combination? And if so, is there any other method by which they can be defeated, than that proposed by Mr. Calhoun,—dividing the interests now combined? Of course

the strength of his policy depends very much on this question. We are satisfied, that Mr. Calhoun agrees with us, that the system with its present combinations, cannot be arrested; and therefore in his anxiety to save the democratic party and the country, from the fatal consequences of its prevalence, he has explored the constitution for a remedy. We proceed to show that all other means are vain to arrest this policy.

The usual resource for all political evils in the confederacy, is the presidential election. Not only by his patronage, but by his party position and the veto, the President can powerfully control the policy of the government. We have shown that party associations have but little influence on the question of internal improvement, in the West or North. Executive patronage, also, seems to be of but little avail, against the pledges of members of Congress, to the people—especially in the West, where appropriations for internal improvements are most eagerly sought. The veto of the President, then, is all we can rely on, by the presidential election, to arrest this policy. We will suppose many things—in order that the efficiency of this resource might be fairly tested—many things, that in themselves, would in the opinions of any but brave men, bring despair to any cause. We will suppose that the opponents of internal improvement—the whole South—unite in supporting for the presidency, one who will sternly use the veto to arrest any rule making appropriations for internal improvements. We will suppose them to be triumphant, and the veto to be in their hands. We are prepared to show that it cannot avail them, to arrest this policy.

Our readers are aware that when the President vetoes a bill, he returns it to the House in which it originated. If two thirds of both branches of Congress then vote that the bill shall pass, it becomes a law, the veto notwithstanding. The river and harbour bill, lately arrested by the President's veto, passed the Senate by a majority of two thirds. At the next session of Congress, two more new States from the West—Wisconsin and Iowa—take their seats in Congress. Four votes more in the Senate from the West, in favor of internal improvements, settle the two-thirds, we presume, in that body. The obstacle, then, in consequence of the veto power, is in the House of Representatives. To show our readers what will be the fate of this question, in the

House of Representatives, after the next census, in 1850—and the next presidential election,—we lay before them, a table carefully compiled from the census returns from 1810 to 1840 inclusive, to which we ask their sober and profound attention.

ATLANTIC STATES.

I.—Non-Slaveholding States.

LOCAL DIVISIONS.	POPULATION IN			
	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Maine, . . .	228,705	298,335	399,445	501,793
New-Hampshire,	214,360	244,161	269,328	284,574
Vermont, . .	217,713	235,764	280,652	291,948
Massachusetts,	472,040	523,287	610,408	737,699
Rhode Island,	77,031	83,059	97,199	108,830
Connecticut, .	262,042	275,202	297,675	309,978
New-York, . .	959,049	1,372,812	1,918,606	2,428,921
New-Jersey, .	245,555	277,575	320,823	373,306
Pennsylvania,	810,001	1,049,458	1,348,233	1,724,033
Total, . . .	3,486,586	4,359,653	5,542,381	6,761,082

II.—Slaveholding States.

Delaware, . .	72,674	72,749	76,748	78,085
Maryland, . .	380,546	407,350	447,040	470,019
Dist. Columbia,	24,023	33,039	39,834	43,712
Virginia, . .	974,622	1,065,379	1,211,405	1,239,797
North-Carolina,	555,500	638,829	737,987	753,419
South-Carolina,	415,115	502,741	581,185	594,398
Georgia, . . .	252,433	340,987	516,823	691,392
Florida, . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	34,730	54,477
Total, . . .	2,674,913	3,061,074	3,645,752	3,925,299

WESTERN STATES.

III.—Slaveholding States.

LOCAL DIVISIONS	POPULATION IN			
	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Louisiana, . .	76,566	153,407	215,739	352,411
Mississippi, .	40,352	75,448	136,621	375,651
Alabama, . . .	. . . . .	144,317	309,527	590,756
Arkansas, . .	. . . . .	14,273	30,388	97,574
Tennessee, . .	262,727	422,813	681,904	829,210
Missouri, . . .	20,845	66,586	140,455	383,702
Kentucky, . .	406,511	564,317	687,917	779,828
Total, . . .	805,991	1,441,161	2,202,551	3,409,132

IV.—Non-Slaveholding States.

LOCAL DIVISIONS.	POPULATION IN			
	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Ohio, . . .	230,760	581,434	937,903	1,519,467
Indiana, . .	24,520	147,178	343,031	685,866
Illinois, . .	12,282	55,211	157,445	476,183
Michigan, . .	4,762	8,896	31,639	212,267
Wisconsin, . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	30,945
Iowa, . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	43,112
Total, . . .	272,324	802,719	1,470,018	2,967,840

ATLANTIC AND WESTERN STATES.

Slaveholding and Non-Slaveholding States.

	POPULATION IN				DECIMAL INCR. IN		
	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1820	'30.	'40.
Atlantic States,	6,161,499	7,420,727	9,168,133	10,886,381	20.4	23.8	16.3
Western States,	1,768,315	2,243,880	3,572,569	6,376,972	108.1	63.7	73.6
Non-Slavehold'g St's,	3,758,910	5,162,372	7,012,399	9,778,922	37.3	35.8	38.7
Slaveholding States,	3,480,904	4,502,235	5,848,303	7,334,431	29.3	29.9	25.4

These tables show, that population increases in the non-slave holding States, much faster than in the slave holding States:—In the North and West, much faster than in the South. They show also, that whilst the increase of population of the Atlantic States from 1830 to 1840, was as 100 to 173.4, that of the West was as 100 to 591.4—and that, should the same rates of increase continue until the census of 1850, the numbers in the Atlantic States will be 12,428,000, and those of the Western States, will be 11,170,000. The representation in the House of Representatives apportioned after that census, will, of course, give in that body, a proportionate power to the West. Now suppose the present combination of interests and power continues, on this question, in the House of Representatives—the West united—the whigs in the North and West united—tariff and harbour democrats from the Northern States acting with them—can there be a reasonable doubt, that any bill they may bring forward, will pass the House of Representatives by a majority of two-thirds, even though the House of Representatives continues as it now is, with some sixty majority of the democratic party. But this is not probable, in the conflicts now raging in the democratic party on vital measures of policy. Of course, all gain by the whigs in the House, excepting from the Atlantic South, is strength to the internal improvement policy. Should the whigs succeed at the

approaching elections, or even gain materially in the next Congress, it is not at all improbable that they will pass internal improvement bills by a vote of two-thirds in defiance of the objections of the President. But after the accession of power from the West which the census of 1850 will bring, (unless some division in anticipation is made, or some unforeseen convulsion prevents it,) must not appropriations for internal improvements become the fixed and unalterable law of the confederacy? And if this is to be the true state of things, all arguments drawn from the constitution concerning it, may be nothing more than abstract speculations. Whether Mr. Calhoun's positions are consistent with its provisions, may be worthy the skill of the dialectician, or the benevolent contemplation of the philosopher, but have very little to do with the practical business of statesmanship. The question is not then, how shall we rightly think, or what says the constitution? but it is, what shall we do? what shall we do to arrest the swelling tide of power, which will infallibly sweep away the barriers of the constitution. Standing on our old ground, with our old means of protection, we must be overwhelmed. Will the opponents of internal improvements by the general government in the South or anywhere, dare the last resort—State interposition or secession? The very idea, we fear, has brought a cold chill to their brows. If they are prepared for neither of these alternatives, is there any other expedient than that proposed by Mr. Calhoun, by which this policy can be arrested? We must yield a part—divide the interests, and thus deprive the policy of its fatal effect on the whole constitution. Admitting, that to do this, is unconstitutional, may it not be done consistently with sound morality and duty? We know that necessity is a very dangerous plea. It may be used by the timid who despair before difficulties, which might be overcome; or by the unscrupulous and corrupt, with whom treachery is interest. But it does often exist, and may rightly be used by the good and brave. Suppose the constitution fairly mastered by power, may we not support an unconstitutional measure, which is the only available means left to us, to defeat a still more violent breach into the constitution, by which all that is valuable in its provisions is to be overthrown. When acting under such a necessity, no other resource ought to be left to us; no choice of remedies to remain. We avail our-

selves of the last, when, standing over a prostrate constitution, we thrust a spear through its sacred folds, to lift it out of the hands of its enemies. "Inter arma silent leges," is only one of the contingencies, in which a statesman is obliged to submit to evils, to avoid greater evils. Thus after the last war, the question of a bank was not a mere question of the constitution. The country was in such a condition from the war, as to render it impossible to administer the government on hard-money principles. So, lately, on the tariff; the act which has lately passed Congress, flagrantly contains in its discriminations, the unconstitutional principle of protection. A far greater and more palpable necessity, to support an unconstitutional measure, to obtain a constitutional end, may arise on the question of internal improvement.

Mr. Calhoun, however, proposes to resort to no unconstitutional measure to defeat this policy. He thinks the constitution justifies the partial concession he proposes, which will save the Union from its dangers and evils. These dangers and evils arise from the combination of interests which supports the policy. He proposes to divide them; and contends that appropriations by Congress, to improve the great Western rivers are constitutional; but that neither appropriations for harbors, nor rivers in one or two States, nor canals, nor rail-roads, are constitutional. If these positions are good, the combination between these various interests is dissolved.

The argument in favor of appropriations for the great Western rivers, is drawn from that clause of the constitution, which gives Congress the power "to regulate commerce among the several States." We never until we read this report, could reconcile with the constitution, the inviolable practice of the government, from the first Congress which sat under the constitution, to the very last, of appropriating money for the establishment of light-houses, beacons and buoys. This practice has always constituted the foundation of all the arguments in favor of internal improvement; and the chief stumbling-block to its opponents. Here was invariable usage under the constitution, sanctioned by all parties, and continued to be sanctioned amidst the hottest complaints as to the extent of the power of Congress over similar appropriations. What must be the inference? Why, that appropriations for light-houses and buoys, at

least, were constitutional. But if such appropriations were constitutional, why not go further? Why not enter the harbours, and go up the rivers? Mr. Calhoun answers these questions upon strict state rights principles,—giving the power “to regulate commerce among the several States,” its most limited signification. He contends, that the commerce to be regulated among the States by Congress, contemplated in the constitution, was not their *internal commerce*; because there had been and could be no conflict among the States concerning it, which required that for the sake of harmony or equality, its control should be transferred to the General Government. The *internal commerce* of the States being within their exclusive jurisdiction, and moving entirely within their limits, was properly left to their control. In no sense, could this commerce be said to be “among the several States.” But it was different with the external commerce of the States. This was “among the several States.” It left one State and entered another; and was therefore liable to interference and control, in States to which it did not belong. This was the commerce—the *external commerce* “among the several States,” that the constitution gives to Congress the power of regulating. By this power, in order that the navigation it employs, may be protected and facilitated, Congress established light-houses and buoys on our coast and bays. The practice of the government too, whilst it vindicated the power, marked its limitations. Not until 1825, did the policy of extending appropriations into harbours enter into the jurisdiction of the government. Thus, both by principle and practice, the power of regulating commerce among the several States, extended to the establishment of light-houses and buoys, but no further. As this point constitutes the corner-stone of Mr. Calhoun’s whole argument in favor of appropriations for the Western rivers, we leave him to speak for himself.

“They, then, are of the opinion, that whatever may be the extent of the power conferred by the terms ‘to regulate commerce,’ which they will consider hereafter, the words ‘among the States’ restrict the power to the regulation of the commerce of the States with each other, as separate and distinct communities, to the exclusion of its regulation within their respective limits, except as far as may be indispensable to its due exercise. Their effect, in other words, is to restrict the power delegated to Congress, to regulate commerce among the States, to their external commerce among each other as States, and to leave

their internal commerce, with the exception above stated, under the exclusive control of the several States respectively. Such, in their opinion, is the plain and literal meaning of the words. That they are intended to restrict the power, is certain; but, if that be admitted, it would seem impossible to give any other construction to them, which would not be either so rigid on the one side, as to deprive them of all meaning, or, on the other, be so liberal as to subject the entire commerce of the States, internal as well as external, to the control of Congress. To this it may be added, that the construction which they give, accords with the reasons which governed the framers of the constitution in delegating the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States, as a recurrence to the history of the causes which led to its formation will clearly show.

"It is well known that the present constitution was adopted to remedy the defects of the old articles of confederation. Among them, none were found more embarrassing, or having a stronger tendency to weaken the Union in its foreign relations, or to alienate the attachment of the States to each other, and bring them into collision, than the power they possessed under the confederation, of regulating commerce, with the exception, that no State should enter into any treaty, confederation, agreement, or alliance, with any foreign power or other State, without the consent of Congress, or should lay imposts or duties which should interfere with treaties entered into between the United States and foreign powers. Even this was qualified by a proviso, which prohibited Congress from making any treaty, by which the States would be prevented from laying such imposts and duties as they might think proper to impose on their own citizens, or from prohibiting the exportation of any species of goods or commodities whatever.

"The embarrassments, distraction, and hazard of collisions, growing out of the exercise of the power thus reserved to the States, respectively, to regulate their commerce with foreign nations and with each other, were so great and alarming, as, in the opinion of the reflecting and patriotic, to demand a speedy and effectual remedy, and contributed, more than any other cause, to the calling of the convention which formed the constitution, as is well known. Care was accordingly taken to apply effectual remedies, as might be expected, by delegating to the newly-formed government the exclusive power of regulating the commerce of the States with foreign nations and with one another. and prohibiting, without qualification, the States from entering into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, as has been stated. But equal care was, at the same time taken, not to extend the remedy beyond the evil. And hence, the restriction which limits the power to regulate commerce, to the external relations of the States with foreign nations and each other, to the exclusion of their internal commerce, as the evil to be remedied resulted wholly from the one, and not at all from the other.

"Having now shown what is the restriction imposed on the power by the terms 'among the States,' your committee will next proceed to consider what power is conferred on Congress, within that restriction, by the terms, 'to regulate commerce.'

"They are of the opinion, after due reflection, that they confer on

it all the powers which, by a fair interpretation, belonged to them, as fully as the States themselves possessed it, except such, if there be any, as may be prohibited by the constitution from being exercised, either expressly or impliedly. That they confer on Congress all the power to regulate commerce with each other, with that exception, would seem to be so clear as hardly to admit of doubt, as the words by which it is delegated are used without qualification or condition. But, if there should be room for doubt, it would be removed by adverting to the reason for delegating the power. It was not to limit or prohibit it as a power of a dangerous character, and which, on that account, ought to be restricted or prohibited. On the contrary, it was regarded as one of the utmost utility, and on the proper control of which, the prosperity of the States essentially depended; and it was, accordingly, for the purpose of obtaining such control, as well as to prevent collision among the States, and not to restrict or prohibit it, that it was delegated to the federal government, as their common representative and organ, in their external relations with each other and foreign nations. When it is added that such is admitted to be the true construction in reference to the latter, and that the phraseology is the same in reference to both, it would seem to exclude the possibility of doubt as to its being so also in reference to the former. The only difference between the two cases is, that the power is divided in its exercise between the law-making and treaty-making organs of the government in regulating commerce with foreign nations, while, in that of regulating it among the States, it is vested exclusively in the law-making, as from necessity, it must be, where the treaty-power among federal States is delegated to their common government.

"It remains now to be considered, what power would a fair interpretation of the terms, 'regulate commerce,' confer on Congress? Or, to express it more fully, what power did the framers of the constitution intend to delegate to it in using those terms? Your committee regard it as fortunate that, in their endeavor to ascertain what power they intended to delegate, they are not thrown on the vague meaning of the terms as used in common parlance. There are few words in the language, when thus used, more vague than the verb to *regulate*. It has, as commonly used, all the shades of meaning, from the mere power of prescribing rules, to that of having absolute and unlimited control over the subject to which it is applied. Nor is the term *commerce* free from ambiguity when so used. It sometimes means trade simply; and at other, trade and transit, or navigation, when the transit is by water. But the case is different when they are applied to constitutional or legal subjects. When so applied, their meaning is so much more precise, that they may be regarded as almost technical. They occupy a large space, both in our own code of laws, and that of the country from which we derive our origin and language. And what contributes still more to the precision of their meaning is, that they occupied a prominent place in the discussion which preceded and led to the revolution which separated the two countries, particularly as it relates to the distinction between the power to lay taxes and that to regulate commerce. The latter, it was admitted, belonged to the parent country, while the former was denied and resisted.

Many of the framers of the constitution, who were able statesmen and learned lawyers, took an active part in this discussion, and were familiar with the meaning of the terms, as politically and legally applied at the time. Under such circumstances, it is a fair presumption that in using them, in delegating the power, they intended to attach a meaning to them similar to that in which they had been in the habit of employing them in their political discussions, and in which the States had been accustomed to use them in legislating on the subject of regulating commerce prior to, and subsequent to, the Revolution.

"Assuming such to be the case, your committee are brought to the question: What powers were the States accustomed to exercise in regulating their commerce before and at the time of the adoption of the constitution, as far as they relate to their safety and facility? The answer will solve the question as to the true meaning of the terms, and the kind of powers intended to be delegated to Congress in reference to them.

"In order to understand why the States exercised the kind of powers they were accustomed to do, at and before the adoption of the constitution, for the safety and facility of their commerce, it is necessary to bear in mind that they were confined to the Atlantic coast, along which they extended from New-Brunswick to Florida; and that their commerce with each other was confined to the coast and its bays. On turning to their legislation during that period, it will be found that the powers they exercised for that purpose were restricted to the establishment of light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers. They are all of a description well adapted and necessary to guard against the dangers and impediments to which such a commerce as they then carried on, was exposed; while they were, at the same time, such as would be neglected, or not established at all, unless the public took charge of them; because individuals had neither adequate motive nor power to establish or take charge of them. That the power to establish them refers to that of regulating commerce, may be certainly inferred from the motives and object of their establishment; and that commerce, in legal language, embraces navigation as well as trade, may, with not less certainty, be inferred from the same circumstance, as they relate directly and exclusively to navigation. If we turn from the legislation of the States prior to the adoption of the constitution, to that of the federal government, it will be found that it confirms not only the correctness of these inferences, but all that your committee has stated in this connection, as they will next proceed to show.

"So important was the power to regulate commerce, and especially among the States, regarded, that it was among the first subjects which claimed the attention of the government after it went into operation. On the 7th of April, 1789, just a month after the commencement of the government, an act of Congress became a law by the approval of the President, entitled 'An act for the establishment of light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers;' that is, moles raised for the shelter of vessels against storms or ice. It provides that all the expenses, which shall accrue for the support and maintenance and repairs of such as were erected, placed, or sunk by the States,

before the passing of the act for the safety and ease (facility) of navigation, shall be defrayed out of the treasury of the United States, with the proviso that the expense should not be paid by the United States after one year, unless they should be ceded and vested in the United States by the States to which they belong, with the lands and tenements appertaining to them. It also provided for the erecting of a light-house near the entrance of the Chesapeake bay, and for the expense of keeping, rebuilding, and repairing of the establishment. These provisions furnish conclusive proof that the States, under the power to regulate commerce, established light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers; that Congress regarded the power as delegated to it, to the same extent; that the object of the power was the increased safety and facility of commerce along the coast; that it appertained especially to the regulation of commerce among the States, as the portion of the ocean in its vicinity is the great common highway of the commerce of the States bordering on it; and that it embraced navigation as well as trade. It may be added, in confirmation of the construction which places this establishment under the control of the government, that it accords with the practice of the government of the country from which we derive our language and origin; with this difference, that there the establishment was principally under the control of incorporated companies or individuals, but subject to the legislation of Parliament, as must have been well known to the framers of our constitution.

"In carrying the power into execution, Congress has studded the coast with light-houses and beacon-lights, to guide in safety the mariner by night on his voyage, against the danger of capes, reefs, and shallows, and has thickly planted buoys at the mouths of harbours and inlets, to point out the narrow channels, through which he may safely pass into them. It has gone further, and constructed public piers, (including harbours of protection,) where vessels can take shelter against storms and ice, and annually expends a large sum in repairing, supporting, and enlarging the establishment. To this add, that the power, to this extent, has been exercised by Congress from the beginning of the government until the present time, without interruption or being seriously questioned as to its constitutionality, either in or out of Congress, during that long period, and it may be safely inferred that they have not erred in placing the construction they have on it."

We have said, that the construction of the constitution, the above extracts contain, is in conformity to the strictest State rights principles, but we are aware, that a still more limited construction of the constitution, has been attempted. It has been affirmed, that the power to regulate commerce among the several States, means, merely the power in Congress to prescribe rules for its conduct and government. President Tyler, as we understand him, takes this position in his veto on the Eastern river and harbour bill in 1844. He says:

"The power to remove obstructions from the water courses of the States, is claimed under the granted power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the States and with the Indian tribes,' but the plain and obvious meaning of this grant is, that Congress may adopt rules and regulations prescribing the terms and conditions on which the citizens of the United States may carry on commercial operations, with foreign States or kingdoms, and on which the citizens or subjects of foreign States or kingdoms, may prosecute trade with the United States or either of them. And so the power to regulate commerce 'among the several States,' no more invests Congress with jurisdiction over the water courses of the States, than the first branch of the grant does over the water courses of foreign powers,—which is an absurdity."

We have nothing to do with the logic of these positions. We suppose they may all be admitted to be very sound, without touching the question before the President, which was not a question of *jurisdiction*, but of *appropriation*, a distinction most elaborately dwelt upon by the Presidential vetos preceding his. We understand him to say, that the power to "regulate commerce among the several States," only authorizes Congress "to adopt rules and regulations, prescribing the terms and conditions on which the citizens of the United States may carry on commercial operations 'among the several States.'" If this is the meaning of the constitution, it is very natural to enquire, what rules have been prescribed by Congress in conformity to this power? If none have been prescribed, the presumption must be, that a construction which renders a power in the constitution useless, must be very questionable; but if it renders the power impossible to be exercised, it must be erroneous. Now this is precisely the case with this construction. Not only have no rules been prescribed by Congress regulating "commerce among the several States," but none can be prescribed. The two clauses in the constitution, the one giving to the citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and the other, ordering, that "no preference shall be given by any *regulation of commerce or revenue* to ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another," have secured absolute free trade, beyond the hindrance or control of Congress, both as to persons, vessels and property, to all the citizens of the States, in all the States. Of course, commerce which is absolutely free, cannot have "*rules and*

regulations prescribing the terms and conditions" on which it shall be carried on. The constitution having prescribed the only terms,—absolute freedom of commerce among the several States, Congress cannot interfere with, or control this freedom. The States cannot intermeddle with it, and should either presume to put forth "rules and regulations prescribing terms and conditions," controlling its operations, the Supreme Court of the United States as in the case of *Gibbon vs. Ogden*, will nullify them. The error of President Tyler in taking this position, we cannot but suppose, may have originated from a misapprehension of the object of the laws prescribing, that vessels engaged in the coasting trade, shall take out a license and be registered and enrolled. The object of these laws, is simply to keep out foreigners from this trade, and to secure it exclusively to American vessels. They are not designed, in the least degree, to interfere with, or regulate the commerce among the several States, but by excluding foreigners, to make it more profitable to Americans, leaving it still as free and untrammelled among the several States, as if these laws had never passed.

We come now to the application of the argument, from the power in Congress, to establish light-houses, buoys, and public piers,—to the power of improving the great Western streams. When the constitution was made, these rivers were not within the limits of the Union. If we had a right to acquire them and erect States over the territories they drain, and admit these States into the Union, the principles of the constitution which apply to commerce among the States on the Atlantic waters, must apply to them. Had the Western States been original parties to the constitution, would less have been stipulated for them, or would less have been supposed to be their right under the constitution as it is? They contain, on these great rivers, nearly half the population, and half the commerce of the Union. Admit Mr. Calhoun's construction of the constitution to be correct—authorizing the construction of light-houses, buoys, and public piers, on the Atlantic waters—and it is difficult to deny his conclusion—that money may be appropriated by Congress, to carry out the same purpose, although in a different way, on the western waters. But Mr. Calhoun speaks best in his own terse language.

‘Having now shown that the power to regulate commerce, fairly construed, embraces the establishment of light-houses, buoys, bea-

cons, and public piers, for the increased safety and facility of the commerce of the Atlantic coast, your committee will next proceed to consider the question, whether it may not be constitutionally applied to increase the safety and facility of the commerce of the Mississippi and its waters.

"It is admitted that the framers of the constitution, in delegating the power, had in contemplation the Atlantic coast only. At the time, but a very small portion of our population had passed the Alleghany mountains into the valley of the Mississippi, as has been stated, and none had reached the St. Lawrence and its lakes. There was not a single State situated wholly within the valley. Indeed, the greater part, including the whole of the right bank, and on both banks below the thirty-first parallel, belonged to Spain, who claimed the exclusive right to navigate the river to the south of it, and a right, in common with us, to the residue. In such a state of things, it is not probable that the navigation of a river so full of obstructions, and with a current too rapid for ascending navigation, with the power then used for propelling vessels on its waters, ever occurred to the framers of the constitution, while deliberating on delegating the power in question. But, although their attention was directed to a particular case, they were too wise to provide a remedy applicable exclusively to it, by restricting it to the coast navigation, or to the establishment of light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers. They looked to the future, and provided one of a more comprehensive character, and calculated to remedy the evil in whatever form it might appear.

"Great changes have since occurred. We have acquired the entire valley of the Mississippi, and have the exclusive control of its commerce. What was then an almost uninhabited wilderness, now contains nearly one-half of the population of the whole Union, and many great and flourishing States. Its commerce, then of small amount, and carried on in frail boats of small tonnage, and impelled by a power too weak to ascend its stream, now rivals that of the coast in amount, the cost and size of the vessels by which transported, cheapness of freight, rapidity of transit, and the force by which they are impelled—a force so great as to completely overcome its turbid and rapid current. It has done more. It has so intimately united the navigation of the river and the gulf, that vessels navigating the one, may the other, so as to pass and repass to and from each other in one continuous voyage; just as if (for all practical purposes) the Mississippi was a part of the gulf, or an inland sea.

"In consequence of these great changes, the reasons which influenced the framers of the constitution to delegate to Congress the power to regulate commerce among the States are now as applicable to the States bordering on the Mississippi and its great tributaries, as it was then to those bordering on the Atlantic coast. If it was necessary to delegate it in reference to the latter, to prevent embarrassment and collision between them, in consequence of each regulating its commerce with the other, the necessity is equally urgent in reference to those bordering on the Mississippi, for the same reasons. Indeed, it may be said to be more so; because numerous States grouped together on a large stream and its tributaries, and depending on its navigation exclusively, as the medium of their commerce with

each other and the rest of the world, would be much more exposed to embarrassments and collisions, without a common power to regulate their commerce, than those stretched out on a long line of sea-coast. The latter might possibly manage each to regulate its own commerce, without a common power; but without such a power the former would almost necessarily be involved in continued conflict and hostilities. So, again, the necessity of a common power to regulate commerce among them, in reference to the safety and facility of its navigation, is greater in relation to the States on the borders of the Mississippi, including its tributaries, than on the coast; as the dangers and impediments to which it is exposed are greater, while, from their character, they may be more effectually guarded against by being removed.

"So urgent, indeed, is the necessity of a common power to regulate its commerce, that it may be safely affirmed that it would require a confederation among the States on its borders for that purpose, as the only means of preserving peace and preventing the most deadly conflicts among them, destructive alike to their commerce and prosperity, had not the constitution divested the States of the power, and delegated it to the federal government. If to these urgent reasons for a common power to regulate the commerce of the Mississippi, including its great tributaries, we add, that the States directly interested are positively prohibited by the constitution from entering into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, and, of course, from adopting the only means by which such a power could be created by them, and that the river is made, by the same instrument the common highway in fact for all their vessels and those of the whole Union navigating it, by providing that 'vessels bound to or from one State shall not be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another,'* the conclusion is irresistible, that its commerce comes as fully within the power to regulate commerce as that of the coast itself. There is, indeed, nothing in the terms by which it is delegated, or in the nature of the power, or the reasons for delegating it, which can possibly exclude it.

"Assuming it, then, as unquestionable, that the power is as applicable to the one as the other, it follows necessarily that the right of Congress to establish light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers, as far as they may be necessary for the safety and facility of navigation, is as full and perfect in reference to that of the Mississippi, as that of the Atlantic coast. Thus far, there can be no doubt. Indeed, they have been established on the lakes of the St. Lawrence, where they are as necessary as on the coast, without objection or question, although their commerce was as little in contemplation of the framers of the constitution, as has been stated, as was that of the Mississippi.

"The doubt, then, if doubt there be, is reduced to the single point that the dangers to which the navigation of the Mississippi is exposed, are, from their character, such as cannot be guarded against by light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers, except to a very limited extent. They consist of obstructions in its channel, and can only be well guarded against by removing them. The question,

* 9th section, 1st article, constitution.

then, is, whether the power to regulate commerce among the States, which authorizes the establishment of light houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers, on the coast of the Atlantic and the lakes, with their gulfs and bays, does not also authorize the removal of snags, logs, and other obstructions, which endanger or impede the navigation of the Mississippi?

"Your committee, after full and impartial consideration, can see no reason which would authorize the one, that would not the other. The dangers to be guarded against are not only as great in reference to the navigation of the Mississippi, as has been shown, but the reason why the government should have charge of its improvement is not less strong. If light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers, would be neglected, if not placed under its charge, because neither individuals nor States would have adequate inducement or power to establish them; so likewise the removal of snags, and other obstructions, which endanger or impede its navigation, would be neglected, and for the same reason, if not put also under its charge. The only difference, indeed, between them, is, that in the one case the money is appropriated to make visible, or designate, the causes of danger, by establishing light-houses, beacons, or buoys, while in the other it is appropriated to remove them. But it would seem impossible to doubt that the right to make them visible, or to designate their place, in order that they may be avoided, involves that of removing them where practicable; and that the right of removing them involves that of pointing them out, to be avoided. Whether the one or the other should be adopted in either case, is not a question of right, but one of expediency, depending on their respective practicability, cheapness, and efficiency. Reverse the cases, and who can doubt, if the dangers against which light-houses, buoys, and beacons were intended to warn, were of a nature that they could be removed as cheaply, or more so, than they could be pointed out, but that the same power which would authorize the former would also authorize the latter; or that the power to remove the cause of danger, would not authorize the warning against it, if it could not be removed?"

If reason alone prevailed in the affairs of the General Government, the argument of Mr. Calhoun against appropriations for harbours, would settle the question forever. We insert it entire.

"Your committee will next proceed to consider whether harbours or canals around falls or other obstructions of the Mississippi, including its great tributaries, (meaning thereby, those in whose navigation three or more States are interested,) are embraced in the power, taking them in the order they stand.

"They are of opinion that harbours, except for shelter or naval stations, are not. Their reason for thinking so is, in the first place, because, as far as they have been able to ascertain, the States in the exercise of the power of regulating commerce never extended it to the improvement or construction of harbours for commerce, neither subsequent to nor before the Revolution, while colonies. They have not been able to find a single instance of the exercise of the power on their part, which would warrant the conclusion that such harbour

were included in the power, and, they may add as pertinent to the subject, very few cases in the legislation of the country from which we draw our origin and language, that countenance an extension of the power, so far as to embrace them; and in the next, that the early acts of Congress afford no evidence that it regarded harbours of commerce to be embraced in it. The first appropriation they have been able to find, even for harbours for shelter, was made in 1822, more than thirty years after the commencement of the government; and that, at first, only authorized 'the construction of two public piers, of sufficient dimensions to be a shelter to vessels from ice.' They refer to the breakwater at the mouth of the Delaware. The next appropriation was in 1823, to survey the entrance of the harbour of Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, with the view of removing obstructions at its mouth. It was not until 1827 that appropriations were made professedly for the improvement of harbours, and not till 1828 when a regular and expensive system was commenced of constructing and improving them as a part of the system of internal improvement.

"But as strong as these reasons are, there is another still more so, drawn from the nature of the power and the early practice of the government. The power, as has been stated, is restricted exclusively to the regulation of the external commerce of the States with each other, as separate and distinct communities; and cannot, as such, act within the limits of the States beyond what is indispensable to its execution. But so careful were the framers of the constitution to guard against the abuse of power, that they have not left it to inference to determine to what extent it is indispensable for that purpose. They have, by a provision of the instrument, fixed the precise limits. Your committee refer to that already cited, which exempts vessels bound to or from one State from being obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another; and thereby securing to that extent, and no further, a free ingress and egress of the vessels of all the States within and from the limits of each other. But, with that exception, the harbours of a State are as completely under the control of the State, and as subject to its laws and legislation, as any other portion of its territory; and the vessels of other States are as subject to them as those belonging to their own citizens. Strictly speaking, then, the power to regulate commerce among the States is a power wholly *inter alios*; so much so, indeed, as to require this additional, or, as it may be fairly called, supplemental power, to secure to the vessels of other States the right to enter, to clear, and be exempt from duty, both in their ingress and egress. The conclusion would seem to follow, irresistibly, that a power so strictly *inter alios* cannot be extended so as to embrace the improvement or construction of commercial harbours. The case of harbours for shelter is different. They relate directly to the safety of commerce, in its transit from State to State, and are in character and object the same as public piers, and come, as such, fairly under the power to regulate commerce. The case is also different in reference to naval stations or harbours. They come under another power—that 'to provide and maintain a navy.'

"But if additional evidence should be required to show that commercial harbours are not embraced by the power, another provision of the constitution, and the practice of the government under it, will

furnish conclusive proof. Your committee refer to that which provides that 'no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage.' We find in this provision a material difference between the power reserved to the States to lay, with the consent of Congress, duties on imports or exports, on the one hand, and on tonnage on the other. In the former it is expressly provided that the proceeds shall pass into the treasury of the United States, while in the other it is left without any such provision at the disposal of the State imposing them. There must be a reason for the distinction; and it would be difficult to assign any other than that it was intended to reserve to the States the power to collect duties on tonnage, with the consent of Congress, in order to leave at their disposal the money collected, to enable them to raise funds for some improvement intimately connected with the convenience of vessels in port, or to designate any one more so than the improvement of the harbour or port itself. We find, accordingly, that the power, as far as it has ever been used by the States, has been exercised exclusively to raise funds for that purpose, and that the consent of Congress has been freely given to acts of State legislatures for such purpose. As early as 1800, the consent of Congress was given to an act of the general assembly of Maryland, which authorized the wardens of the port of Baltimore to collect a duty on any vessel arriving at the same, of sixty tons or more, of a sum not exceeding two cents, for the purpose of improving the harbour and port; and also, to so much of an act of the State of Georgia, passed 1787, entitled 'An act for regulating the trade and laying duties on all goods, wares, and merchandise, and negroes imported into the State, and also an impost on tonnage of shipping, and other purposes therein mentioned,' as authorizes a duty of threepence per ton on all shipping entering the port of Savannah, to be set apart as a fund for clearing the river Savannah.' The act giving consent was to continue in force for eight years. It has been renewed several times as to the acts of both of the States, and that of Maryland is now in force by a renewal so late as 1843. These acts, both of the State legislatures and Congress, afford conclusive proof, that the intention, which they have assigned to the framers of the constitution for reserving the power to be exercised by the States with the consent of Congress, is the one which governed them.

"Having now shown, as they trust, conclusively, that the power excludes the construction or improvement of harbours of commerce, in contradistinction to harbours of shelter and the navy, it will not be difficult to show that it also excludes the cutting of canals or the construction of roads around shoals, falls, or other impediments to the navigation of the river or its tributaries, as the reasons, applicable to the one, are mostly, equally so to the other. Thus, if there be nothing in the practice of the governments of the States, at or before the adoption of the constitution, or in the early practice of the federal

government, to justify it in the one case, so there is nothing in the other. So, likewise, the reasons deduced from the nature of the power, that it is strictly *inter alios*, so much so as to require a supplemental power exempting vessels, on going in or out of a State, from entering, clearing, and paying duties, are equally applicable to both. Indeed it applies, if possible, more strongly, as they are more strictly *inter alios* in reference to such works, than to harbours; and it may be added, as an additional reason, that individual inducement and power are alike adequate to both. It is proper to add, also, that all they have stated in this connection are applicable to harbours and works of the kind wherever found, whether on the Atlantic, the gulf, the lakes, or rivers flowing into them."

Thus far we have gone along with the report, with ease and pleasure. By placing the great Western streams on a footing with the Atlantic harbours, under the power to regulate commerce among the States, all was done that well could be done, to protect appropriations from abuse. Clearly, only the great streams of the West, used by many States, like the Atlantic harbours, could be covered by the principle. But in his anxiety, we presume, to prevent abuse, and still further to restrict appropriations to the rivers of general interest only, Mr. Calhoun takes the position,—that all the rivers of the Union, are "exclusively under the control of the federal government," with the exception of rivers lying within one or two States. After arguing that the navigable waters of one State are not legitimate subjects for appropriations by Congress, because its commerce is internal, and it is under the exclusive control of the States within whose limits they lie—he continues :

"The case of a river whose navigable waters are confined to two States, whether by dividing or flowing through them, requires more particular and full explanation. The provision of the constitution already cited, which exempts vessels bound to or from one State from entering, clearing, or paying duties in another, would make *all such streams*, in effect, *common highways of all the States*, and bring them *exclusively under the control of the federal government*, as far as the power to regulate commerce among the States is concerned; as much so, indeed, as the Mississippi itself, were it not for another provision in the same instrument. They allude to that which provides that "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with another State;"* and which of course permits (with such consent) *one State* to enter into compact or agreement with *another*.

"To understand the intention of the framers of the constitution for inserting this provision, and its bearing on the point under consid-

* 16th section, 1st article, constitution.

ration, it is necessary to view it in connection with another provision of the instrument, already cited. They refer to that which prohibits the States from entering into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, in any case whatever; plainly because it would be both dangerous and inconsistent with their federal relations to permit it. In order to prevent so important a provision from being eluded, the provision immediately under consideration was inserted, prohibiting the States from entering into agreements or compacts in any case whatever, except one State with another State, or with a foreign power; and to prevent the abuse even of that limited power, the consent of Congress is required. Such is the prohibition, and the reason for it. The reason for the exception is, that without the prohibition would substitute the federal authority for that of the States, for the adjustment and regulation of all the various subjects which the several States may have a mutual interest in adjusting and regulating, including such as the one under consideration, and thereby would give greater extension and minuteness to the authority of the federal government than was desirable or consistent with the objects for which it was instituted. Under the exception it is left to the State; when only two are interested in the navigation of a river, or any other object, to take it under their own exclusive jurisdiction and control, by an agreement or compact between them, with the consent of Congress; as much so as it would be under that of one, if it was confined exclusively to one instead of extending to two.

"The case is different where three or more States may be directly interested in the navigation of a river. Such cases are withdrawn from the control of the States, and are embraced by the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States, for reasons too obvious to repeat after what has been stated. *It is only necessary to add, in this connection, the reasons are as applicable to the rivers falling into the ocean and lakes, including their gulfs and bays, as to those falling into the Mississippi and its tributaries.*"

Now if the report, in arguing that the States only could make "agreements or compacts," had relied on the strict words of the constitution, defining this grant, there might be no little force in the position. Certainly, if this is not the meaning of the constitution, it is capable of this construction. The words are—"no State shall without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with *another* State." What does *another*, here mean? does it mean *one more—one beside?*—or does it mean *any other, or all other* States. The first is the simple meaning. "*An-other,*" is only a compound of *one* and *other*.

"For if he that cometh preacheth *another* Jesus whom we have not preached, or if ye receive *another* spirit, which ye have not received, or another gospel, which ye have accepted, ye might well bear with him." *II Cor.*

Here "another," clearly means one more—one besides ; so also in the following instances :

"A fourth?—

What, will the line stretch out to the crack of doom ?

Another yet?—a seventh!—I'll see no more."

Shakespeare, Macbeth..

For stature one doth seem, the best away to bear

Another—for her shape, and to stand, beyond compare ;

Another—for the fine composure of her face ;

Another—short of these, yet with a modest grace,

Before them all preferred.

Drayton's Poly-Olbion.

"Though the image of one point, should cause but a small tension of this membrane, *another* and *another* and *another* strike, must in their progress, cause a very great one, until it arrives at last to the highest degree."

Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful.

Beneath the gardens wicket porch,

Far flashed on high a blazing torch,

Another, and *another*, and *another*.

Byron's Bride of Abydos.

If these instances rightly elucidate the meaning of the word "another," when used in the constitution, then the position is good, that one State can only enter into compacts or agreements with one more State—one beside. Of course, this gives the power to but two States to enter into compacts or agreements. But this is a fanciful world we live in, and very prone to paraphrase. That very sober document called the constitution of the United States, we have heard maintained to be full of poetry, of that kind, we presume, which stirred up the soul of the mathematician, who could never read the queries at the end of Newton's Optics, without feeling his blood run cold, and his hair stand on end. No wonder then that the word "another" should be said to mean "any other ;" and this to be equivalent to all States. Well, *any other*, although sometimes used as synonymous with *another*, is not exactly of the same signification. *Any* means, *one generally—unlimitedly*.

"If *any* of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God."—*Bible*.

Here, *any* includes men generally ; as it would the State, generally, if used in the constitution.

He is the path, if *any* be misled ;
 He is a robe, if *any* naked be ;
 If any chance to hunger, he is bread ;
 If any be a bondsman, he is free ;
 If any be but weak, how strong is he ?

G. Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*.

On the strength of this criticism, or as our readers perhaps may call it—hypercriticism—dangerous we admit, when dealing with constitutional questions, there might be some force in Mr. Calhoun's position, that the provisions of the constitution contemplating two States only, excludes by inference more than two States from making agreements and compacts, by which they may improve their rivers ; consequently they are cast upon the general government for such matters common to them. We can see too, very strong reasons for such a policy, when applicable to the Western rivers. Supposing that the thirteen States on the Mississippi waters, could enter into compacts or agreements, without making a treaty, alliance or confederation, which is positively forbidden by the constitution, the danger to the Union must be manifest, in the exercise of such a power. They would come up to Congress, not to ask its consent, but to dictate it ; whilst the practice of being associated together in improving their rivers, would constitute a subordinate confederation, very soon to rule or dissolve the union. But the great West and its rivers, were not in the Union when the constitution was made ; and these evils could therefore, hardly have been contemplated. Mr. Calhoun, however, does not draw his argument from the source we have stated. He makes the power of two States, (which he seems to take for granted) to enter into compacts and agreements to improve their rivers—an incident—an exception to the general and exclusive power in Congress to improve *all the rivers in the Union*. "Such streams in effect," he maintains, "*are common highways of all the States, and are exclusively under the control of the federal government, as far as the power to regulate commerce among the states is concerned*",—that is, as far as appropriations, like those for the creation of light-houses, beacons, &c. are concerned. To this position, we dissent, with all its "exceptions" and consequences.

The clause in the constitution, upon which Mr. Calhoun relies, to give to the federal government the exclusive con-

trol of all the rivers in the Union, is that which exempts "vessels bound to or from one State, from entering or paying duties in another." This is one of the great stipulations by which free trade is established between the States of the Union. It is a stipulation by which privileges are fairly bartered. A sovereign State agrees not to exercise the power of laying duties on vessels entering her ports from certain other sovereign States, in consideration that they will not lay duties on her vessels entering their ports. Nothing is more common than agreements among nations, by commercial treaties, stipulating the duties which shall be laid mutually on their vessels entering each others ports. In consequence of the want of revenue and the prevalence of the restrictive policy, none of the great nations of the earth have yet agreed mutually to abolish all duties on their vessels entering each others ports: but if they did, no other consequence would follow, than that which now exists, so far as their independence is concerned. Suppose the stipulation in the United States constitution, by the progress of free-trade principles, was to-morrow to exist between Great Britain and the United States—would the independence of either nation, or their control over their rivers, be in the least affected? And if not, we ask, why should any other inference be drawn from this provision between the States? Still more extraordinary would be the inference, that because England and the United States had established between them free access to their ports—Russia or Austria had the control over them. Yet this is hardly more inadmissible than to infer, that because free trade has been established between the States of the Union—therefore, their agent—the federal government, has the exclusive control of all their rivers. If there is any power parted with, in the matter, it must be to the parties contracting. But there is no sort of necessity to infer that any power of control is parted with, to any body, by the grant of such privileges. The waters of the rivers of the Union, whether lying within the limits of one State, or flowing through many States, are still, in either case, completely within *separate States*. There is no such thing in the United States, as any rivers whose waters *belong in common* to two or more States, much less to all the States. In every case, the boundaries of separate States extend either over the whole of a river, or over a part of a river; but whether

over a part or the whole, the sovereignty and jurisdiction are still the same. The States of Mississippi and Arkansas are bounded each by the middle of the Mississippi river. The middle of the Mississippi was formerly the boundary between the United States and Spain. Should a crime be committed or a contract be made, the laws of the State, on whatever side of the river the party acted, must take cognizance of the act. So, if the line of a State runs across a river, the land-marks on both sides of the river, if there be none in the river itself, will show the precise extent of the sovereignty of each State. In other words, *there is no difference between land and water in the boundaries of States*. Their sovereign jurisdiction and control meet on their lines; whether in a river or on land: and waters lying within their boundaries, are as completely and exclusively theirs, as their lands. Nor can *the use* of their waters or their lands, when conceded to the citizens of other States, for or without consideration, in the least impair their sovereign jurisdiction and control. Whether over a turn-pike road, a canal or a river, the principle is the same. Use by express grant, can give no jurisdiction to grantees, still less to their agents. Privileges do not imply proprietorship in those, who accept or use them; but directly the contrary. Nor can there be any difference, whether the privilege concerns land or water transportation. The constitution of the United States, has secured the *same use* to *all* the citizens of her States, in *them all*. In the case of a river, no duties can be laid on any of them. In the case of a rail-road or canal, the same duties must be exacted of all. But because all the citizens of the States, have equal privileges in the use of all the means of transportation in the States, whether by land or water, it does not follow, that they are all under the "exclusive control of the federal government." Each and all of them, precisely like their harbours, lie within the sovereign jurisdiction of separate, independent States; and they alone can control them. They are all *highways*; but not highways of *all the States*; but highways of the separate States, over which, by express stipulation, for a full equivalent, the privilege is conceded by their agreements in the constitution, of a general and unrestricted use by the citizens of all the States. Whilst therefore, for these reasons, we cannot assent to Mr. Calhoun's position, on this point, we really do not see, how

it is at all material to the policy he advocates. That policy is sufficiently established by his placing the great Western rivers, by analogy, on the same footing with the Atlantic waters. By the position we have been controverting, he includes a great many Atlantic rivers also—whilst in principle, it is as wide as the Union. It is true, he relies on his *exception* to limit its operation:—but what if they take his principle, and reject his exception?

There is another ground taken elsewhere, but not by Mr. Calhoun, to prove that the Mississippi and its tributaries, by express legislation, stand on a different footing from the other rivers in the Union. It has been said, that the ordinance of 1787, passed under the confederation, and prescribing the terms, on which the lands, then belonging to the United States, should be settled, distinctly declares that all the rivers within them, shall be common highways, for all the citizens of the States; therefore it is argued, that these rivers, belonging to all the people of the United States, are properly subjects for appropriations by Congress, their common agency. Admitting the fact to be as stated, it would only place these rivers on the same footing with the other rivers in the Union, for all of them, as we have endeavored to show, are highways, equally to be used by all the citizens of the States. But it is not a fact that the ordinance of 1787, has given any peculiar character whatever to the Mississippi and its tributaries. The ordinance did not apply to the Ohio river, for not a particle of that river was surrendered by Virginia, in her cession to the General Government. Virginia in her deed of cession expressly retained the whole bed of this river, and only ceded the *territory* lying north or west of it, and the Supreme Court of the United States has so construed the cession. Of course, then, the Ohio river is not covered at all by the ordinance of 1787. This whole river from the Virginia line above, lies within the limits of Virginia and Kentucky, as much so as any stream which begins and ends within the limits of either State. Nor did the ordinance cover the Mississippi river. At the time it passed, Spain owned the one-half of the Mississippi, from its source to the 37th degree of latitude; and below that point, the Mississippi on both sides. If any of the new States which have arisen on the Mississippi, have either by their laws or constitutions, endeavored to put the Mississippi and its tributaries on a different foot-

ing from the rivers in other States, and thus to enlarge the powers of the General Government,—the answer is conclusive. No State can enlarge the powers of the General Government, or change the constitution.

But after all, it will be inquired, will Mr. Calhoun's construction of the constitution save the Union from the dangers and evils of internal improvement? Will the division of interests it will effect, divest the policy of its corruption and excess.

A very remarkable occurrence took place, at the late sitting of Congress, which goes far to answer these inquiries. A bill was put into the Senate, framed in conformity with the principles of Mr. Calhoun's report. It contained no appropriations for harbors—none for rivers any where but in the West, and there, it was confined to the great leading streams. It passed that body, by an overwhelming majority. When it came to the House, it was not referred to a committee according to the usual and respectful course of things. It was seized on, as a fit occasion, to make a decisive and killing demonstration. A motion was made, to *reject the bill*; and on that motion, the previous question was called. Both of these motions, were sustained by large majorities in the House; and the bill was *rejected*, without reference or consideration. With the exception of the Democrats of the West, who in the main, voted against these motions, the whole internal improvement party in the House, voted for them; and for once at least, they found their declared foes from the South, voting with them. It is undeniable that the friends of internal improvement by the General Government, did not deem this bill a part of their policy. Indeed, they considered it as decidedly opposed and fatal to their policy. The strength—the vital breath of their system, is in its general and limitless application. It is like a league of plunderers, which only exists, while all can plunder. Take from internal improvement, its general character, and it falls. Localize its appropriations, and it is divested of its dangers and excess. It then becomes a minority, and not a majority interest; and the majority which has the controlling power, will take care, that neither profligacy nor folly shall waste appropriations, which they are chiefly to supply, yet not receive. Every appropriation, under such circumstances, must rest on its own merits, and cannot be carried by a corrupt combination with other interests. The good of the whole, and not a part—the interest of the

majority as well as of the minority, must call for the appropriations. Thus, that great principle, which lies at the foundation of the United States Constitution—that all the people of the Union should govern themselves in its provisions, by only entrusting to their common legislature, those interests which are common to all, will be fully carried out in the legislation of Congress. The advocates of consolidation, see as little to approve in Mr. Calhoun's policy, as the internal improvement party. They find in it, no general principle, which equally avails them, in strengthening the General Government—no corrupt instrument, by which a profligate majority, may win power for themselves, and build it up in the central head. The tariff interests are opposed to it—because it closes the door to that easy and boundless waste, which is necessary, amidst the fluctuations of trade, to prevent accumulations in the treasury. They will therefore oppose it, so long as there is any hope of making a more profligate policy predominant, requiring and securing high duties on imports. The inference is, that Mr. Calhoun's policy is inconsistent with the policy of internal improvement,—harbor appropriations,—the purposes of the consolidationists, and the tariff interest.

But however constitutional, or wise, or useful,—will this policy ever prevail in the councils of the Union?

The government of the United States, is a government of parties; and parties can seldom be rallied on intermediate positions. Their tendency is to extremes. The State Bank deposit system, failed as a measure of national policy, because it was an intermediate position between a United States Bank and the independent treasury. The tariff act of 1833, failed, because it was a *compromise*. Where all power is in parties, there must always be rivalries and jealousies to reach it. Hence every new position will always be assailed, because it may be an element for a distinct party organization; and because, if not extreme, it may be wide enough to exclude party associates, and not wide enough to exclude all party foes. Instead of approbation and support, such positions will be opposed, as being short of high principle; and those who advocate them, as seeking their own, and not their country's ends. It is however, a favorable circumstance for the prevalence of Mr. Calhoun's policy,—that there really cannot be said to be any party principle on internal improvement, in the democratic party. Interest will therefore, most probably rule the decision. The whole

North—whigs and democrats, will go against Mr. Calhoun's policy; for they will gain nothing by it. If it prevails, it can then only prevail, by the union of the West and South. Will the South assent? Were it not that the interests of the South have been so often gambled away, in the great game of political power, her course could hardly be doubted. On general principle, Mr. Calhoun stands on the highest position, taken in its purest days, by the republican party. He makes the great Western rivers to stand on a principle, distinct from that on which internal improvement is based; placing it, on the limited footing of our light-house appropriations. Admit that he is wrong—his policy limits appropriations, far more than the principles laid down by any President, who has used the veto to arrest internal improvement by the General Government. Were his construction of the constitution far more questionable than it is—will not the South consider, how far the constitution is regarded by those who support this system? Will she not weigh well the circumstances in which she is placed? With her the tariff—free-trade, is vital. Can she have it without the co-operation of the West, by whose aid a beginning so auspicious has already been commenced? Can she have it, with the wild and limitless expenditure for internal improvements, which infallibly follows, if the alternative presented by Mr. Calhoun is not embraced? Is she content to see all party ties broken between her and the West; and that great governing section of the Union, thrown into the arms of the federal party of the North; and thus not only her proud party-position, but her peace and safety endangered or overthrown? Will not the ardent hope, the high policy, of saving the constitution from the unscrupulous and reckless grasp of avarice, induce a spirit of concession—a spirit of self-sacrifice—a spirit of friendly and zealous co-operation? Although late, it may not be too late, to redeem the past.

But will the West assent to Mr. Calhoun's policy? She can lay duties on tonnage, and with the aid of the South obtain the assent of Congress; and thus build up and support her harbours on her lakes.

The tonnage money thus collected, may be applied, not only to improve harbors already abounding in commerce, but to improve or create harbors not now existing. She will thus be independent of the General Government; and hold in her own hands, all the patronage these improvements may create. The Western States will themselves determine

the objects of improvement, and the scale on which they shall be improved. Is not this far better, than to assume the position of plunderers of the United States treasury, or mendicants on its bounty? If their object, with respect to their harbors, can be thus attained,—is it their policy, the policy of the Democratic party of the West, to press on a separation from the South, by insisting on accomplishing it, through the United States treasury and the United States Government? Their great rivers will be taken care of by the General Government; the mode of improving their harbors, is the only point then of separation. Can the Democratic West, do without the Democratic South, any more than the South without them? Are they not, like the South, an agricultural people, and free-trade their common policy? Have they no interest in the destinies of the Democratic party, which must soon fall into their hands, and with all its brilliant anticipations, and progress, be their shame or their glory? It is not the fate of the West, but of the Union, and of the world, for which they are to be accountable—their peace, their liberty, their happiness. Will they be adequate to their high responsibilities, and use with moderation and wisdom, that power which the progress of events must soon throw into their hands; or will they act only on the blind and greedy impulses of gain, and to recreant to them all? Time only can answer these questions; but taught by past experience, the lamentable proclivity to evil in men, and the difficulty of maintaining a just and free government, we anticipate but little from the wisdom of either the South or West. It would be most congenial with the usual course of things, that they should stand apart, and fall.

A single word, before we conclude, as to the merits of this report, which doubtless our readers, from the specimens we have adduced, already anticipate. It is an effort worthy of its great author, not only for the intellectual ability it displays, but for that far-seeing patriotism, which seeks, by anticipating public evils, to avert them. Whether its reasoning is assented to or not,—the foes, at least, of internal improvement by the General Government, will acknowledge that the effort is great—the object noble—and the policy in entire congeniality with those great principles of the State-rights party of the South, of which he has been at once the prime creator and vindicator.

ART. VII.—HALLECK'S MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE.

Elements of Military Art and Science, or Course of Instruction in Strategy, Fortifications, Tactics of Battles, etc.: embracing the duties of Staff, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery and Engineers. Adapted to the use of Volunteers and Militia. By H. WAGER HALLECK, A. M., Lieut. of Engineers, U. S. Army. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: G. S. Appleton, 148 Chesnut-Street. 1846.

WE esteem it a fortunate circumstance, that the work, we have placed at the head of this article, should have made its appearance at this particular time, when the energies of a nation are called forth for the prosecution of a war in a distant and populous country. This state of things is now drawing from the peaceful walks of life, for the more stirring scenes of a campaign, and with scarce a moment's warning, many of our most quiet and useful citizens; and conferring the highest military rank upon not a few, whose previous avocations had but little fitted them for the responsible stations they now fill. While the feelings and sympathies of our people are enlisted for the honorable and successful termination of an existing war, they may be more willing to listen to those sober truths, taught by reason and experience, which, in times of less need, have in vain presented themselves for their consideration. And as we have so recently witnessed the most striking contrast, in the operations of our little army on the field, between the effects produced by the possession and use of that knowledge which is intended to be conveyed, in the work before us, and the grossest ignorance of the elementary principles of the military art; it is to be hoped, that the period is not far distant, when more rational, just, and comprehensive views, will prevail in the military department of our government. In no branch of knowledge are we so ignorant, mistaken, and unprepared to decide; and yet, as a people, there is no subject on which we are so confident, vain-glorious, and dictatorial. Our statesmen and stump-orators discuss the principles of strategy and tactics, with a degree of arrogance and facility which is only equalled by the modesty of their applications for the highest military offices, without a moment's preparation for the

solemn and responsible duties, which they seek to assume. And all this very naturally results from the fact, that we are too apt to consider war, as neither an art nor a science, in which, much previous study and cultivation are essential to success. Forgetting, or unwilling, to heed the testimony of Washington—who, in his last annual message to Congress, says: “whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince, that the art of war is both comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study; and that the profession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation,”—we have acted on the principle that the conferring of rank, of itself makes the general; and rely almost exclusively for our protection against national insult or military invasion, upon the “native courage” and “indomitable energy” of our people.

To remedy, in some measure at least, these serious defects, and to call the attention to this subject, as well of those, who seek for high places in our army, as of those, whose duty it is to legislate for its government, this little volume has been prepared and published by Mr. Halleck. It is a complete outline of the principles, which should govern a nation in undertaking and preparing for war, and the means which should be used to guard against defeat, and ensure success, in carrying it on. In the smallest possible compass, we have a masterly defence of the justifiableness of war, under proper circumstances; a discussion of some of these circumstances; of the different kinds of war, and the object and end of each. We find here laid down the general principles of strategy, which are to govern in the selection of the seat of war, and the concentration of forces upon important points; and of the “tactics of battles” by which to direct our manœuvres and perform our evolutions, when in the face of the enemy, and on the field of action; the art of supplying and facilitating the movements of an army when on the march, and of strengthening and fortifying their position when stationary; the organization of an army, with the use, duties, and proportions of the different corps comprising it; and the qualifications of officers of different grades, with the principles which should govern in their appointment, education, and promotion. It is the most complete manual, we have ever seen, either for the

young officer, who is desirous of gaining a general knowledge of his profession by the most speedy process, or for the citizen, who is willing to become sufficiently acquainted with the principles and nomenclature of the military art, to act and speak intelligibly in relation to it.

The work seems to have been prepared with reference to an expected war with England; and for the benefit of a class of officers, then likely to be called into service, to meet such an emergency. Originally delivered in the form of lectures, before the "Lowell Institute" of Boston, with no expectation of publication, the author placed the sheets in the hands of the printer, upon the solicitation of a number of officers of the militia. With becoming modesty, he states, in his preface, that,

"No pretension is made to originality in any part of the work; the sole object having been to embody in a small compass, well established military principles, and to illustrate these by reference to the events of past history, and the opinions and practice of the best generals."

In judging of the merits or demerits of this work, we must look to the object he had in view. And though none of the principles laid down by the author may be new, or entirely original with him, the plan of the work, and the effort to convey such an amount of information in relation to the military art, in such a popular form, and in so small a space, certainly entitle him to more credit than he claims for himself, if the task has been well executed.

In the "introduction," the author takes up the subject of the justifiableness of war, and gives the arguments *pro* and *con* with great fairness and candor. It, as some assert, "all wars are contrary to the revealed will of God," we ought to expect to find, in his revealed will, some direct prohibition of war. On the contrary, though bloody wars were raging in the times of Christ and his Apostles, and though war had been positively commanded in the Old Testament, yet, neither Christ nor his Apostles anywhere condemn it. Nor can it, with any reason, be answered, that though not directly condemned in the holy scriptures, it is indirectly forbidden by such passages as "Thou shall not kill;" "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also," &c. For if these passages are to be interpreted literally, they strike at the root of all our penal statutes, and make

it a moral wrong to enforce any of our laws, instituted for the protection of the innocent and punishment of the guilty. The frame work of civil society would be shattered, the legislative and judicial departments of government, would fall for want of support. Of what value are laws without sanctions? In what would consist the merit of enacting them, without the establishment of courts to decide when they are broken, and with full power to have such decisions enforced and executed? We are incapable of comprehending the idea of a government, if society is not justified in using force, through the ministers of the law, for its own protection. But if these passages are taken in connection with many others in holy writ, the only rational interpretation that can be given them, is, that they are intended to impress upon our minds the general duty of love and forgiveness; that they do not prohibit the use of force in preventing or punishing crime, whether in nations or individuals, but teach us to combine love and justice, and free our hearts from all evil motives. But say the advocates of non-resistance in nations, "God commands us to love every man, alien or citizen, as ourselves, and no act of society can make it our duty to violate this command." Here again, we reply, that this command enforces the great virtue of mutual love, and teaches us that we should treat all men with justice and mercy, and hate no one, not even a stranger. But does the Bible, as a whole, teach us that there should be no degrees in our love? Are all human beings equally entitled to our care and our affection? We are commanded to love our parents; and the man, who does not seek first, the comfort and happiness of his own family, is "worse than an infidel." The relations in which God has placed us, and the natural affections with which he has endowed us, no less than the teachings of the gospel, make it our imperative duty, first to protect from the attacks of others, those who are most endeared to us, and most dependent upon us; and if necessary for their defence, we are not only permitted, but bound to take the life of the assailant. I need not hate, but should feel compassion for the unfortunate being, whose life, the necessity of my position, has forced me to take. Does the judge, who sentences the criminal, or the sheriff, who executes this sentence, necessarily entertain any other than the kindest feelings towards his fellow creature, whom he thus deprives of life?

Next to my family, I naturally love, and feel most concern for my neighbors of the same community; and an extension of the same principle of our nature, tells me to defend my country against, and love her better, than the rest of the world. If as a nation, she is attacked, there is no civil magistrate, to whom an appeal can be made, and I am bound to assist in her protection by force. This force I am only justified in using, so long as the wrong-doers persist in the wrong, which called it forth. I destroy my enemies, so long as they are the instruments of evil; but as soon as they are rendered harmless, I am bound to treat them as my friends, and bestow the same care upon them as upon my wounded comrade. The principle which governs the execution of laws upon the offending individual, and the use of force against the offending nation, is precisely the same. And if, as members of society, we are justified in enacting and executing laws, for the punishment of individuals among our neighbors and relatives, is the moral rule of forbearance stronger, when the offender becomes a nation, and a stranger? We reason with our neighbor, who has wronged us, and urge him to pursue a different course; if he still persist, we claim the protection of the law, and apply to the officers of justice to execute it. We refer the foreign nation, who seeks to oppress us, to the international code, adopted by all civilized communities to regulate their intercourse with each other, and appeal to their sense of justice; if they still persist in a course of wrong-doing, and refuse to give justice, we call in the aid of our armies, to restrain and compel them. And the right to use violence, only begins at the point where forbearance ceases to be virtue.

We have been anxious to give some idea of the ground taken by the author, in relation to this question of the justifiableness of war. Having done this, we must pass rapidly from this interesting discussion, which we would gladly follow up, did time permit; and refer the reader, who is desirous of being enlightened or convinced, to the work itself. He will then find the whole subject discussed, not merely with the spirit of a soldier, but with that of a citizen and a moralist. He will be convinced that all history refutes the argument of the demoralizing effects of war; and especially will he mourn over the contrast presented by the state of political morality in our country, soon after the two principal wars in which we have

been engaged, and the melancholy picture, which the scramble for office now holds up to our view. A state of things which calls forth all the energies of a people, uniting them in a common bond of friendship, exhibits also latent elements of character, which are not lost upon the nation, after the violence, which called them from their hidden places, has ceased to exist. Nor does a state of war necessarily produce bitterness and animosity between citizens of different countries. Friendships, lasting through life, and turned to account by them for the good of country, have been contracted by generals of contending armies in the field,

“Where high passions, high desires unfold,
Prompting to noblest deeds.”

We must at last settle down with the conviction, that owing to the relations which the God of nature has established between different nations, as well as between man and man, we cannot abandon all means, both of offence and defence, and rely solely for our self-preservation on the justice and innocence of our conduct. All history proves that nations, both harmless and defenceless, are not the least subject to insult and invasion.

Having decided upon the necessity and duty which devolves upon us; to rely in the last resort upon the strength of our own right arm, what line of conduct should a nation adopt, whose varied and extensive interests must frequently clash with those of the other nations of the earth, and whose rising greatness and power must create jealousy and discord? Shall we not regard the opinion of Washington that “the best way to preserve peace, is to be at all times prepared for war,” and that “the possession of the military art in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation?” If we, in the language of Mr. Calhoun, “disregarding the sound dictates of reason and experience, in time of peace neglect our military establishment, we must, with a powerful and skilful enemy, be exposed to the most distressing calamities.” Not only national pride, but considerations derived from the first principles of ethics and political economy, commend to us those preparations, which will enable us to withstand the attacks of the wicked and the powerful, with the least possible expenditure of blood and treasure. And even the most distinguished writer of the non-resistance school in

our country, who thinks the cheapest defence of nations to be the exercise of justice and benevolence, considers it the duty of a nation holding opposite views, to secure the most "extensive, scientific, and complete" means of defence.

"Munitions of war should be provided in abundance. Schools for instruction in the art of war should be supported at the public expense, and the persons so educated, should be maintained, either in whole or in part, at the public expense, so that their services may be commanded, whenever they may be required. In this, as in every other case, economy teaches us, that if a given object is to be effected no expense is unreasonable, which is necessary to effect it in the most perfect manner. The manner of expenditure is to be learned from the teachers of military science. Economy, therefore, directs that the most valuable talent should be employed, at whatever expense, for providing the plans of defence, that these plans should be fully and perfectly carried into effect, and that all should be done at no greater cost than is necessary to the accomplishment of the object." Wayland's Political Economy, p. 406.

For the accomplishment of this object, reason and experience teach us that there must exist a profession whose business and duty it is to preserve this art, and all the sciences on which it depends, in their highest perfection; to investigate the principles involved, and keep pace with the improvements introduced from time to time by the practice of more warlike nations. Those who are thus trained and practised, keep up an organization, which will serve as a nucleus, around which to rally in the hour of danger, and perform the part of teachers, from whom the essential duties of the soldier can be learned, when an emergency arises. But as the knowledge and practice thus needed can seldom be made to advance private interests, or answer the ends of the individual, and must be attended with considerable expense in acquiring them; the state which is alone interested in their acquisition, must take this branch of education under its own peculiar care. Accordingly we find that all the more enlightened nations of the earth, have established schools exclusively devoted to military instruction. And this view of the subject should silence the clamorous objections to our national military schools. The appointments to the military academy, and promotions from it into the army, are not made for the purpose of benefitting those appointed individually, nor to furnish a favored few with the means of livelihood, at the expense of the rest of the

community ; but to secure to the state a mass of knowledge and strength, which must be collected long before the emergency occurs, which renders it necessary. A commission in the army is not to be regarded as a sinecure, but an appointment conferring certain emoluments and privileges, for which a "quid pro quo" is expected and required. A contract is entered into, in which neither the state nor the individual should be considered the specially favored party. On what principle then, do noisy demagogues and hirelings of party declaim against the exclusiveness of these appointments, and urge their right to occupy positions, themselves, as the reward of their public services, for which they do not pretend to have undergone any preparation. With shame be it spoken, these pretended claims are too often regarded as just rights ; and the great interests of the country sacrificed to insure the success of party. Against such views and practices, a crusade should be preached, an exterminating war proclaimed.

It should constantly be borne in mind, that our standing army is only large enough to keep up a military organization, and to preserve some knowledge of the theory and practice of war, in a nation whose policy and institutions are eminently pacific. The large armies of Europe, kept in constant practice by the wars of conquest and ambition, in which their sovereigns are engaged, are not apt to retrograde in military science or art ; and the young and ardent of those nations have this field for ambition perpetually presented to their view. But in our country, the diligent study of principles must, in a measure at least, be relied upon, to secure that efficiency and accuracy, which we do not derive from their frequent application in the field. To be the embodiment of military art and science in the country, our little army requires all the exclusiveness of separate profession, with a thorough, exact, and special education.

We would not be misunderstood. That none should receive appointments in our army, except those who have graduated at our military academy at West Point, is not the position we assume. In every profession we find men who seem to have been designed by nature for that particular occupation or calling, and who rise to great eminence with comparatively little preparation. Whenever such a person presents himself, who has exhibited those peculiar traits, and elements of character which mark the military genius ;

whether those traits have been exhibited on the battle field or elsewhere; place him in the line of promotion, and give his country the benefit of his talents. By commencing in a subordinate grade, with a decided taste for his pursuits, there is a fair prospect of his becoming a proficient before he obtains a rank which entitles him to a separate command. But if the proposition is true, that technical education is necessary to success in every pursuit of life, and that the instances of success without this education are the exceptions and not the rule; then it is quite evident that the rule by which appointments should be made in our army, is to select those whose education and preparation most eminently fit them for the peculiar duties they are called upon to perform. 'These rare exceptions can very well be provided for as they arise.' But the system which has prevailed of late years in the military department of our government is ruinous in the extreme. To regulate appointments to the higher grades by political influence, and place the man who has never given any evidence of military talent, or seen any service in the field, in command of the officer who has spent his life in preparation for his duties, and whose head has whitened in his country's service, is no less an outrage upon the interests of the nation, than upon the feelings and rights of the officer.

The experiment made in 1836, in the new regiment of Dragoons then raised, is a good illustration of this system of political appointments. About thirty of the officers were appointed from civil life, leaving only three or four places to be filled by graduates of the military academy. About twenty of these have already been dismissed, or resigned to avoid dismissal, and their places have been mainly supplied by graduates of the military academy. These facts are mentioned by Mr. Halleck in the work before us, who then goes on to ask,

"In case of another increase of our military establishment, what course will our government pursue? Will it again pass by the meritorious young officers of our army—graduates of the military academy—who have spent ten or twelve of the best years of their lives in qualifying themselves for the higher duties of their profession, and place over their heads civilians of less education and inferior character—men totally ignorant of military duties.....? Should any administration of the government be so unmindful of the interests and honor of the country as to again pursue such a course, it is to be hoped that the sword of political justice will not long slumber in its scabbard." p. 404, note.

This work was placed in the hands of the printer in May, (as it seems from the date of the preface,) and before the end of that month, appointments were made in the new Regiment of Riflemen, which inflicted a far deeper and more severe wound upon the officers of our army, than that already mentioned. Nor could such injustice have been dreamed of by our author, as he penned that note. Rank is the life and soul of the military man. For this he toils, endures and fights. The hope and prospect of future command is all that renders present obedience tolerable. Take away this hope, this prospect, and his life is but a wearisome servitude. The nation which nurtures every element of its military strength, will guard with jealous eye, this laudable object of ambition—the noble incentive of generous minds. How have we done it? The very public journals which contained the news of the brilliant achievements of our little army on the Rio Grande, exhibiting the strongest claim to the gratitude and reward of the country, announced those new appointments, which spoke in loudest language the feelings and views of the administration. Trumpet-tongued, they came to those who yet lay bleeding from wounds received on the battle-field, and crushed forever their hopes of advancement. “You have fought bravely, it is true,” is the language with which they are met; “you have sacrificed the interests of yourselves and families for the honour and glory of your country—all this is fully appreciated, but cannot be rewarded. There are other services, and other favorites to whose claims you must yield. You have spent the youth and manhood of your life, in acquiring the knowledge and practice which fully qualify you for the highest military stations; and the good of your country requires that you should occupy them. Your recent conduct has shown that you have neither studied nor practiced in vain. Your deeds of valor and of skill far exceed the high expectations of your country; but such services, though they stamp respect upon the American name, and terror upon the American arms; though they call forth the unwilling admiration of all Europe, furnish no claim upon your country for reward or advancement. You have only driven the enemy before you on the battle-field, and borne in triumph, against fearful odds, your country’s flag! When have you ever carried dismay and defeat into the ranks of *political* opponents, or

shouted hosannas, as the party flag waved in triumph over a worshipping mob? Where are your friends at court, from whose influence some compensation can be derived, for any gracious act of kindness your services may claim? Political and party contests must be anticipated by patronage, let battles be lost or won as they may." We adduce this instance of a practice ruinous to our military establishment, and unjust to our army, not for the purpose of attacking this administration specially; but as a more recent, and under the peculiar circumstances, more palpable wrong, for which the military department of our government has to answer. The opportunities afforded for the advancement of those who have rendered essential service, and distinguished themselves on the field of battle, are so very few in our country, that our officers can only look to such an occasional increase of our military establishment, for the reward which their services have merited. Now that this is taken from them, what hopes, what prospects have they?

These views and this practice, are to be attributed in a great measure to a want of conviction in the minds of our rulers, that the military art is both comprehensive and complicated, requiring much previous study; and as a consequence, they make that a matter of patronage, which should be left to merit and preparation. We can conceive of no position, which, so much, requires a combination of genius, common sense, general information, and high moral character, as that of commander of an army. The happiness and even lives of thousands, are almost entirely at his disposal. The resources of countries, partially or entirely unknown, are to be explored and made to minister to the wants of his command. The duties of the civil governor must be assumed in countries distant, and unaccustomed to our laws, requiring the exercise of judgment, justice and forbearance. At the decisive moment of a battle, the simultaneous exercise of all the powers of the mind is required, to calculate coolly, the most various combinations, or to turn the tide of battle by his ardor or his genius. Not only daring courage and undaunted firmness, but the most active invention and thorough self-possession, are demanded amidst scenes of tremendous agitation, and under the consciousness that the fate of a whole nation may depend on him alone in the trying moment, requiring the instantaneous conception of great ideas, the highest attribute of genius. In no other posi-

tion is a man required to act so entirely from himself, while he draws information from all ; in no other art or science can errors in theory or experiment produce such melancholy and irretrievable consequences. And yet we are told that no previous preparation is required ! "A naturalist may amuse himself and the public, with false and fanciful theories of the earth ; and a metaphysician may reason very badly on the relations and forms of matter and spirit, without any ill effect, but to make themselves ridiculous. Their blunders but make us merry ; they neither pick our pockets, nor break legs, nor destroy lives ; while those of a general, bring after them evils the most compounded and mischievous ; the slaughter of an army ; the devastation of a state ; the ruin of an empire !" Are not the reasons for requiring instruction and preparation, multiplied and strengthened in proportion as ignorance will be calamitous ? Let the aspirant after military promotion, ponder well his fitness and accomplishments, and not be carried beyond his depth, by a self-satisfied consciousness of his native ability. "Self-respect is one thing, and promotion another. Without the former, no man ever became a good officer ; under the influence of the latter, generals have committed great faults. The former is the necessary result of knowledge ; the latter of ignorance. A man acquainted with his duty, can rarely be placed in circumstances new, surprising, or embarrassing ; a man ignorant of his duty, will always find himself constrained to guess, and not knowing how to be right by system, will often be wrong by chance."

Far be it from us to say, that where our country's power is at stake, or our national soil invaded, none should rally around her standard, but such as have undergone long and systematic preparation. There may be occasions when it becomes the duty of the farmer to leave his plough, the mechanic his tools, the merchant his counter, the physician and the lawyer, his patient and client ; and rush to the field of combat, ready, if need be, to pour out like water, their blood in defence of their country. Without such addition to our forces, we would never be equal to any great emergency. The genius of our political institutions, and certainly the convictions of our people, seem to forbid the maintenance of large standing armies. The founders of our great republic deemed it wiser to rely upon the militia, for the greatest numbers of our force, to meet any

emergency. This decision, so well approved by their posterity, may now be considered a fundamental maxim of our national policy. We would not disturb this decision, nor underrate the value of our militia force. But this very policy renders it the more important that the small force which we keep merely as the embodiment of military knowledge, should be selected with the greatest possible care. Mr. Halleck does not exclude the militia from his plan of national defence. So far from it, the principal object of the work before us, is to furnish them with such general principles, as will more readily reconcile them to instruction and discipline, when their services shall be required. Above the contracted prejudices against militia, which are too often attributed to the officers of our army, he defends them, in manly and fearless language, from the attacks which have been made upon them in every war in which we have been engaged. But he contends that their proper places should be assigned them, and shows the enormous expense and inconvenience, which must result from relying on them for campaigns. They cannot take the place of regular troops. After alluding to various instances in which disgrace has been brought upon our arms by the want of discipline and efficiency in our militia, the author says :

"But there is another side to this picture. If our militia have frequently failed to maintain their ground when drawn up in the open field, we can point with pride to their brave and successful defence of Charleston, Mobile, New-Orleans, Fort McHenry, Stonington, Niagara, Plattsburgh, in proof of what may be accomplished by militia in connection with fortifications.

"These examples from our history most fully demonstrate the great value of a militia force when properly employed as a defence against invasion, and ought to silence the sneers of those, who would abolish this arm of the service as utterly useless. In the open field militia cannot in general be manœuvred to advantage; whereas, in the defence of fortified places, their superior intelligence and activity not unfrequently render them even more valuable than regulars. And in reading the severe strictures of Washington, Greene, Morgan, and others, upon our militia, it must be remembered that they were at that time, entirely destitute of important works of defence; and the experience of all other nations, as well as our own, has abundantly shown that a newly raised force cannot cope, *in the open field*, with the subordinate and disciplined. Here *science* must determine the contest. Habits of strict obedience, and of simultaneous and united action, are indispensable to carry out what the higher principles of the military profession require. New and undisciplined forces are often confounded at the evolutions, and strategic and tac-

tical combinations of a regular army, and lose all confidence in their leaders and in themselves. But, when placed behind a breastwork, they even overrate their security. They can then look coolly upon the approaching columns, and unmoved by glittering armor and bristling bayonets, will exert all their skill in the use of their weapons. The superior accuracy of aim which the American has obtained by practice from his early youth, has enabled our militia to gain, under the protection of military works, victories as brilliant as the most veteran troops. The moral courage necessary to await an attack behind a parapet, is at least equal to that exerted in the open field, where *movements* generally determine the victory. To watch the approach of an enemy, to see him move up and display his massive columns, his long array of military equipments, his fascines and scaling-ladders, his instruments of attack and the professional skill with which he wields them, to hear the thunder of his batteries spreading death all around, and to repel, hand to hand, those tremendous assaults, which stand out in all their horrible relief upon the canvass of modern warfare, requires a heart at least as brave as the professional warrior exhibits in the pitched battle." pp. 148-9.

We have chosen to let the author speak here at some length, both on account of the importance of the subject discussed, and because we consider his views the most rational and practical we have any where seen expressed, in reference to this branch of military polity. Some estimates taken from our own war department are given here, by which it appears that the cost per man of a militia force, is nearly double that of a regular force, sent on the same service, for the space of six months.

These are questions which concern, not only the citizen who wishes to buckle on his armor at the call of his country; but all who have voices in the legislation of our country, and to whose hands is committed the destiny of the nation, should study thoroughly the relations of war with the affairs of state.

In ancient times, and in the middle ages, when wars were undertaken merely for ambition, or to try the strength and skill of two contending armies, battles were the only objects to which the attention of the commanding general was directed. Then the combatants often met on a field selected by agreement, and upon challenge given and accepted; and the personal bravery of the troops, with a knowledge of the evolutions on the field, were the only elements which entered into a calculation of failure of success. But in our time, such trifling with human life is done away. Battles are not the objects sought after by war, though they are generally the necessary result of such a

state. Wars are now proclaimed and carried on for the real or pretended interests of a nation ; and only such means are considered justifiable, as tend directly to effect the object in view. The successful and honorable termination of the state of war, and not the mere gaining a victory, is the legitimate end and aim of modern states and modern generals. If this end can be attained without a battle fought, or a life sacrificed, so much the more consistent with the feelings of humanity, and the principles of religion and morality. If, by taking possession of important positions, and directing our grand operations with skill and science, we so cripple the enemy as to gain our object, with the least possible waste of blood and treasure on either side, we are pursuing with the most exactness, as well the promptings of conscience, as the rule of modern civilization. This demonstrates not only the value of, but the obligation devolved upon nations, to cultivate the higher branches of the military profession ; and to preserve in its greatest perfection the science of strategy—"the most important, though least understood of all the branches of the military art." Not the mere skilful use of tricks, by which some advantage may be gained, as is frequently meant in common parlance ; but strategy in its technical military sense—"the art of directing masses on decisive points, or the hostile movements of armies beyond the reach of each others cannon." It differs from tactics in this : that strategy refers to the theatre of war ; tactics to the field of battle. Strategy regards the general plans of a campaign ; tactics the evolutions in the face of the enemy : strategy shows the causes which bring armies together, and produce battles, without any agreement between the parties ; tactics, the rules for insuring a successful issue to the battle, when the armies are so brought together.

It needs but little reflection to satisfy us, that in order to make a battle result most advantageously to ourselves, and destructive to the enemy, we should select the field on which it is to be fought, so as to give us command of a strategic point, the possession of which will give us peculiar strength and facilities, with reference to our enemy ; and on the other hand, it is obvious, that great battles may be fought, against fearful odds, and brilliant victories won, yet if the strong positions of the seat of war still remain in the hands of the enemy, the mere slaughter of his troops, in whatever

numbers, will not necessarily ensure the ultimate success of our operations. To illustrate this position ; suppose the United States to determine on offensive operations against Canada, how many pitched battles might be fought, and brilliant victories won, along our land frontier, and how much blood and treasure sacrificed, without any decisive result, so long as the British retain possession of Quebec, Montreal, and the other strong holds of their provinces ? And, on the other hand, the capture of these important positions, with their commerce and their fortifications, though such capture may have been effected without the discharge of a single gun, or the loss of a single life, would give us complete control of the entire country. Unless therefore, tactics be kept subordinate to strategy, the most skilful evolutions and noble daring on the field of battle, while they may win some laurels for the victors, will scarcely advance the nation a single step in the attainment of its ends.

“Not unfrequently the results of a campaign depend more upon the strategic operations of an army, than upon its victories gained in actual combat. Tactics, or movements within the range of enemy's cannon, is therefore subordinate to the *choice of positions*. If the field of battle be properly chosen, success will be decisive, and the loss of the battle not disastrous ; whereas, if selected without reference to the principles of the science, the victory, if gained, might be barren, and defeat, if suffered, totally fatal ; thus demonstrating the truth of Napoleon's maxim, that success is oftener due to the genius of the general, and the nature of the theatre of war, than to the number and bravery of the soldiers. (Maxim 17, 18.)

“We have a striking illustration of this, in the French army of the Danube, which, from the left wing of Gen. Kray, marched rapidly through Switzerland to the right extremity of the Austrian line, ‘and by this movement alone, conquered all the country between the Rhine and the Danube, without pulling a trigger.’

“Again in 1805, the army of Mack was completely paralyzed, and the main body forced to surrender, at Ulm, without a single important battle. In 1806, the Prussians were essentially defeated before the battle of Jena. The operations about Heilesburg in 1807, the advance upon Madrid in 1808, the manœuvres about Ratisbon in 1809, the operations of the French in 1814, and the first part of the campaign of 1815, against vastly superior numbers, are all familiar proofs of the truth of the maxim.” p. 58.

Whoever will study attentively the campaigns of Napoleon, not merely for the purpose of pursuing thrilling incidents, tracing brilliant achievements, or gratifying curiosity ; but with the more enlarged and praiseworthy view of un-

derstanding the perfect system by which the grand operations of his armies were governed, cannot fail to be convinced that strategy is indeed a science, requiring the highest order of talent, and the most laborious study for its perfect comprehension. It will readily be perceived, too, that Napoleon did not rely upon the efforts of his unaided genius, but was a thorough master of all the technical branches of military science, and conducted his campaigns upon what are now the best received rules of the art. The principles of strategy are not the mere abstractions of the recluse, but the results of experience. The science does not consist now of the mere calculation of lines and triangles, as Bulow in his work on the art of war would have made it ; but since the writings of Jomini have made their appearance, conveying those practical lessons taught by the campaigns of Frederick the Great and Napoleon, it has assumed altogether a different phasis, and its rules cannot be neglected, without the most disastrous consequences.

It may not be out of place here to notice what we conceive to be a great error in the military department of our government, which frequently deprives us of any benefit, which we might derive from the strategic manœuvres of our generals. By our constitution, the President is "commander-in-chief of the army and navy," with full power, of course, through the respective secretaries, to direct their movements as he may think best. To carry out the theory of our government, and make the military subordinate to the civil power, this authority must have been vested in the chief magistrate of the nation. But neither our President nor his secretaries, were expected by the framers of the constitution, to lead our armies on the field, or command our ships on the ocean. If they are not capable of commanding armies in the field, they certainly should not attempt the higher professional duty of directing the grand operations of a campaign. Whether an army shall be marched to defend or attack a particular frontier ; whether public policy demand it ; or the laws of nations justify it ; these, and the like questions are political, and ought to be decided by the civil authorities of the country. But if this army is to be sent, what shall be its strength, and the relative proportions of the different arms of service composing it, to effect the object in view ? By what route shall it be marched, and upon what point shall the main attack be directed,

or what position taken to ensure its defence? By what means and from what directions shall the different divisions of this army, receive supplies, and munitions of war? These are strictly military questions, and should never be decided without, at least, the concurrence of the general, on whom the responsibility of the campaign is to rest. The decision of all such questions as these by the President and Secretary of War, has cramped the operations of our generals in every war in which we have been engaged, affording them occasional opportunities to perform evolutions on the field, but never to avail themselves of those splendid combinations, and ingenious manœuvres, rendered possible by the better organization of modern armies; placing them in positions where they can fight battles, but taking it out of their power to bring the war to a successful termination.

This interference was severely felt in the opening of the last war with Great Britain, and many of the disasters which attended the early campaigns can be traced to this cause. But we need no better illustration of its injurious effects than is to be found in the "army of occupation" under General Taylor. It is a well known fact that this little army was directed entirely by the President and Secretary, in its strength and the proportions of the corps comprising it,—the positions it should occupy—the manner in which it should be supplied, and its entire equipment. And what has been the consequence? Two battles have been fought against fearful odds, in which the skill and bravery of our troops have far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of their admiring countrymen, and yet we have gained nothing thus far. Had General Taylor been furnished with a "bridge equipage" agreeably to his requisition, by which he could have crossed the Rio Grande immediately, and two more squadrons of cavalry to pursue the victories he had gained, he would have captured the entire Mexican force opposed to him, and brought the war to a speedy close. But crippled as he was, the brilliant victories of the 8th and 9th May, were without any decisive result; and aside from the moral effect upon the victors and the vanquished, have accomplished nothing for the United States.

The duty of the state to preserve the art of war in its greatest perfection, does not stop here. We may have an army well organized and equipped; a body of officers thoroughly educated, scientific, accomplished and brave, who

can call the principles of strategy or tactics to their aid, at a moment's warning; a government ready to make the proper dispositions of the regular and militia force. But a science without the materials on which its rules and discoveries are to operate, can avail us nothing. And if we recognize the obligation to accomplish the objects of a war, by the means which will require the least expenditure of blood and treasure, whenever a wall of masonry, or a mound of earth will answer the same purpose as a solid phalanx of human beings, we are bound, by every consideration of patriotism and philanthropy, to make use of the former, instead of the latter. Fortifications then become an important element in the means of national defence. And as we are sometimes called upon to overcome this means of defence in the hands of the enemy, as well as to make use of it ourselves, as an auxiliary to our own operations, the whole subject of military engineering or "the art of so disposing the ground, as to enable a small number of troops to resist a large army the longest possible time; and also the means resorted to by the opposing army to overcome these material obstacles," becomes one of vital importance to the strength and security of a state.

If there are strategic points, the possession of which is of the utmost importance to each of the contending armies, and may determine instantly the result of an entire campaign, the principles of the military art already alluded to, require that these should be guarded by such barriers, as to place them beyond danger from any ordinary attack. The possession of one of our largest sea ports, for instance, would give an incalculable advantage to an enemy,—with its treasure for his sustenance, and its harbour in which his ships could be moored in safety. The loss of a battle in a barren and unimportant position, with no subsistence for his troops, and no harbour for his ships, is not to be weighed for a moment against such a gain as this. Hence the great importance attached to the permanent defences of our sea coast, not for the protection merely of the inhabitants of those cities, or their individual property, but as positions all important to the nation, and constantly sought after by a vigilant enemy. The construction, attack, and defence of these strong holds, form one of the most interesting and complicated branches of military knowledge, requiring for its mastery, a thorough acquaintance with all the exact and

experimental sciences. If we neglect to preserve this knowledge among us, in its greatest perfection, our important works must again be thrown into the hands of foreign adventurers, and be constructed, as many of our older works now are, in violation of the first principles of the art. The almost defenceless condition of our coast, presents a picture of weakness and short-sightedness, which is truly melancholy.

It is not only for the protection of an exposed frontier, but also to assist the operations of an army in the field, that fortifications should be resorted to. Depots for the supply of an army, on the base of operations,—places of refuge in case of defeat, and for the sick and wounded,—positions of great temporary importance during a campaign, or even a battle; all these require to be guarded with more than ordinary care, and protected by more than natural barriers. Those barbarous days are gone, when the object of a war was to exterminate the entire population of a country. Now, our object is to cripple the energies of our enemy, either by getting possession of his strong holds, or by requiring him to waste his strength, in ineffectual attempts to dislodge us from ours, and thus force him to do us justice. The advantage, which may be gained by delaying the operations of an army for a single day, often saves an army from sudden destruction, determines the result of a campaign, and settles the destiny of a state.

"In all military operations, time is of vast importance. If a single division of an army can be retarded, for a few hours only, it not unfrequently decides the fate of a campaign. Had the approach of Blucher been delayed a few hours, Napoleon must have been victorious at the battle of Waterloo." The interposition of a temporarily fortified place, obstinately defended during these few hours, would have accomplished this object, and changed the result of one of the greatest events of modern times!

The author has discussed this subject with great zeal and ability, in the work before us, and illustrated his positions by numerous examples from history, and especially from the wars of Napoleon. Had we time and space, we would give him an opportunity to be heard. Passing by all his illustrations, however, we will refer to a more recent, and to an American, the proudest example to be adduced, of the power and efficiency of fortified places. We allude to the

defence of Fort Brown on the Rio Grande. Here was a little body of seven hundred men, doing battle with an enemy of six thousand around and about them. Time, until the main body of the army should return, was all-important; and this little field-work, thrown up for the emergency, with the scanty materials and defective implements at hand, stood a bombardment of seven successive days, against such fearful odds; and with a very trifling loss, held its position, until the enemy was put to flight by the advance of a strong reinforcement. It was the triumph of science over mere brute force; of the educated few, over the ignorant mass; and has reflected more credit on our arms, more glory on our national escutcheon, than the slaughter of thousands of our enemies in the open field!

As incidental to this subject of fortifications, the special application of these principles to the particular defences required in our country, is dwelt upon at some length by the author. But we will detain our readers on but one subject more—the contests between ships and forts—and as this is a subject now much agitated, and may soon become one of great practical importance to our country, we will let the author speak for himself.

“Let us suppose a fair trial of this relative strength. The fort is to be properly constructed and in good repair; its guns in a position to be used with effect; its garrison skilful and efficient; its commander capable and brave. The ship is of the very best character, and in perfect order; the crew disciplined and courageous; its commander skilful and adroit; the wind, and tide, and sea—all as could be desired.* The numbers of the garrison and crew are to be no more than requisite, with no unnecessary exposure of human life to swell the lists of the slain. The issue of this contest, unless attended with extraordinary and easily distinguishable circumstances, would be a fair test of their relative strength.

“What result should we anticipate from the nature of the contending forces? The ship, under the circumstances we have supposed, can choose her point of attack, selecting the one she may deem the most vulnerable; but she herself is every where vulnerable; her men and guns are much concentrated, and consequently much exposed. But in the fort the guns and men are more distributed, a fort with an interior area of several acres not having a garrison as large as the crew of a seventy-four gun ship. All parts of the vessel are liable to injury; while the fort offers but a small mark,—the opening of the embrasures, a small part of the carriage, and now

* These conditions for a battery are easily satisfied, but for the ship, are partly dependent on the elements, and seldom to be wholly attained.

and then a head or arm raised above the parapet,—the ratio of exposed surfaces being not less than twenty to one. In the vessel, the guns are fired from an oscillating deck, and the balls go at random; in the fort, the guns are fired from an immovable platform, and the balls reach their object with unerring aim. There is always more or less motion in the water, so that the ship's guns, though accurately pointed at one moment, at the next, will be thrown entirely away from the object, even when the motion is too slight to be otherwise noticed; whereas, in the battery, the guns will be fired just as they are pointed; and the motion of the vessel will merely vary to the extent of a few inches the spot in which the shot is received. In the fort, the men and guns are behind impenetrable walls of stone and earth; in the vessel they are behind frail bulwarks, whose splinters are equally destructive with the shot. The fort is incombustible; while the ship may readily be set on fire by incendiary projectiles. The ship has many points exposed that may be called vital points. By losing her rudder, or portions of her rigging, or of her spars, she may become unmanagable, and unable to use her strength; she may receive shots under water, and be liable to sink; she may receive hot shot, and be set on fire; these damages are in addition to those of having her guns dismounted and her people killed by shots that pierce her sides and scatter splinters from her timbers; while the risks of the battery are confined to those mentioned above—namely, the risk that the gun, the carriage, or the men may be struck." pp. 162-3-4.

These deductions are abundantly fortified by the opinions of military writers, and the facts of history; and we commend to the attention of the reader, the admirable summary of them given by the author, together with an examination in detail of the few instances of any note, in which it has been pretended that ships have gained the advantage over forts, viz.: the attack on Copenhagen in 1801; the passage of the Dardanelles in 1807; the attack on Algiers in 1806; the attack on San Juan D'Ulloa in 1838; and the attack on St. Jean d'Acre in 1840; showing conclusively, that from the peculiar circumstances attending these, they cannot be relied upon as precedents for the future.

Our chief object has been to attract attention to the little volume we have been noticing; and incidentally, we have discussed some subjects not embraced by the author. As we are particularly desirous of impressing upon our readers the duty of a State to preserve the art of war in its highest perfection; and to convince them that this art is "both comprehensive and complicated, requiring much previous study," and connected with so many other sciences, as to require the maintenance of a separate profession for that purpose, we have left untouched several instructing

and important topics in the work before us. The subjects of army organization—the different orders of battle—the peculiar duties of the staff and the line—of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers, all receive their share of attention from the author; but we have passed them over, both because they are topics more exclusively for the profession, and because, they are not so liable to be affected by the erroneous views of the community at large.

It is time for our remarks on these subjects to be brought to a close. The period when this knowledge will be called into requisition must arrive,—has already arrived. Our people must mourn over the losses which might be prevented by a proper attention to the defences of our country; and our aspirants after military glory, will be satisfied that plumes and epaulettes, and even a knowledge of the words of command necessary for facing, wheeling, and firing, do not make the general. Our distance from the old world, and the peculiar circumstances of our position, may have enabled us to adhere, with few interruptions, to our pacific policy. But neither the lessons of experience, the dictates of reason, nor the more sure word of prophecy, justify us in supposing that those principles of justice and benevolence, which are to secure the reign of universal peace, have yet been widely enough diffused. The earth must yet be shaken by bloody and desolating wars. The thunders and tornadoes of the moral world must first purify the noxious elements, before we can expect the clear and auspicious heavens to be ushered in, and if this "scourge of nations" must visit us in its turn, it becomes not only a wise precaution, but a high moral duty, to make due preparation for it. And by availing ourselves of the humanizing and pacific influences of learning, as applied to the military art, we are contributing not a little to the "restoration of the empire of mind, over mere brute force." Every great discovery has a life-saving and peace-promoting influence, and by perfecting ourselves in its use and applications, we are taking another step towards the "true grandeur of nations."

ART. VIII.—MR. CALHOUN AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

1. *Mr. Calhoun's Report on the Memphis Memorial.* 1846.
2. *Mr. Polk's Veto of the River and Harbor Bill* 1846.
3. *Mr. Rhett's Speech on the River & Harbor Bill.* 1846.
4. *Mr. Woodward's Speech on the River and Harbor Bill.* 1846.

VERY great interest was excited in South-Carolina, immediately after the adjournment of the Memphis Convention, concerning the part taken by her distinguished senator, Mr. Calhoun, in the extraordinary measures proposed by that convention for the consideration of Congress. Upon the publication of the proceedings of the convention and the speech of the President, it is difficult to say, whether South-Carolina received it, with more surprise or sorrow.

Proud of their distinguished fellow-citizen and of their own long tried adherence to principle, many of her best citizens received the accounts, with the deepest mortification; many with incredulity. Some were struck dumb; while the great majority were desirous to delay any conclusion, until some more full report could be obtained. As in all cases, where the course of an eminent man is involved, not a few, blindfolded, were willing to venture in the dark, in pursuit of the leader, so indispensable to their movements. It appeared as though, by some great revolution of politics,—some convulsion of nature, or discovery of art,—the noble river of the West, proud of her thousand steamers laden with the products of the finest valley of the world, was scorning longer to rank with the common streams, or creeks, or fluvial currents of vulgar earth, resolved to burst her banks and spreading herself over her luxurious shores, to be proclaimed by *hocus* or by *pocus*, a great, new-found, "inland sea."

"The troubled surface, by the motion stirred,
Spreads in a second circle, then, a third;
Wide and more wide, the floating rings advance,
Fill all the watery plain, and to the margin dance."

Some more faithful than discreet, "formed like wax, and moulded as you please," ventured to declare, that if not, already

"An inland sea,
It soon would be."

The bolder and more resolute, fearing very properly, that the nation would be led, from the course of so influential a citizen, to suppose, that Carolina had abandoned her long cherished opinions, and desired, by assuming those which were more fashionable in the great world, to be introduced into better company than she had kept for some years past, thought it prudent and timely, that the State should again declare her determination, to remain in the republican family,—that good old State rights, strict construing generation. There were others, and the majority, who thought it better, to lay upon the table for a time, the reputation of the State, rather than that of her great Senator. In this dilemma, of all the newspapers of the State, the "Charleston Mercury" alone, we believe, came to the rescue of her reputation, and boldly opposed the wishes and declarations of Mr. Calhoun at the Memphis Convention. The spirited communications in that paper, which were much commended by the editor, will not soon be forgotten. Speaking of these proposed vast improvements in the Mississippi, the writer says:

"But the 3d resolution affords us an extremely awkward inducement to the conclusion which the resolution propounds. 'Such improvements are deemed by this convention impracticable by the States or individual enterprise, and call for the appropriation of money for the same, by the General Government.' Is it because these measures are impracticable by the States or individual enterprise, that this call is made on the Government? If the improvements fall within the duties belonging to the government, nothing is easier than to ascertain it. *If they do not come within the powers of the government, will the impracticability of State or individual enterprise carry them there?* Why not put the matter into plain English, and say the State cannot do it, *ergo* the government must. The proposition in its unvarnished condition, would not be a whit more abhorrent to the principles of States rights, and would be far more intelligible. Let any considerate man pause and ask himself this question. If the principles of the 2d and 3d resolutions are true, how many other objects will claim the attention of the government, identical in principle, and varying only in degree? If these are objects of a national character, how many others that are now pressing into public notice, will not present claims equally strong? It is not long since we projected a gigantic scheme of communicating directly with Cincinnati. The minds and pockets of our own people and of our neighbors were taxed to accomplish the purpose. Its advantages in war, would have been great—its aid to our commerce immense—it was impracticable either by the State or by individuals; it failed, and its failure induced great loss. Did not this road come within the principle of these resolutions? But did it ever enter our heads to petition Congress to construct this for us, as a national road!

"In fact there is scarcely a single resolution which does not propose a measure utterly opposed to our often disclosed principles on the nature and extent of the authority of the government in cases of internal improvements. But there are still one or two more of these resolutions, in our judgment so palpably unconstitutional, that we can scarce repress our surprise at their adoption, in a convention distinctly disclaiming an intention to trench on constitutional grounds, and where the deliberations were regulated by a distinguished statesman whose opinions on this subject, it was supposed would admit of no change. Yet in the 13th resolution, a city in the State of Missouri, built upon the Mississippi river, is transferred from the care of the State of Missouri to that of the federal government. Why? is the natural question. Because, says the resolution, the object proposed is "of public utility—national character, and entirely beyond the ability of Missouri to accomplish." Is the city of St. Louis more an object of public utility or national character, than any other city in the Union? In fact is not every city in the Union of public utility and national character? But is it not the very acme of latitudinarian construction to hold *therefore*, that one or all of the cities in the several States can be appropriately presented to Congress, as proper objects for its aid and protection? It is not the case of a bar to be deepened, it is not the matter of legislation upon the sea, an object of legislation belonging to the General Government, but the removal of certain obstructions in a river, the purpose being in aid of a city belonging to one of the States of this Union.

"It may be probably in our power, in the course of a short time, to take up the matter again. But before these remarks are closed, let us ask, in what shape or manner can he be called a strict constructionist, or opponent of the system of internal improvement as supported by the whig party—who supports these propositions? But it is not only in opposition to one of our declared opinions on the subject of internal improvements, that we now stand, but if we value consistency, we must now cease our opposition to a high tariff. We have gone for an economical administration of the government—but we go for improvements, "*cost what they may!*" We have done all, but dissolve the Union, in our opposition to the tariff regulations—now we support a call for expenditure, to which there is no limit, and fasten upon the country a system, which demands the continuance and probably the increase of its duties, to defray the expenses it must produce. We profess to be not altogether satisfied with Mr. Polk's opinion on the tariff; verily we will find it difficult to argue the impolicy of that measure hereafter.

"Now we say these are radical changes. There is no whig in the United States, who does not hail these as congenial doctrines. Have *they* changed, or have *we*? And as we have changed, why is it? What new light has burst upon us? A decent respect for ourselves, seems to require, that if we are to face about, we should know the reason of the movement. If a proper pride support us, we will understand it fully.

Men at some time are masters of their fate;
The fault dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

We think that we shall be able to show, that there is not a point in Mr. Calhoun's report, upon which he bases his change of opinion, if we may be allowed so to call it, which is not recognized, met, and answered, by the *Mercury's* correspondent. Long before Mr. Calhoun's report was published, so soon in fact, as the proceedings of the Memphis Convention became public, it was known that Mr. Calhoun then thought, that the discovery and effect of steam navigation was to convert the Mississippi into an inland sea, whereby the jurisdiction of Congress over the commerce of the seas, was to be extended over it, as a component part thereof. It was equally understood at the same time, that Mr. Calhoun was of opinion, that under the authority in Congress to regulate commerce among the several States, the inability of the States to the task of the improvement of the Mississippi, conferred competent jurisdiction upon Congress. By the extracts just given, we have seen that such opinion was known and refuted. How then could the *Mercury*, or any one concurring with it, on the appearance of the report, yield its approbation, without one new reason or argument being advanced? For, granting even, that Mr. Calhoun were right in the opinion therein expressed, that under the constitution, only one State can compact with another; this would be only adding proof of the incapacity of the States, but brings nothing to the weight of the argument in favor of such incapacity giving power to the government. Admitting the incapacity,—the *Mercury* could still not understand, at the period of the articles to which we have referred, how it could give its support to Mr. Calhoun. The difficulty seems however to have vanished, when after the publication of the report it says, in giving in its adhesion:

"Of one thing we think all the friends of Mr. Calhoun have a right to complain, viz. that he should have left us so long in doubt as to the grounds of the opinions he announced in the Memphis Convention. We confess to have partaken of the surprise and dissatisfaction widely felt, on the annunciation of these opinions. He ought not, it seems to us, to have avowed conclusions heretofore identified in opinion with the general doctrine of internal improvement, unless where he had opportunity to vindicate them from such connections, and thus relieve his position from all doubt and all chances of misconstruction. As one of his friends, we rejoice that we can now understand and support him. A more masterly exposition of the constitution has never been made, even by himself, than this report contains."

We have referred to the course of the "Mercury," because it is a paper, having considerable influence in the Southern country, and particularly in South-Carolina, and is likely to spread error to a considerable extent. We do not doubt, that the editor has been honestly led to change his opinion. He had the honesty and boldness to avow his dissent in the first instance, and it required neither more nor less, to acknowledge, at a subsequent period, his change of opinion. Our object in referring to the former course of this paper, was therefore not with the view of reflecting upon it for inconsistency, but to show that Mr. Calhoun's report really and in fact, presents no new views at all; that there are no sufficient or sound reasons for giving to that report, an assent which had been denied to the positions, taken in his Memphis speech; and it does seem to us that our quotations from the "Mercury," prove what we advance.

This brings us to the specific examination of the report, as containing the expression of the more deliberate and full considered opinion of Mr. Calhoun, on this important subject.

Mr. Calhoun proceeds to state the objects of the Memphis Convention in their order:

"Of these several objects, the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi, including its great navigable tributaries, is by far the most important, and has accordingly received their particular attention. That great stream is the channel through which, by the aid of steam, *cheap and speedy transit and intercourse are affected*, not only between all parts of its immense valley, but also between it and the rest of the Union and the commercial world. And to this *cheap and speedy transit and intercourse* are to be attributed, even more than to its fertile soil and great resources, its almost miraculous increase in population, wealth, and improvement. So great have they been, that what, sixty years ago was one vast region, with little exception, of forest and prairies, over which a few hundred thousand savages wandered, has now a population but little less than nine millions, with great and flourishing cities, abounding in opulence, refined in manners, and possessed of all the comforts and even elegancies of old and polished communities."

At the threshold, then, of this report, we have it stated, that "the Mississippi, including its great navigable tributaries," is at present in the enjoyment of a "*cheap and speedy transit and intercourse*," "not only between all parts of its immense valley, but also between it and the rest of the Union, and the commercial world;" of a value so important

as to have attributed to this, "even more than its fertile soil and great resources, its almost miraculous increase in population, wealth and improvement."

We confess it does seem a strange pretension on the part of the States, included in this immense valley of nine millions of people, already possessed of this *cheap and speedy* transit and intercourse, and which has already produced results in their favor, superior to the advantages belonging to any other class of States,—that they should come forward as mendicants to Congress, to have their very great advantages made still greater, at the expense of their poorer neighbors; and also to be set apart as a favored portion of the Union, for whose benefit the constitution is to confer exclusive privileges, denied to all others. But, since the administrations of Mr. Monroe and of Mr. J. Q. Adams, so thoroughly has the United States been imbued, with the spirit of class and sectional legislation, that nothing ought to surprise us so much, as a continuous and vigorous adherence to the legitimate objects of the General Government. This characteristic abandonment, to the interested rapacity of a majority of sectional interests, has tended more to depreciate the character of American institutions in Europe, than any contrast, with the tyranny of the old world, has contributed to elevate it. This contrast has not proved so great an assistance to the advocates of freedom there, as had been most flatteringly anticipated some few years since. The example of America is not now quoted once, in the political discussions of Europe, where it was cited a hundred times, ten or fifteen years since. A distinguished British review of last July, predicts that equal and fair legislation will never have place in the United States, until the preferred and protected classes "begin to fall out among themselves, and cease to make a common prey of others, and are found to do more harm to one another than to the public,—then, and not till then, will their schemes of plunder be relaxed or abandoned;" verifying the truth of the old proverb, that when rogues fall out, honest men come to their rights.

To heap blessings upon blessings, to increase our "commerce foreign and domestic," our "herds and flocks," our "elegant mansions," our cities and towns, our agriculture, our villages, our "natural parks and extensive lawns," give us, says Mr. Clay, a protective tariff; drive out the competition of foreigners; "*our navigation is fully and profitably*

employed.”* No, says Mr. Calhoun, spend millions on the Mississippi and its tributaries, for though your blessings are great, and your means of transit and intercourse between yourselves and with the whole world are cheap and speedy, yet, we will make them still cheaper and better. The mode of legislation may be different, but the end is the same. Mr. Woodward, in his speech on the Harbor and River bill, has well said :

“The bill has brought into coalition the whigs, who go for a general system of internal improvements, and a large body of western democrats, who go for the improvement of the Mississippi and its tributaries. The policy of both I look upon as abominable ; but if we *must* have the one or the other, give me the whig system, which treats all the States alike, and distributes the bounties of government equally among them ; while this new-fangled doctrine of western democrats, puts all the money into their own pockets.” “I address myself to my own friends upon this new project of theirs—a sprout that can never flourish except by being grafted on the old federal stock. What greater claims has the Mississippi upon this government, than other smaller rivers this side of the mountains ? Ours, for the most part, are humble and unimportant streams ; yours is a glorious and magnificent one. You are, in this respect, blessed of Providence beyond all people on the face of the earth. But because you are the favorites of Providence, shall you therefore be made the pets of government ? If this government possessed the creative faculty to make rivers, where there were none before, and the people of our interior high countries, who have to trudge with cumbersome wagons over mountains, through bogs and swamps, in mud and water, to get their little produce to market, should call on this government to make them rivers, there would be something of reason or fitness in the application. It would be the weak appealing to the strong ; the poor, to the rich. But with what grace can you, who have the finest river upon earth, claim tribute from those who have none at all, to make yours still better than it is ? Why should you, who have all, ‘take from those who have little, even that which they have ?’ If you are determined to depart from the rule of the constitution, substitute, in lieu thereof, the rule of the Holy Scriptures : do a generous and charitable act. You who are blessed with navigable waters, join together and make rail-ways for those who can never have rivers.

“Sir, this new doctrine for the great river of the West, is only another instance of the tendency of government, in all things, to make the rich, richer, and the poor, poorer. It derives its whole force from the impression, which grand and imposing objects, both in the moral and physical world, make upon the imaginations of men. If an humble mechanic should present himself at that door and ask permission to enter this hall, your doorkeeper would laugh in his face.

* Mr. Clay’s Speech of 1824.

But if a person of wealth and great consideration in society, should make the same request, the doorkeeper would stagger in the act of refusal; and you would all feel that there was something of propriety in the request. If an individual, though of the best credit and undoubted probity, should solicit us to receive his printed promissory note as money, we should all doubt whether he were in his right mind. But if a joint-stock company of individuals, under the name of a *bank*, should make a similar proposal, we could hardly find it in our hearts to refuse. Just so, in regard to the matter under consideration; our rivers are small and detached, unsustained by each other; your Mississippi, is a joint company of many rivers: and it is therefore, that it claims to stand alone, and occupy a high place in the temple of the constitution. Why, sir, should the humbler rivers, on this side of the mountains, be made to bend the knee, as it were, to this monarch river of the West? The prerogatives claimed by gentlemen, are just such as are exacted by selfishness, joined with conscious dignity and power, the world over. And the concessions, we are so prompt to make to these demands, spring from that sentiment of slavery which, too, seems to have a place among the instincts of the human heart."

Say that it will greatly benefit the commerce of that section, will not the commerce of all pay for it? Are not all the States interested in the commerce of all the rivers? The States have agreed how far they will contribute for the common good;—if you step beyond the limits of that agreement, it comes to the same thing, whether you take from the consumer to contribute to the local interest of a class at the North, or a class at the West. That the right to plunder has been given to one for years, is no reason now, for giving it to another, unless, as in the republic of *A*, (wittily described by Mr. Bastiat,) you partition out equally the roads and highways of the nation, that each and every one, may have his district to plunder, and thereby save the expense of collection and distribution.* It is Bishop Warburton, we believe, who said, "Orthodoxy is my Doxy, and Heterodoxy is your Doxy." This is often, as true in politics, as in religion.

The heart of every true American,—indeed every heart that beats for the growing blessings and the improvement of the condition of the human race, must rejoice at the account of the rich commerce, and the innumerable benefits which, nature and industry have heaped and are still heaping upon this happy valley, but neither its prosperity nor its

* See our last number, page 223.

wants can have weight in the interpretation of the constitution.

Mr. C. next proceeds to give an account of the dangers and losses incident to the navigation of the Mississippi :

"It is obstructed," he says, *"not only by obstacles common to almost all streams,—shoals and sand bars—but its channel is thick set, in many places and for a long distance, with trunks of trees called snags,"* "and what adds to the danger, many have their points so far below the surface as not to be visible."

If the Mississippi were subject, only to the dangers and obstacles common to the rivers of the United States, we presume no one would think of placing it in a different category from the others. Common sense and common justice would put them upon the same footing. Now we should be glad to know what Southern or Western river, (we speak not of the Northern, because our knowledge of them is not so intimate,) has not its snags and its logs? Are the rivers of Texas, of Alabama, of Florida, Georgia, or Carolina, free from them? Have there been no boats lost on these rivers, and have the insurance companies of these States never felt the evils resulting from logs and snags? Ask their lawyers and their common carriers. They can answer. "All its other obstructions," says Mr. Calhoun, "are common to other streams." Oh! but the losses are so great! Let an estimate be made of the losses of other rivers and other navigation, by sea or by river; calculate the proportion; apportion off the funds of the government, ratably to the commerce and losses of every river of every State,—and this, if not constitutional, will at least be *justice* and *equality*. But, "here are ports and harbours to be entered!" Then, by legislation, show no preference of the ports of one State over those of another, under any power, whether to regulate commerce, or to raise revenue. To obtain the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi, by the funds of the government, under the authority to regulate commerce among the States, will you first make *paper ports* on the head waters of the Mississippi, that you may gain the authority, under the pretence of regulating commerce, of removing the snags and other obstacles? Or will you remove only such snags as are not common to other streams?

But to proceed with the report. Mr. Calhoun goes on,

in the third place, to give us some idea of the great extent of the losses spoken of. It is not to the point, we humbly conceive, to embrace in the account, in this connection at least, losses attributable to any other causes than these snags and logs, which Mr. Calhoun supposes not common to other rivers. If snags and logs raise the Mississippi to privileges and rights, above the rivers of other States, and it thereby becomes not figuratively, but legally, the KING OF RIVERS, or attains rank among the seas, (a sort of apotheosis reserved for the political mythology of State-rights men,) then let us look alone to the losses caused by these "king-making Warwick" logs.

It appears, that out of 126 steamboats enrolled at St. Louis and trading with that port during the years 1841 and 1842, 25 were sunk; 20 proved total loss,—16 were sunk by snags;—how many of these proved total loss we are not told; nor are we told whether or not, there was negligence on the part of the commander. Was he drunk or racing? One was lost by log. The whole amount of loss in cargoes and boats was \$876,700, but what proportion appertained to boats lost by snags or logs, we know not. Upon this statement of loss, Mr. Calhoun proceeds to make an estimate of what must be the loss in the whole commerce of the Mississippi and its tributaries. Can any thing be more fallacious, or more likely to mislead than calculations of this sort? The peculiar character of some years,—great or little rains and other causes may increase or diminish the amount of these losses. Is this not the case in all navigation? Mr. C. proceeds to give us "the estimate of the Cincinnati committee," of the amount of losses. We presume the Cincinnati committee, like all other committees raised to advance the interest of a class, did not diminish, rather than exaggerate, the account, and that, if the matter were well sifted in a court of justice, or in any impartial tribunal where the whole evidence, and the truth as to all matters, could be exposed to light, that things might, in some instances bear a different aspect. We know not the name of a single individual who was on that committee, and mean no personal reflections. Our observations are made as to the usual course of committees, and are only intended as the expression of a wise precaution, in lending too much confidence to such statements. These observations apply not less to the statement of the extent of the

commerce on the river, as given by Mr. Calhoun, than to the account of losses sustained by the boats trading with St. Louis, in the evidence furnished to the secretary of the treasury, and which we have already stated.

The Cincinnati committee states that :

"Between the 11th of September and the 15th of October in the present year (1843) the losses on the Mississippi, between St. Louis and the mouth of the Ohio, a distance of only 180 miles, were \$234,000. Within the last seventeen months, there have been lost 72 steamboats, worth \$1,200,000, besides their cargoes, which were of great value."

The committee does not state how these boats were lost, whether by ice, explosion, fire, collision, racing, negligence, intention, etc. etc.

"The losses paid by the insurance offices in Cincinnati alone, on boats and cargoes, during a period of five years from November, 1837, to November, 1842, including only the losses by obstructions in the navigation, and excluding all losses by explosion, collision, fire, and other causes, have been \$442,930 89."

This statement furnishes Mr. Calhoun another text, upon which he makes a calculation of immense amount, to which, as he conjectures, the whole losses must amount. Again we repeat, that little reliance can be placed upon such calculations. As another basis for his calculations, he takes the high rates of insurance on these waters. May not this depend much upon the well-known reckless character of the commanders and crews (and even of many of the passengers) engaged in that navigation ?

After making these calculations, all founded on the facts we have stated, Mr. Calhoun proceeds to say :

"That the navigation of the river should be rendered more safe, and that the present heavy loss, and the still heavier which may be anticipated hereafter, with the increase of its commerce, be lessened by the removal of the causes of the danger, if it be practicable, will be readily admitted by all. That the principal causes—snags, logs, and rocks—can be removed in part, or whole, and that their removal would greatly diminish the hazard of its navigation, and facilitate its commerce, is unquestionable. Much, indeed, has been done already, and with highly beneficial results, in removing the greatest, by far, of all the causes of danger—snags—as the following extract from the Cincinnati report will show :

" 'This branch of the subject' (removal of snags) 'has already received the attention of government, and the results of the experiments instituted have been entirely satisfactory. *The snag-boat con-*

structed under the direction of the government has been successful in removing these obstacles at a very trifling expense, and with great facility. The boat is of simple construction, yet has such power that the largest tree, however firmly fixed, is removed in a few minutes. A number of these ingenious vessels were employed for several years with such success, that thousands of snags were removed from the Ohio and Mississippi, the most dangerous places were rendered perfectly safe, and the whole navigation made completely free from this formidable evil. In the year ending in September, 1833, 1,960 snags were taken up from the Mississippi, and the chances of danger diminished by at least that number. The crews of the boats were employed within the same year, when the water was too high to permit their working on the bed of the river, in felling the overhanging trees which stood on banks liable to be undermined, and removed 10,000 trees, which must soon have been precipitated into the current.

"From 1822 to 1826, the loss of property on the Ohio and Mississippi by snags alone, including steam and flat boats, and their cargoes, amounted to \$1,362,500. The losses on the same items from 1827 to 1832 were reduced to \$381,000, in consequence of the beneficial action of the snag-boats; and those losses were still further reduced in the years immediately succeeding by the diligent prosecution of the same service."

Here then the fact appears that, at "a very trifling expense" and with a slight exertion on the part of the States lying either wholly or partially within the valley, or by those alone bordering on the river, the immense losses, spoken of, might, "with great facility," have their causes removed. Not the slightest exertion has been made to sustain operations, which, we repeat, "with great facility" and "with a very trifling expense," might save to these States the great amount of losses mentioned by Mr. Calhoun, or at least, reduce them in the prodigious proportion mentioned above, by the Cincinnati committee. Before this trifling expense was incurred by the General Government, the losses of four years amounted to \$1,362,500, and they were immediately reduced to the sum of \$381,000, for five years! The report says, the losses continued to decrease during the years immediately succeeding these services.

What could cause this apathy on the part of the States immediately interested? Can any one doubt, that the accomplishment of the object, is within the means of the States, bordering on, and owning these rivers? Let them remember the advice of Hercules to the wagoner, and put their own shoulder to the wheel before they call for help! But it is vain to summon a people, which has allowed itself to become so dependent on the central power, to make any

great exertion,—to sacrifice of their own means, even for their own immediate interest, when the expectation is continually held up to them, that their object can be as well attained, by, and at the expense of, others. Such a people gradually cease to think, and must soon lose the faculty and habit, characteristic of all free and great people, to think, feel and *act* for themselves. They fall into that state of apathy towards all constitutional questions, which constitutes the admiration of the master;—whether the master majority, or the master prince, and “the proper object therefore, of our most strenuous resistance, is far less either anarchy or despotism, than that *apathy*, which may almost indifferently beget either the one or the other.” Finding it in vain to resist these combinations of sectional interest, which regard the constitution, as little as a drove of mules would a rush fence, the *apathy* felt towards constitutional violations must seize the oppressed as well as the oppressor, and doom the people of this glorious republic to finally become the most fit subjects for a Cromwell, or a Bonaparte. With what contempt then, must all high-minded men read the pitiful cant of the Cincinnati committee! A committee from one of the most flourishing towns of one of the largest and most powerful States in the Union! A committee too, with whom, our great senator seems now, but a co-laborer, in this scheme for class and sectional legislation!

“We are not aware of the causes which have induced to the discontinuance of this valuable service, but we know that the consequences have been most disastrous. For several years past the appropriations for the snag-boats have been so small as to render that service wholly inefficient; the snags have accumulated with fearful rapidity in all the western rivers, while the increasing amount of commerce and number of boats have swelled the danger and the losses to an appalling extent. The most fruitful causes of these losses are the snags, a species of obstruction which we have shown to be completely within the control of government; and we therefore respectfully urge the propriety of an immediate and energetic action by the government, in reference to this subject, by the construction of as many snag-boats as may be necessary, and an annual appropriation for keeping these boats in the regular service of the nation, from year to year.”

Now let us consider the amount of boats lost by other causes than snags. Of the 25 mentioned by the St. Louis committee, 13 were lost by rocks, ice, storm, collision, fire, and one by log. Now what improvements of the naviga-

tion, can save boats from losses by ice, storms, collision, fire, or temporary logs floating down such a stream as the Mississippi, having its course of thousands of miles, through forests often overspreading its banks for hundreds of miles? Of the 72 steamboats stated by the Cincinnati committee in 1843, to have been lost within the then last seventeen months, we are not told where, nor from what cause;—but we presume they include the losses of the whole waters of the valley; and remembering the number that we constantly see stated to have been blown up, burnt and destroyed, by collision, indiscretion, and sometimes from actual unseaworthiness, to use a technical phrase, it must be allowed that it would be most difficult to determine what portion of these were destroyed by rocks or logs.

We have seen at what “trifling expense,” and with what “facility” the snags and logs can be removed. As to the few rocks that are in the Mississippi, we are sure that the removal of them, would not constitute such a Herculean labor nor require so enormous an expense as should deter any State in whose territory they may lie, from undertaking it. Mr. Calhoun’s own conclusions, seem to justify our remarks.

“Your committee regard the facts stated by the abstract, conclusive as to the practicability and great benefit of freeing the navigation of the Mississippi, including its tributaries, of snags. If limited appropriations for a few years could so greatly lessen the danger, and do so much for the safety of its commerce, by their removal, it cannot be doubted that larger appropriations, continually, systematically, and judiciously applied, could free it altogether, or nearly so from all danger of the kind. Nor can it be doubted that the same power which could free it of danger from snags could also from that of logs. Nor would it seem impracticable to free its channel by blasting, or some other way, of occasional rocks, which in places endanger its navigation.”

Mr. Calhoun, in the next place, proceeds to consider, who has the power, and whose duty it is to remove these obstructions, and to improve the navigation of the Mississippi and its great tributaries. He concludes that it is not the duty of individuals. This conclusion, we think, could just as well be made with regard to any other river in the United States. “Nor is it that of the several States bordering on its navigable waters. It is also beyond their reach and power, *acting separately*.” We think from what we have shown, that this conclusion is not justifiable. What is with-

in the territory of each State, might be improved with as much facility and as little expense as is the case with the rivers generally in most of our States. "Nor," says Mr. Calhoun, "can it be done by their *united and joint action*." And in proceeding to tell us why, he brings forward what his friends regard as a great constitutional discovery, a sort of political "north-west passage," about which, some of his friends have, as we have seen, complained, that he "left them so long in doubt;" a discovery, which has enabled him and them to reach

"A conclusion hitherto deemed inadmissible by the republican party, that the federal government has the power of *improving and rendering safe, the navigation of the Mississippi and its principle branches*—a power which has always been identified with that to build and improve harbours of commerce, to construct roads and to improve the navigation of every little stream in the United States." *Charleston Mercury.*

Mr. C. proceeds then to say :

"Nor can it be done by their united and joint action. There are *sixteen States*, and two Territories that soon will be States, lying either wholly or partly within the valley of the Mississippi, and there is still ample space for several more. These all have a common interest in its commerce. Their united and joint action would be requisite for the improvement of its navigation. But the only means by which that could be obtained is expressly prohibited by the 10th section, 1st article, of the constitution, which provides that 'no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation.'"

We trust that we shall be able to show that this clause does not prohibit *compacts* or *agreements* between any number of States, with the consent of Congress, and that cases like this were specially intended to be provided for, by such compacts or agreements, as are permitted by the constitution.

In his report, Mr. Calhoun goes on to say :

"But if neither individuals, nor States, acting separately or jointly, have the power to improve its navigation, it must belong to the federal government, if the power exists at all, as there is no other agency or authority in our system of government by which it could be exercised."

This proposition taken by itself, would indeed have been startling, and still more so, when coming from a South-Carolina senator. But he does not stop there. He proceeds to say what qualifies it :

"But if it does, it must be comprised among the expressly granted and enumerated powers, or among those necessary and proper to carry them into effect, as under the one or the other all the powers belonging to it are to be found. And thus the question is presented for consideration: Is it to be found in either?"

We fully concur with Mr. Calhoun, that "the decision involves important consequences." He then proceeds to say:

"If it is not, then this great branch of our commerce—already among the greatest, and destined, in a short time, far to exceed every other—will be left exposed to the great hazard and enormous losses to which it has been shown to be subjected, without any power in the system any where to provide for its safety, although millions might be annually saved by a *comparatively small expenditure*, as experience has proved. Whether such be the case or not, your committee will next proceed to consider."

From this we entirely dissent, and we think, before we have done, that we shall be able to show that the navigation of this river, is as much within the unrestricted jurisdiction of the States as any other.

Mr. Calhoun's committee proceeds to refute, and with great success, the opinion that Congress can appropriate money for internal improvements, under the words, "general welfare;" an opinion, which Mr. C. formerly held.

"Whether the federal government possesses the power or not, it is certain it has heretofore acted on the supposition that it did, as the numerous acts of Congress for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi, including its principal tributaries, abundantly prove. Under what power the appropriations were made, and the money expended, does not distinctly appear; but it is believed that it was under what is usually called the money power—that is, the power delegated to Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

"Your committee, after the most mature deliberation, are of the opinion that this power does not authorize Congress to appropriate and expend money, except as a means to carry into effect some other, specifically delegated. In coming to this conclusion, they concede that the provision not only delegates the power to lay and collect taxes, but also that, to appropriate and expend the money collected to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and the general welfare of the United States. Such they believe to be the plain import of the words. Indeed, they cannot see how any other construction can be put on them without distorting their meaning. But they deny that there is, in constitutional language, any general welfare of the United States, but such as belongs to them in their united or federal character as members of the Union. The general welfare,

in that language, is the welfare which appertains to them in that character, in contradistinction to their welfare as separate and individual States. Thus interpreted, the general welfare of the United States cannot extend beyond the powers delegated by the constitution, as it is only to that extent that they are united or have a federal character. Beyond this, they constitute separate and distinct communities, and, as such, have no union, nor common defence, nor general welfare, to be provided for. It follows, as a necessary consequence, that no power can be derived from the provision which would authorize the appropriation or application of money by Congress, except to carry into effect the powers delegated. Money, indeed, is the great and almost universal power, or rather means by which others are carried into execution; and, because it is so, is the reason why the power to raise and appropriate it, was specifically delegated, instead of being left to be inferred, like the other implied powers, or means to carry the delegated into execution. It was, in a word, too great and important, viewed as means, to be left to inference. Without it the government could not be carried on. Viewed, on the contrary, as a power to be used without reference to the powers specifically delegated to carry into execution whatever Congress, in its discretion, may think to be calculated to provide for the common defence, or general welfare, would not only reverse what was intended in delegating it, but make the government, in practice, one of unlimited powers.

"Nor would it weaken the force of the argument to substitute 'national objects' for the general welfare, as is usually done by those who believe the power to extend beyond the limits which your committee have assigned. It is, indeed, but the substitution of an expression, unknown to the constitution, for the one which it uses, and which is not consistent with the character of the system of government it constituted. Ours is a union of sovereign States for specific objects. As members of the Union they constitute not a single State or nation, but a constellation of States or nations; and hence its powers, and the objects for which it was formed, are appropriately called federal, and not national. But, whether the one or the other term be used, the reason already assigned to show why the general welfare, in constitutional language, does not extend beyond the welfare of the States in their united or federal character, that is, beyond the powers delegated by the constitution, is equally applicable. Nor would it be less applicable, be the character of the government what it may, whether federal or national, or partly federal or partly national. Be it one or the other, it is so, only to the extent of the powers delegated, and to that extent only, be it which it may, is there a general welfare or a common defence to be provided for. All beyond would appertain to the States in their separate and individual character.

"Nor can your committee concur in the opinion of the Memphis Convention, that to provide for 'the defence of the country in time of war,' or, to express it in constitutional language, 'to provide for the common defence,' authorizes the exercise of the power. They regard the expression, like that 'to provide for the general welfare,' to be not a delegation of power, but a mere general designation of

the powers specifically delegated to the government for the purpose of defending the country, and which are enumerated in the after part of the same section. They are to declare war; grant letters of marque and reprisals; to make rules for captures on land and water; to provide and maintain a navy; to raise and support armies; to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions; to provide for organizing the army and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States; to exercise authority over all places purchased, with the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings.

"Such are the powers conferred on Congress for the purpose of providing for the common defence. On a careful examination of the whole, your committee are not able to designate one, the carrying of which into execution would authorize the appropriation and expenditure of money for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi or any other stream. That its improvement would aid materially in the defence of the country, they readily admit, but so would a good system of rail-roads, or any measure which would contribute to develop the resources and capacity of the country, physically, intellectually, or morally. There can no addition be made to the wealth of the country, the increase of its intelligence, or the improvement of its morals, which would not add to its capacity to defend itself. But it is obvious, that to admit a construction which would have the effect to embrace all measures calculated to have such an effect, under any or all of these powers, would confer on the federal government unlimited powers."

Mr. Calhoun continues :

"Having now shown that the power to raise money and to appropriate and expend it is confined to carrying into execution the delegated powers, it remains to be considered whether there is any power delegated to the federal government, the carrying of which into execution would authorize appropriations and expenditures for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi and its waters ?

"Your committee, after full and mature deliberation of the subject, are of the opinion that there is, and it is to be found in the power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States,' and more specifically in that to regulate it among the States."

He then goes on to inquire into the *nature* and *extent* of that power. Among the defects of the old articles of confederation, "none were found more embarrassing, or tended more to weaken the Union in its foreign relations, or to alienate the attachment of the States to each other and bring them into collision, than the power they possessed of regulating commerce." To remedy these evils the power was transferred to Congress, and the committee says :

"They, then, are of the opinion, that whatever may be the extent of the power conferred by the terms 'to regulate commerce,' which they will consider hereafter, the words 'among the States' restrict the power to the regulation of the commerce of the States with each other, as separate and distinct communities, *to the exclusion of its regulation within their respective limits*, except as far as may be indispensable to its due exercise. Their effect, in other words, is to restrict the power delegated to Congress, to regulate commerce among the States, to their *external* commerce with each other as States, and to leave their *internal* commerce, with the exception above stated, *under the exclusive control of the several States respectively*. Such, in their opinion, is the plain and literal meaning of the words. That they are intended to restrict the power, is certain; but, if that be admitted, it would seem impossible to give any other construction to them, which would not be either so rigid, on the one side, as to deprive them of all meaning, or, on the other, be so liberal as to subject the entire commerce of the States, *internal* as well as *external*, to the control of Congress."

"But equal care was at the same time taken not to extend the remedy beyond the evil. And hence, the restriction which limits the power to regulate commerce *to the external relations of the States* with foreign nations and each other, *to the exclusion of their internal commerce*, as the evil to be remedied resulted wholly from the one, and not at all from the other."

"It was delegated to the federal government, as their common representative, and again, *in their external relations with each other, and foreign relations*. When it is added that such is admitted to be the true construction with reference to the latter, and *that the phraseology is the same in reference to both*, it would seem to exclude the possibility of doubt as to its being so also in reference to the former."

That Mr. Calhoun is right in supposing that this power, is confined to the *external* and not *internal relations of the States*, is evident from opinions expressed previous to the adoption of the constitution and while it was under discussion.

In the 45th No. of the Federalist, Mr. Madison says,

"The powers delegated by the proposed constitution to the federal government, are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State governments, are numerous and indefinite. The former, will be exercised principally on *external objects*, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce; with which last the power of taxation, will for the most part be connected. The powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects, which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people; and the *internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State*."

Mr. Jefferson in his message of 1801, expressly states, that:

"The General Government is charged only with the *external and mutual relations of the States.*"

In the Virginia debates, Mr. Nicholas says,

"*Local concerns are left to the State Legislatures.*"

Mr. Madison :

"*They [the States] have the care of all local interests.*"

The report next proceeds to say :

"Having now shown what is the restriction imposed on the power by the terms 'among the States,' your committee will next proceed to consider what power is conferred on Congress within that restriction, by the terms 'to regulate commerce.' "

Before going into an examination of Mr. Calhoun's views on this subject, we will first lay down certain well-acknowledged rules of construction that are applicable in this case.

First, to ascertain the meaning of words used in the constitution, we must look to their well-known and established meaning in the English language and in the English law, *at the time* the words were used, or in other words, *at the time of the adoption of the constitution.*

"It has been made a question," says Chancellor Kent, (1 Vol. Com. 371,) "what were 'cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction' within the meaning of the constitution of the United States. *It is not in the power of Congress to enlarge that jurisdiction beyond what was understood and intended by it when the constitution was adopted.*"

In the case of Alexander and Gibson, in "Nott and McCord's Reports," the court of appeals of South-Carolina, decided that the constitution, in using the word "bankruptcies," would be confined to the meaning of this word in the British law, at the time of the formation of the constitution, and of course, could not, by enacting a bankrupt law, extend its provisions, to persons not then embraced in their bankrupt laws.

"It remains now (says Mr. C.) to be considered what power would a fair interpretation of the terms 'regulate commerce,' confer on Congress? *Or to express it more fully, what power did the framers of the constitution intend to delegate to it, in using these terms?*"

In a latter part of the report, he says :

"*It is admitted that the framers of the constitution, in delegating the power, had in contemplation the Atlantic coast only.* At the time,

but a very small portion of our population had passed the Alleghany mountains into the valley of the Mississippi, as has been stated, and none had reached the St. Lawrence and its lakes. There was not a single State situated wholly within the valley. Indeed, the greater part, including the whole of its right bank, and all on banks below the thirty-first parallel, belonged to Spain, who claimed the exclusive right to navigate the river to the south of it, and a right in common with us to the residue. In such a state of things, it is not probable, that the navigation of a river so full of obstructions, and with a current too rapid for ascending navigation, with the power then used for propelling vessels on its waters, ever occurred to the framers of the constitution, while deliberating on delegating the power in question."

It would indeed be presuming a great stretch of foresight, to assume that the majority of the States, in adopting the constitution, had intended, so far ahead, to smuggle some hidden power under these terms, that could permit of internal improvements on the Mississippi; for, during the discussions which took place at the formation of the constitution, great prejudices were expressed against the encouragement of the Western country, from the fear that the Atlantic States, in which twelve of the old thirteen were embraced, might be injured by the opening of the navigation of the Mississippi. "Mr. Clymer thought the encouragement of the Western country, was suicide on the part of the old States."* These we allow, were contracted ideas, although the Mississippi at that time belonged to a foreign power, but they indicate the absurdity of the supposition that it was intended by the framers of the constitution, to give for the improvements of this river, a power denied with regard to every river then in the Union.

In the discussions of the convention, (of 28th and 29th August,) on the propriety of the States, retaining, with the consent of Congress, the power to impose duties on imports and exports, and on the question of vesting in Congress, the power to regulate commerce, the latter was, by every speaker, regarded as a power tantamount to the right of passing navigation laws. By navigation laws, we all know that nothing more is meant, than the power to protect our own shipping, by granting peculiar privileges and prescribing the conditions under which, foreign ships shall be allowed to engage in the commerce of the country, either as exporters, importers or carriers of commodities, from one

* Madison's Papers, 1446.

part of the country to another. We shall endeavor to show, before we have done, that the power to regulate commerce, did in fact embrace only one other class of cases, besides the right to pass navigation laws. We refer to the authority over light-houses, buoys, beacons, channel-stakes and other sea-marks. The only restrictions placed upon this power over the navigation laws, were, that "no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another." Many thought that it should require *two thirds of both houses* to pass a navigation law. A motion to that effect was made but lost; and the power was finally granted by way of compromise, between the North and South, the North securing the power to protect their shipping interests, on condition that the South should be allowed to import African slaves until the year 1808. In other respects, the power, so far as the commerce among the several States was concerned, was only intended to prevent vexations and partial legislation on the part of the States in favor of their individual interests. There were at the time existing, as it was said, five different commercial interests, which might be productive of this kind of vexatious legislation: 1st. the fisheries and West India trade, which belonged to New-England; 2d. the interests of New-York which lay in free trade; 3d. the wheat and flour of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania; 4th. the tobacco of Maryland, Virginia and North-Carolina; and 5th. the rice and indigo of South-Carolina and Georgia. It was admitted, that the surrender of the power was "a pure concession" on the part of the Southern States. Indeed, these have, on all occasions, acted with the highest generosity. The great object of the power was to subject all these great interests to the same rule, and to establish free trade among the States. It was in short, intended to abolish all interior custom-houses, and to establish, as far as the commerce among the States was concerned, what we might call an American Zollverein. It was never intended as a positive, active power in Congress, and hence there has never been since the formation of government, any act passed by Congress, establishing rules whereby the commerce among the States should be conducted. The prohibition of State regulations, consummated all that was desired by the power;

and none ever imagined that it conveyed a right to improve the navigation of the Mississippi, or of any other river, until long afterwards, when, under almost every clause of the constitution, some new unthought of power has been sought for.

The committee say :

"They are of the opinion, after due reflection, that they confer on it all the power which, by a fair interpretation, belonged to them, as fully as the States themselves possessed it, except such, if there be any, as may be prohibited by the constitution from being exercised, either expressly or impliedly. That they confer on Congress all the power to regulate commerce with each other, with that exception, would seem to be so clear as hardly to admit of doubt, as the words by which it is delegated are used without qualification or condition. But, if there should be room for doubt, it would be removed by adverting to the reason for delegating the power. It was not to limit or prohibit it as a power of a dangerous character, and which, on that account, ought to be restricted or prohibited. On the contrary, it was regarded as one of the utmost utility, and on the proper control of which the prosperity of the States essentially depended; and it was accordingly for the purpose of obtaining such control, as well as to prevent collision among the States, and not to restrict or prohibit it, that it was delegated to the federal government, as their common representative and organ, *in their external relations with each other and foreign nations*. When it is added that such is admitted to be the true construction in reference to *the latter, and that the phraseology is the same in reference to both*, it would seem to exclude the possibility of doubt as to its being so also in reference to the former. The only difference between the two cases is, that the power is divided in its exercise between the law-making and treaty-making organs of government, in regulating commerce with foreign nations, while in that of regulating it among the States it is vested exclusively in the law-making, as from necessity it must be, where the treaty-power among federal States is delegated to their common government.

"It remains now to be considered what power would a fair interpretation of the terms 'regulate commerce' confer on Congress? Or to express it more fully, *what power did the framers of the constitution intend to delegate to it* in using those terms? Your committee regard it as fortunate that, in their endeavor to ascertain what power they intended to delegate, they are not thrown on the vague meaning of the terms as used in common parlance. There are few words in the language, when thus used, more vague than the verb to regulate. It has, as commonly used, all the shades of meaning, from the mere power of prescribing rules, to that of having absolute and unlimited control over the subject to which it is applied. Nor is the term commerce free from ambiguity when so used. It sometimes means trade simply; and at other, trade and transit, *or navigation, when the transit is by water*. But the case is different when they are applied to constitutional or legal subjects. When so applied, their meaning is so much more precise that they may be regarded as

almost technical. They occupy a large space both in our own code of laws, *and that of the country from which we derive our origin and language*. And what contributes still more to the precision of their meaning, is that they occupied a prominent place in the discussion which preceded and led to the Revolution that separated the two countries, particularly as it relates to the distinction between the power to lay taxes and that to regulate commerce. The latter, it was admitted belonged to the parent country, while the former was denied and resisted. Many of the framers of the constitution, who were able statesmen and learned lawyers, took an active part in this discussion, and were familiar with the meaning of the terms, as politically and legally applied at the time. Under such circumstances, it is a fair presumption that in using them, in delegating the power, they intended to attach a meaning to them similar to that in which they had been in the habit of employing them in their political discussions, and in which the States had been accustomed to use them in legislating on the subject of regulating commerce prior to, and subsequent to, the Revolution.

"Assuming such to be the case, your committee are brought to the question: What powers were the States accustomed to exercise in regulating their commerce before and at the time of the adoption of the constitution, as far as they relate to its safety and facility? The answer will solve the question as to the true meaning of the terms, and the kind of powers intended to be delegated to Congress in reference to them.

"In order to understand why the States exercised the kind of powers they were accustomed to do, at and before the adoption of the constitution, for the safety and facility of their commerce, it is necessary to bear in mind that *they were then confined to the Atlantic coast*, along which they extended from New-Brunswick to Florida; and *that their commerce with each other was confined to the coast and its bays*. On turning to their legislation during that period, it will be found that the powers they exercised for that purpose were restricted to the establishment of *light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers*. They are all of a description well adapted and necessary to guard against the dangers and impediments to which such a commerce as was then carried on was exposed; while they were, at the same time, such as would be neglected, or not established at all, unless the public took charge of them; because individuals had neither adequate motive nor power to establish or attend to them. That the power to establish them refers to that of regulating commerce, may be certainly inferred from the motives and objects of their establishment; and that commerce, in legal language, embraces *navigation as well as trade*, may, with not less certainty, be inferred from the same circumstance, as they relate directly and exclusively to navigation. If we turn from the legislation of the States prior to the adoption of the constitution, to that of the federal government, it will be found that it confirms not only the correctness of these inferences, but all that your committee has stated in this connection, as they will next proceed to show.

"So important was the power to regulate commerce, and especially among the States, regarded, that it was among the first subjects

that claimed the attention of the government after it went into operation. On the 7th of April, 1789, just a month after the commencement of the government, an act of Congress became a law by the approval of the President, entitled 'An act for the establishment of light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers;' that is, moles raised for the shelter of vessels against storms of ice. It provides that all the expenses which shall accrue for the support and maintenance of repairs of such as were erected, placed, or sunk by the States, before the passing of the act for the *safety and ease* (facility) of navigation, shall be defrayed out of the treasury of the United States, with the proviso that the expense should not be paid by the United States after one year, unless they should be ceded and vested in the United States by the States to which they belong, with the lands and tenements appertaining to them. It also provided for the erecting of a light-house near the entrance of the Chesapeake bay, and for the expense of keeping, re-building, and repairing the establishment. These provisions furnish conclusive proof that the States, under the power to regulate commerce, established light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers; that Congress regarded the power as delegated to it, to the same extent; *that the object of the power was the increased safety and facility of the commerce along the coast*; that it appertained especially to the regulation of commerce among the States, as the portion of the ocean in its vicinity is the great common highway of the commerce of the States bordering on it; and that it embraced navigation as well as trade. It may be added in confirmation of the construction which places this establishment under the control of the government, that it accords with the practice of the country from which we derive our language and origin; with this difference, that there the establishment was principally under the control of incorporated companies of individuals, but subject to the legislation of Parliament, as must have been well known to the framers of our constitution.

"In carrying the power into execution, Congress has studded the coast with light-houses and beacon-lights, to guide in safety the mariner by night on his voyage, against the dangers of capes, reefs, and shallows, and has thickly planted buoys at the mouths of harbours and inlets, to point out the narrow channels through which he may safely pass into them. It has gone further, and constructed public piers, (including harbours of protection,) where vessels can shelter against storms and ice, and annually expends a large sum in repairing, supporting, and enlarging the establishment. To this add that the power, to this extent, has been exercised by Congress from the beginning of the government until the present time, without interruption or being seriously questioned as to its constitutionality, either in or out of Congress, during that long period, and it may be safely inferred that they have not erred in placing the construction they have, on it."

We will now endeavor to point out so much of this quotation as we cannot assent to. In the first place, we see no

"vague meaning" in the terms "to regulate," as used by the constitution.

"There are few words," says Mr. C., "in the language *when thus used*, more vague than the verb 'to regulate.' It has, as commonly used, all the shades of meaning, from the mere power of prescribing rules to that of having absolute and unlimited control over the subject to which it is applied."

Here then, this immense power depends upon the conjugation of a verb active, while we are to remain things passive! Were any word in the English language to be selected, we do not believe that there could be found one having less vagueness or ambiguity. Dr. Johnson's Dictionary is the common standard of the language. He gives the word thus :

"To Regulate—*To adjust by rule or method,—to direct.*

There is no vagueness in "adjusting by rule"—none surely in "method." It is synonymous with the verb "to direct." There is as little ambiguity in that word. Certainly, one may direct wrong, or he may direct right,—but if there be ambiguity or vagueness in the directions, *the fault is in the director or regulator*, not in the verbs. It is clear that the words mean that the commerce among the States should be governed by methods or rules prescribed by Congress and not by the separate States. Congress may regulate or direct, but not construct. Congress may establish, may direct post roads, but not construct them. An authority to put up finger-boards directing the way, would not authorize the construction of roads. There may be a power to regulate an army or a navy; and yet none, to raise or build one. The creating power, and the regulating power, are very distinct. Thus the power to regulate commerce may well authorize the pointing out of dangers, and yet not authorize the removal of them. Besides the power to point out dangers, alone exercised by the government for some thirty years after its going into operation, may have been exercised under the power to provide and maintain a navy, and to erect useful buildings; buildings necessary to the enumerated powers.

Agreeing with Mr. Calhoun, as to what was meant by "commerce" in the constitution, we cannot see why he should admit that the word is "not free from ambiguity *when so used.*" It is just because it is so used, that there

can arise no ambiguity. We are not speaking now of municipal regulations concerning man and man, but of those between nations and States. This fact being admitted, whence arises the ambiguity? What says Dr. Johnson?

"*Commerce*.—Intercourse; exchange of one thing for another; trade; traffic."

Mr. Mortimer, the friend of Mr. Burke, who has written a work expressly on the elements of commerce, thus defines it:

"*Commerce*, in the general sense of the word, means no more than a reciprocal communication, intercourse, or correspondence, between man and man; but, as a term of art, it constantly includes the idea of exchange, and, in its ordinary acceptation, it serves to distinguish the mercantile negotiations, carried on by the inhabitants of different nations with each other, from the operations of *inland traffic*, commonly known under the denomination of *trade*, and limited to a particular place or country."

It is only necessary to say that in the case under discussion, it must mean the intercourse, the exchange of one thing for another, in short the mercantile negotiations between nations and States, and not *inland traffic*, and so far we agree with Mr. Calhoun. If navigation and mutual exchange of commodities constitute the elements of commerce, it must be such navigation and exchange as is *external and mutual* between the States. This we have already shown, and it is also admitted by Mr. Calhoun. By navigation we understand the art of conducting or carrying a ship from one port to another. Internal improvement constitutes no element of it.

Mr. Calhoun very properly refers to the powers exercised by the mother country and by the States while colonies, as affording the best evidence for ascertaining from what source the power was assumed at the commencement of this government, over light-houses, buoys, beacons and public piers. It is from an investigation into this source, that we believe the true key for construing the constitution is to be obtained; and we cannot but wonder that Mr. Calhoun did not farther continue the pursuit of a subject which, we cannot doubt, must have led him to a very different conclusion from that which he has formed in relation to the powers of the government over the improvements of the navigation of the Mississippi. Our examination has led us to conclude that

the power to regulate foreign commerce, could comprehend but one other class of objects besides navigation laws; we mean such as are included within the power, which has been invested by the laws of England from the days of Henry VIII. and of Queen Elizabeth, in the *Trinity House*. By statutes of Henry VIII., (1515,) and of Elizabeth, (1594,) the *Trinity House* was incorporated *for the promotion of commerce and navigation* by licensing and regulating pilots, and ordering and erecting light-houses, buoys and beacons, and other sea-marks. Jurisdiction was given to the Trinity House over all the light-houses, floating lights, &c., ("exclusive of harbor lights,") on the coast of England, with the exception of a few which had long been granted by the King's patent to individuals, but subject to the same regulations. These also, were afterwards bought up and vested in the Trinity House. Since 1675, none have, we believe, been erected unless by its authority; and the erection of them by individuals is prohibited under penalty. They can be, neither placed, altered, nor removed, except by authority of the law. As they are laid down in charts for the benefit of navigators, it is important that peculiar figures or colors be given to them in order to avoid mistakes. These erections in England have always been paid for by charges on ships entering the ports to which they were guides. The colonies, from their earliest period until the Revolution, exercised this power of erecting light-houses, buoys, beacons and other sea-marks, which were paid for by charges on shipping; as for instance in South-Carolina; see 2 vol. Stat. at Large, 24, 610, 3 vol. 496, 616, 4 vol. 38, 154, 655. The States being prohibited by the constitution, to regulate commerce, and that power having been transferred to Congress, the power of placing and erecting light-houses, buoys, beacons and other sea-marks, followed, as one of the elements which constituted that power from the earliest period of English History.

As these erections had always been paid for by charges on shipping, it was equally necessary that the authority to impose these charges should also be included in the general power given to Congress to regulate commerce. It was necessary and proper that the charges should be uniform and moderate. If Congress had not had the power of regulating these charges, it would have found itself frequently involved with foreign nations, in all attempts at entering

into reciprocity treaties. Had the power been left with the States, there would have been no security for having proper charts of the whole coast, with these guides properly represented; nor any uniformity of charges, subject to alterations by government.

On this subject see McCulloch's Com. Dic. *Verba*—Beacons, Buoys, and Light-houses. It is expressly stated by that author, that "*harbor-lights*" were not included in the power to promote commerce and navigation conferred upon the Trinity House, nor were harbor-lights, or the erection or improvements of harbors, ever included in this class of powers. Parliament alone by special acts, executed all works of internal improvement, or left them to individual enterprise. No improvements of river navigation or of harbors, ever constituted in England or her colonies, charges on foreign shipping.

Improvements of the navigation of rivers and harbors, are not prohibited to any one, so long as they do not trespass upon the rights of others. "Any one may," as Mr. Woodward says, "remove a nuisance." Individuals and corporations may undertake these things as private speculations. Not so with light-houses, buoys, beacons and pilotage. Besides their power over these erections, the colonies did, before the revolution, attempt to regulate the coasting trade between themselves, and to pass navigation laws, but they were prohibited from this by the mother country, on the ground that it interfered with her colonial policy. (See South-Carolina act of 1762, 4. vol. Stat. at Large 173.) The trade between port and port of the same colony, does not appear to have been considered as part of the coasting trade, but only, the "*going to a port out of the colony*," and returning. During the confederation and before the present constitution was formed, it is evident, from the debates, that the separate States possessed all powers over the coasting trade and over light-houses, buoys, beacons, and pilotage.* Indeed as sovereign States these powers were necessarily possessed, and by the constitution, were relinquished to the General Government.

These things had relation to our foreign affairs and were therefore surrendered; but every power relating to internal

* As to pilotage, see 2 vol. Stat. S. C. 50. 94. 127. 173. 191. 697. 3 vol. 6. 225. 4 vol. 387. 431.

concerns, was retained by the States. The regulations with regard to pilots, have been left by Congress, reclaimable at discretion, in the hands of the States. And as the power to regulate commerce among the States, relates, as we think we have shown, only to the coasting trade, and not to that which is inland; and as this commerce was carried on from the ports of one State, to the ports of another, it was unnecessary to do more to facilitate coasting vessels in their exit, transit and entry, from and to ports, than was necessary to facilitate foreign commerce. In both cases, all that was thought necessary, was the establishment of light-houses, buoys, beacons, and other sea-marks, with the regulation of pilotage.

With this explanation drawn from the history of the country, we cannot understand by what authority Congress has erected *public piers*. Indeed we do not know exactly what is meant by *public piers*, in this connection. These were never classed among the objects embraced in the powers vested in Trinity House, which corporation has for so many centuries acted as the instrument of the government for the regulation of this department of commerce and navigation, and we think that they must be classed with harbors, wharves and other internal improvements. Congress has, in our opinion, no power to erect them; but it may put up channel-stakes and other sea-marks. To enable Congress to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over, even such "necessary buildings" as light-houses, &c., the States in which they are situated, must cede them to the General Government.*

We have already shown, that where a question arises as to the construction of words used in the constitution, we must look to the intention of the framers at the time; that Congress cannot "enlarge the jurisdiction beyond what was understood and intended when the constitution was adopted;" and that words are restricted to the meaning they bore at the time they were used. We have also shown, that Mr. Calhoun admitted, "that the framers of the constitution, in delegating the power had in contemplation THE ATLANTIC COAST ONLY." There was not a single State wholly in the Mississippi valley," and the river then belonged to Spain, by whom, we were denied the right of navigation.

* Constitution U. States.—Section 8. clause 16. Art. 1.

"But," says Mr. Calhoun, "although their attention was directed to a particular case, they were too wise to provide a remedy applicable exclusively to it, by restricting it to the coast navigation, or to the establishment of light-houses, buoys, beacons, and public piers. They looked to the future, and provided one of a more comprehensive character, and calculated to remedy the evil in whatever form it might appear."

Really we think, as we have already said, that it is presuming too much, for the wisdom and disinterestedness of our ancestors, to say that in giving to Congress the power to regulate commerce among the States, foreseeing that the Mississippi was to become a part of the Union, they intended in advance to confer a boon upon the navigation of that stream and its tributaries, which was expressly denied to the navigation of all other rivers in possession of the States, then forming the Union. It would indeed have been a suicidal generosity.

Mr. Calhoun then expresses the opinion that the great changes which have since occurred through the acquisition of the whole Mississippi valley, and the effect of steam upon the navigation of that river, have brought within the power of Congress the regulation of its commerce and navigation, as well as the right to remove all obstructions, not only to the navigation of this great river, but also to that of such of its tributaries as border on three or more States; only denying it to those which are confined to one or two States. He thinks that Congress must assume this power; for nothing short of a *confederation* among the States bordering on the river, (which is prohibited by the constitution,) could afford the means "*of preserving peace and preventing the most deadly conflicts among them.*" The river he says, was made by the constitution

"The common highway in fact for all their vessels [those of the States interested] and those of the whole Union navigating it, by providing that 'vessels bound to or from one State shall not be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.'" "The conclusion, (he thinks,) is irresistible that its commerce comes as fully within the power to regulate commerce, as that of the coast itself;" "because vessels navigating the river or the gulf may pass and repass to and from each other in one continuous voyage; just as if (for all practical purposes,) the Mississippi was a part of the gulf, or an inland sea."* "There is indeed," (he continues,) "nothing in the terms by which it

* The same thing may be done in other rivers, confined to one or two States.

is delegated, or in the nature of the power, or the reasons for delegating it, which can possibly exclude it."

As Congress was authorized to erect light-houses, buoys, beacons and public piers, as far as necessary for the safety and facility of navigation on the coast, so he believes it might erect them for the same object on the Mississippi.

"They have been established on the lakes of the St. Lawrence, where they are as necessary as on the coast, without objection or question, although their commerce was as little in contemplation of the framers of the constitution, as was that of the Mississippi."

But as the dangers of the navigation of the Mississippi could not be avoided by light-houses, buoys, beacons and piers, the power of Congress, he thinks, must be extended to the removal of all obstacles of every nature, found in its channel; and not only objects found in the channel, such as shoals, sand banks and bars, but "*trees and other obstructions*," or things which threaten to obstruct, on "*islands*" or "*on the banks*." The only difference is that in the coasting trade, the money appropriated was to make visible, or designate the causes of danger, whilst in the other, it is employed to remove them. In short, it would seem that he would exercise the same right over the *banks, islands*, in other words, *over the soil*, in improving the navigation of this river, as that which could be exercised by a State in making and repairing its roads. This power he contends, extends to the improvement of such tributaries "*as have three or more States bordering on their navigable waters; but not to those whose navigable waters are embraced within one, or at farthest, two States*." He then proceeds to tell us, "*why the former are embraced and the latter not*."

In the first place, we must confess that it seems a new idea to assign the preservation of the PEACE of the Mississippi valley, as one of the objects intended by the convention in giving to Congress, the power to regulate commerce among the States; and although the commerce of this river has been carried on for many years, we have never yet heard of those "*deadly conflicts*," which have grown out of the neglect on the part of the General Government to use its power to regulate this commerce. Nor do we believe that a CONFEDERATION between the States bordering on the Missis-

issippi, which is absolutely prohibited by the constitution, is necessary to relieve Congress from this duty.

We shall now proceed to show by Mr. Calhoun's own admissions, that the States along the Mississippi and its tributaries, possess the same jurisdiction, and to the same extent, over this river, as any State has over the rivers exclusively confined to its own borders, and that the government of the United States is no more justified in assuming jurisdiction in this case, than in the case of any other river.

Beginning with the case of rivers whose navigable waters are confined to a single State, Mr. Calhoun says for the committee :

"They are also of the opinion it extends to the removal of like obstructions in its great navigable tributaries, including such as have three or more States bordering on their navigable waters ; but not to those whose navigable waters are embraced within one, or, farthest, two States. Why the former is embraced, and the latter not, they will next proceed to consider, beginning with the case of rivers whose navigable waters are confined to a single State.

They are not embraced, because, in the first place, the power, as has been shown, is restricted to the regulation of the external commerce of the States with each other, to the exclusion of their internal. And in the next, because the commerce of such rivers is under the exclusive control of the States, within whose limits their navigable waters are confined, except that no vessel from another State, coming or going, can be compelled to enter, clear, or pay duties, under the provisions of the constitution already quoted ; and except, also, that vessels from other States shall not be subject to any regulation or law in navigating them, to which the vessels of the States to which they belong are not, under the provisions of the same instrument, which secures to the citizens of each State, in all others, 'all the privileges and immunities to which their own citizens are entitled.' With these exceptions, the navigation of all such rivers, as far as commerce is concerned, is as much under the control of the State within which its navigable waters are confined, as its canals, railroads, or turnpikes. Indeed, these are subject to the latter exception, and not to the former, only because not applicable."

Speaking of the power of Congress to make harbors or canals around the falls, or other obstructions of the Mississippi, including its great tributaries, (meaning thereby, those in whose navigation three or more States are interested,) the committee agree, very properly we think, that they are not within the authority of Congress.

"They are of the opinion that harbors, except for shelter or naval stations, are not. Their reason for thinking so is, in the first place, because, as far as they have been able to ascertain, the States, in the

exercise of the power of regulating commerce, never extended it to the improvement or construction of harbors for commerce, neither subsequent to nor before the Revolution, while colonies. They have not been able to find a single instance of the exercise of the power on their part which would warrant the conclusion that such harbors were included in the power, and, they may add, as pertinent to the subject, very few cases in the legislation of the country from which we draw our origin and language that countenance an extension of the power, so far as to embrace them; and in the next, that the early acts of Congress afford no evidence that it regarded harbors of commerce to be embraced in it. The first appropriation they have been able to find, even for harbors for shelter, was made in 1822, more than thirty years after the commencement of the government; and that, at first, only authorised 'the construction of two public piers, of sufficient dimensions to be a shelter to vessels from ice.' They refer to the breakwater near the mouth of the Delaware. The next appropriation was in 1823, to survey the entrance of the harbor of Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, with the view of removing the obstructions at its mouth. It was not until 1827 that appropriations were made professedly for the improvement of harbors and not till 1828 when a regular and expensive system was commenced of constructing and improving them as a part of the system of internal improvement.

"But as strong as these reasons are, there is another still more so, drawn from the nature of the power and the early practice of the government. The power, as has been stated, is restricted exclusively to the regulation of the external commerce of the States with each other, as separate and distinct communities; and cannot, as such, act within the limits of the States, beyond what is indispensable to its execution. But so careful were the framers of the constitution to guard against the abuse of power, that they have not left it to inference to determine to what extent it is indispensable for that purpose. They have, by a provision of the instrument, fixed the precise limits. Your committee refer to that already cited, which exempts vessels bound to or from one State from being obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another; and thereby securing to that extent, and no further, a free ingress and egress of the vessels of all the States within and from the limits of each other. But, with that exception, the harbors of a State are as completely under the control of the State, and as subject to its laws and legislation, as any other portion of its territory; and the vessels of other States are as subject to them as those belonging to their own citizens. Strictly speaking, then, the power to regulate commerce among the States is a power wholly *inter alios*; so much so, indeed, as to require this additional, or, as it may be fairly called supplemental power, to secure to the vessels of other States, the right to enter, to clear, and be exempt from duty, both in their ingress and egress. The conclusion would seem to follow, irresistibly, that a power so strictly *inter alios* cannot be extended, so as to embrace the improvement or construction of commercial harbors. The case of harbors for shelter is different. They relate directly to the safety of commerce, in its transit from State to State, and are in character and object, the same as

public piers, and come, as such, fairly under the power to regulate commerce. The case is also different in reference to naval stations or harbors. They come under another power—that ‘to provide and maintain a navy.’

“But if additional evidence should be required to show that commercial harbors are not embraced by the power, another provision of the constitution, and the practice of the government under it, will furnish conclusive proof. Your committee refer to that which provides that ‘no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage.’ We find in this provision, a material difference between the power reserved to the States to lay, with the consent of Congress, duties on imports and exports, on the one hand, and on tonnage on the other. In the former, it is expressly provided, that the proceeds shall pass into the treasury of the United States, while in the other, it is left without any such provision at the disposal of the State imposing them. There must be a reason for the distinction; and it would be difficult to assign any other than that it was intended to reserve to the States the power to collect duties on tonnage, with the consent of Congress, in order to leave at their disposal the money collected, to enable them to raise funds for some improvement intimately connected with the convenience of vessels in port, or to designate any one more so, than the improvement of the harbor or port itself. We find accordingly, that the power, as far as it has ever been used by the States, has been exercised exclusively to raise funds for that purpose, and that the consent of Congress has been freely given to acts of State legislatures for such purpose. As early as 1800, the consent of Congress was given to an act of the general assembly of Maryland, which authorized the wardens of the port of Baltimore, to collect a duty on any vessel arriving at the same, of sixty tons or more, of a sum not exceeding two cents, for the purpose of improving the harbor and port; and also, to “so much of an act of the State of Georgia, passed 1787, entitled ‘An act for regulating the trade and laying duties on all goods, wares, and merchandise, and negroes imported into the State, and also an impost on tonnage of shipping, and other purposes therein mentioned,’ as authorizes a duty of three pence per ton on all shipping entering the port of Savannah, to be set apart as a fund for clearing the river Savannah.” The act giving consent was to continue in force for eight years. It has been renewed several times as to the acts of both of the States, and that of Maryland is now in force, by a renewal so late as 1843. These acts, both of the State legislature and Congress, afford conclusive proof that the intention which they have assigned to the framers of the constitution for reserving the power to be exercised by the states with the consent of Congress is the one which governed them.

“Having now shown, as they trust, conclusively, that the power

excludes the construction or improvement of harbors of commerce, in contradistinction to harbors for shelter and the navy, it will not be difficult to show that it also excludes the cutting of canals or the construction of roads around shoals, falls, or other impediments to the navigation of the river or its tributaries, as the reasons applicable to the one, are mostly, equally so to the other. Thus, if there be nothing in the practice of the governments of the States, at or before the adoption of the constitution, or in the early practice of the federal government, to justify it in the one case, so there is nothing in the other. So, likewise, the reasons deduced from the nature of the power, that it is strictly *inter alios*, so much so, as to require a supplemental power exempting vessels, on going in or out of a State, from entering, clearing and paying duties, are equally applicable to both. Indeed it applies if possible more strongly, as they are more strictly *inter alios* in reference to such works, than to harbors; and it may be added, as an additional reason, that individual inducement and power are alike adequate to both. It is proper to add, also, that all they have stated in this connection, are applicable to harbors and works of the kind, wherever found, whether on the Atlantic, the gulf, the lakes, or rivers falling into them.

"Having now shown what objects are embraced by the power, and what not, in reference to the Mississippi and its tributaries, your committee will dismiss this portion of their labor with a brief consideration of a few restrictions of a more general character, to which the power is subject.

"It has been stated that commerce, in legal and constitutional language, includes transit or navigation as well as trade. It may well be questioned, whether it was not intended by the constitution, as far as it relates to commerce among the States, to restrict it entirely to the letter—that is, transit by vessels on water. Certain it is that the provisions connected with, and having reference to it, would indicate that it was so intended; and it may be added, that the legislation of Congress, in carrying the power into effect, as far as your committee is informed, is confined to the regulation of transit by water, to the exclusion of that by land. They of course exclude acts passed for the enforcement of the collection of duties and embargoes, and other restrictive measures of the kind, which relate to the revenue power, and questions connected with the foreign relations of the country. Indeed it is difficult to imagine how the power to regulate commerce among the States, restricted as it is to their external trade with each other, as separate and distinct communities, can be exercised, except where there is a common highway between them, not subject to the exclusive control of any one, as is the case of the coast, of the lakes, and of the Mississippi. Where that is not the case and a mere line divides States, the trade between them in every period of its transit from one to the other, is under the exclusive control of one or the other, in whichever it may be for the time. Indeed, the clause of the constitution already referred to, which provides that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States,' would seem to supercede the necessity of extending the power to the inland trade among the States, as it secures to the citizens of all the States all the immunities and privileges of the citizens of whatever State they may be in.

"There are other restrictions of a still more general character, deserving of notice, deducible from the nature of the power. As a power to regulate the external commerce of the States with each other, is restricted from interfering with their internal concerns beyond the limits already stated; and, of course, is excluded from interfering with laws and regulations touching the health of their citizens, the peace and security of the States, and their police and institutions generally. Nor can any right be deduced from the power, regarded in the same light, to authorize the federal government to construct roads and canals, or any work of internal improvement in a State.

We have now given, at length, Mr. Calhoun's reasons for supposing that Congress may, under the authority to regulate commerce among the several States, improve the navigation of the Mississippi river and some of its tributaries. We were not a little surprised in an earlier part of the report, at the expression of an opinion that it was necessary and proper for Congress to have this power, as nothing less than a *confederation* of the States bordering on the river, (which is prohibited by the constitution,) could afford the means of "*PRESERVING PEACE, and preventing the most deadly conflicts among them.*" Our surprise was increased, when we met, among the reasons assigned by Mr. Calhoun, why this power of Congress did not extend to the making of harbors either on the Mississippi or any where else, "that as a power to regulate the *external* commerce of the States with each other, it is restricted from interfering with their internal concerns, and of course excluded from interfering with laws and regulations touching the health of their citizens, the *PEACE and SECURITY of the States and their police institutions generally.*"

In considering the case of two States, the report says:

"The case of a river whose navigable waters are confined to two States, whether by dividing or flowing through them, requires more particular and full explanation. The provision of the constitution already cited, which exempts vessels bound to or from one State from entering, clearing, or paying duties in another, would make all such streams, in effect, common highways of all the States, and bring them exclusively under the control of the federal government, as far as the power to regulate commerce among the States is concerned; as much so, indeed, as the Mississippi itself, were it not for another provision in the same instrument. They allude to that which provides that 'no State shall, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with another State;' and which of course permits (with such consent) *one State* to enter into compact or agreement with *another*.

"To understand the intention of the framers of the constitution for inserting this provision, and its bearing on the point under consideration, it is necessary to view it in connection with another provision of the instrument already cited. They refer to that which prohibits the State from entering into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, in any case whatever; plainly because it would be both dangerous and inconsistent with their federal relations to permit it. In order to prevent so important a provision from being eluded, the provision immediately under consideration was inserted, prohibiting the States from entering into agreements or compacts in any case whatever, *except one State with another State*, or with a foreign power; and to prevent the abuse even of that limited power, the consent of Congress is required.

"Such is the prohibition, and the reason for it. The reason for the exception is, that without it, the prohibition would substitute the federal authority for that of the States, for the adjustment and regulation of all the various subjects in which the several States may have mutual interest in adjusting and regulating, including such as the one under consideration, and *thereby would give greater extension and minuteness to the authority of the federal government than was desirable or consistent with the object for which it was instituted.* Under the exception it is left to the States, when only two are interested in the navigation of a river, or any other object, to take it under their own exclusive jurisdiction and control by an agreement or compact between them, with the consent of Congress; as much so as it would be under that of one, if it was confined exclusively to one instead of extending to two.

The case is different where three or more States may be directly interested in the navigation of a river. Such cases are withdrawn from the control of the States, and are embraced by the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States, for reasons too obvious to repeat, after what has been stated. It is only necessary to add, in this connection, the reasons are as applicable to the rivers falling into the ocean and the lakes, including their gulfs and bays, as to those falling into the Mississippi and its tributaries."

We cannot see the force of Mr. Calhoun's assertion, for it is merely an assertion, and needs but to be met with a counter assertion, that nothing, short of a *confederation* of the States of the Mississippi valley, could be adequate to the improvement of the navigation of that river, should the power not be vested in Congress; for let us remember, he has already told us, that it could be accomplished "with great facility," and at "a very trifling expense." Nor can we agree to another assertion of Mr. Calhoun, for it can scarcely be considered an argument, that the States are prohibited, *with the assent of Congress*, from entering into agreements or compacts, in any case whatever, *except one*

State with another State or a foreign power; and that although *two States* may do so, three or more cannot.

To understand the force of this assertion of Mr. Calhoun, it is necessary for us to lay before the reader the whole of the 10th section of the constitution of the United States.

This section has two distinct clauses. The first clause declares that,

"No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility."

It must be apparent to every reader, that by "no State" in the above clause, the constitution means,—no State or States. If you attribute to the words "no State," the meaning, *no one State*, then the operation of the rule, would only apply to the case of one State entering into alliances, granting letters and emitting bills, &c., &c. And two or more States, not coming within the construction so given, would be left at liberty to enter into alliances, grant letters of marque, emit bills, &c. But it must be evident to every one, that this was not the intention of the constitution, and that it could not have been more distinctly and clearly declared, that all treaties, alliances, and all letters of marque and bills of credit entered into, granted or emitted, by any State or States, no matter the number, were absolutely and unconditionally prohibited.

The language of the confederation on the same subject was, "*No two or more States* shall enter into any treaty, or confederation, or alliance, &c., without the consent of Congress;" and, "*no State* shall lay any impost or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States," &c. In the convention, not the slightest difference arose as to the adoption of the first clause, declaring, that "*No two or more States* should enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance," it was adopted without a word of comment, and was transferred to the new constitution, without its being intended in the slightest degree to change or modify the restriction, yet the words are changed from "no two or more," to "*no State shall enter*," &c., and the same phraseology is used throughout all the restrictions in the new constitution. Can a doubt arise that

they meant, not any number of States? We think it a case falling under that rule of Vattel, which he calls "the first general maxim of interpretation—That it is not allowable to interpret what has no need of interpretation."

"In order (says Mr. Calhoun) to prevent so important a provision from being eluded, the provision immediately under consideration [the second clause] was inserted, prohibiting the States from entering into agreements or compacts in any case whatever, *except one State with another State, or with a foreign power.*"

Now let us see what are the words of the second clause,—not as expressed by Mr. Calhoun, but as declared by the constitution, and see if it agrees with the language of Mr. Calhoun, or if it could have been inserted, as he thinks, "in order to prevent so important a provision [that in the first clause absolutely prohibiting treaties, alliances and confederations] from being eluded."

The second clause is in these words.

"No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the nett produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

It will be observed, that the words used by Mr. Calhoun, "except one State with another State" is not found in the constitution.

The words "no State" are used in a precisely similar position in both clauses, and must have the same meaning and force. All the States, separately and collectively, in their State character, are absolutely prohibited from entering into any treaty, alliance or confederation with any other State, or with a foreign power. To one and all it is prohibited. The power is vested in the Congress of the United States, alone and exclusively. And yet the word "State" is not plural, but singular. By what rule of construction can we attribute to the same words, in the second clause, a different interpretation from that given to them in the first? The second clause begins "*no State shall, without the*

consent of Congress, lay any imposts, &c." Surely it was intended to forbid all the States, and we cannot read, "*no one single State shall, &c.*" When it proceeds to say "*no State shall, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, &c.,*" why attach a different meaning to the words? Does it not evidently mean that *no State or States*, not any State or States, none of the States of the Union, shall enter into such agreements without the consent of Congress? For, according to Dr. Johnson, "no" when used as an adjective, signifies "*not any; none.*" The whole of Mr. Calhoun's argument turns upon the meaning of this word.

I cannot conceive how Mr. Calhoun came to the conclusion that this second clause was inserted to prevent the provisions of the first from being eluded. The provisions in the first clause could not be eluded, for the powers there mentioned are absolutely and unconditionally prohibited to the States. The powers only conditionally prohibited in the second clause, cannot be the same powers as those absolutely prohibited in the first. They are treated as different, and the one set as more dangerous than the other. How then could the second clause operate to prevent the elusion of the former.

In all cases, treaties, alliances and confederations may be said to be agreements or compacts;—but agreements and compacts are not always treaties, alliances and confederations. The latter are peculiar agreements and compacts, absolutely prohibited to the States;—but other agreements or compacts of an inferior sort, are permitted under the supervision and with the consent of Congress. The second clause then, has no connection with the first. It was intended neither to restrict, extend, nor prevent elusion of the first.

By *Treaties*, the laws and disputes of nations are settled. The law governing the whole, and the quarrels or claims of the whole, could not be safely left to the adjustment of any one or more of the States. The general government alone, could with safety exercise such a power.

Alliance, is the state of connection of one State with another, by confederation,—and by

Confederation, we understand, an alliance for mutual support.

Vattel says, "A treaty, in Latin *fœdus*, is a compact made with a view to the public welfare by the superior power, either for perpetuity, or for a considerable time. The compacts which have temporary matters for their object are called *agreements*, *conventions* and *pactions*. They are accomplished by one single act, and not by repeated acts. These compacts are perfected in their execution, once for all; treaties receive a successive execution whose duration equals that of the treaty."

Agreements and compacts might be entered into on many minor and local points; and as such minor affairs might be much better managed by the States individually interested, the power is given to the States, with the consent of Congress, to regulate their mutual interests by their own agreements or compacts, "and thereby avoid giving greater extension and minuteness to the authority of the federal government than was desirable or consistent with the object for which it was instituted." The States may also, under the same condition,—levy duties on tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in *time of peace*. Will it be said, that one State may lay duties on tonnage, but that two or three States could not?—or that one State might engage in war, with the consent of Congress, but that two or three could not?—or that one State might keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, but that any number over one or two could not?—or that one State could engage in one war, but not in *two*?—or that a State might enter into an agreement, or compact, with one foreign power, but not with two? We confess that we cannot assent to the assumption upon which the whole of Mr. Calhoun's argument is based. We cannot see, if one State may contract with another, with the consent of Congress, why three may not. If a State had two foreign neighbors, could she not by agreement or compact with them, and with the consent of Congress, open some adjoining river?

Can any authority by analogy or otherwise be shown for saying that the words "no State" are employed in the limited sense, against which we are contending?

What are the common usages of our language?

"No man shall put off the law of God." Does this not mean no man or men? May *two* men put off the law of God?

"*No man* can live without the consent of God." Does this mean that three or more cannot live with his consent?

The clause was used as restraining the States, and the exception was intended in favor of the rights of the States. The construction should be such, as, while it fully effects the power given to the General Government, would at the same time deprive the States of no more than was absolutely necessary. The constitution declares, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, *nor prohibited by it to the States*, are reserved to the States"—and "the enumeration of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained."

Without the clause in discussion, any State or number of States, might unconditionally, enter into such agreements and compacts. This clause was intended to control the powers previously possessed by them. If it had been intended that none should exercise this conditional power, "except one State with another State," why was it not so said? and why was there not added, "and with one foreign power? The history of the country, on which Mr. Calhoun relies, shows that the improvement of rivers, constituting boundaries between States, was one of the very objects contemplated in the reservation to the States of the conditional power of entering into agreements or compacts with other States or with foreign powers, with the consent of Congress. Witness the convention between Georgia and South-Carolina, concerning the improvement of the Savannah and Tugaloo rivers. Suppose these rivers had run along the line of three States,—that is, if there had been two States on one side of it, and one on the other,—what objection could have been made to these three States entering into an agreement to improve the navigation, which would not have been equally applicable to two States doing the same thing? To restrain the States from the exercise of such a power, it must be clearly shown by express words, or by necessary implication to have been so intended by the constitution.

The necessity for such an implication in this case does not exist, but quite the contrary. The conditional power reserved to the States by the clause, was intended in favor of the States, and the rule of construction in all such cases, says Vattel, is that,

"When the question relates to things favorable, we ought to give to the terms the utmost latitude of which they are susceptible, according to the common usage of the language; and if a term has more than one signification, the *most extensive* meaning is to be preferred. When the legislature or the contracting parties have not expressed their will in terms that are precise and perfectly determinate, it is to be presumed that they intended what is most equitable. Now, when there is question of favorable things, the most extensive signification of the terms accords better with equity, than their most confined signification." Book II, ch. 17, sec. 307.

The words "no State" must bear the same construction alike in both clauses of the 10th section, for in the original, both clauses form but one sentence. If then, by "no State" in the first clause is meant only one State, any two or more States by acting together, may elude the provisions of the clause, thus rendering it nugatory. To give it full effect and to make the provision absolutely prohibitory, it must be understood as referring to any or all of the States. Equally in the second clause, by the adoption of this limited interpretation confining it to one State with another State, and not including the case of three or more, the effect would be, that one or two States together could not enter into an agreement or compact without the consent of Congress, but three or more might do so, regardless of such consent;—for this is the only clause in the constitution which prohibits the States, or any of them, from entering into any agreement or compact, other than treaties, alliances or confederations absolutely prohibited in the first clause. The argument leads to this absurdity and would render the clause a nullity by the facility afforded for evading it.

If our construction is right, it follows, that three or more States may enter into an agreement or compact with the consent of Congress, for the improvement of rivers forming the division lines of such States or having their courses through such States, as in the case of the Mississippi and some of its branches, and that Congress has no more power to appropriate money for the improvement of the navigation of that river than for the improvement of the Savannah and Tugaloo.

On this question we are happy to see that Mr. Woodward, with his excellent good sense, fully concurs with us.

"But it is alledged further, that by the ordinance of 1787, the Mississippi river, with its tributaries, was stipulated to remain 'a common highway and forever free' to the people of the several States. And therefore, Congress is bound, and *has the power*, too, to improve its

navigation and deepen its harbours. Now, it strikes me, that if Mr. Polk, in a treaty in relation to Oregon, should stipulate with Great Britain that the Oregon river should be 'a common highway and forever free' to the people of both nations, it would be thought very strange if either should insist that the other was bound by the treaty, to improve its navigation. I am sure, my western friends would never consent that the United States had incurred any such obligation.

There is, however, another excuse for calling on us to make appropriations for this river. It is pretended, that, as many States border upon it, no one State could enter upon its improvement without interfering with the rights of others. This is not correct. Any impediment which simply obstructs or renders perilous its navigation, is, in the eye of the law, a nuisance; and any nuisance, on any highway, natural or artificial, may, by any citizen or person, be abated. The public roads in a State may be closed or discontinued, if the State please; but so long as they remain public highways, any person may remove a nuisance or obstruction, or mend a breach; and to take a sawyer out of the Mississippi is as clearly the right, the personal right, of every citizen, as to shoot a bear or a panther. But suppose it were not so, and that the plea of want of jurisdiction be well founded: this gives no right to call on this government to contribute the money necessary for these purposes. Gentlemen, however, are mistaken in supposing there is no provision in the constitution to meet the case.

The framers of that instrument foresaw that two or more States, less than the whole, might have a common interest in reference to some matters; and in view of this, any State is authorized, *with the consent of Congress*, to 'enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power.' This provision was intended to meet the precise case now before the committee. It is hardly possible that the federal convention did not foresee, and have in its eye, the exact class of cases to which the present belongs. It is, then, perfectly competent for the States interested in this river to agree upon a joint commission of officers, for its improvement, either by locks and canals, or in any other manner. And if they will enter into 'such compact or agreement,' I pledge myself Congress shall give its sanction, and confer upon them the right to do just what they please with the Mississippi and its tributaries. Will gentlemen meet me on these terms? Or, as want of jurisdiction is the supposed difficulty, if Congress will pass laws regulating these improvements, will gentlemen agree that the States interested shall contribute the money? This I am sure they could do without the consent of Congress. Will they close in upon either of these propositions? No, sir; they would deprecate the grant of jurisdiction as a calamity. It would destroy a pretext for coming here for money. If they already possessed jurisdiction, they would consider 'its loss great gain.' It is plunder, and not jurisdiction, that is wanted."

Let us now for a moment admit that Mr. Calhoun's construction of the second clause of the 10th section of the first

article of the constitution is correct, and that only one State can constitutionally enter into any agreement or compact on this or any other subject, how will it affect the case?

The only authority given to Congress to regulate commerce among the several States, is in these words; "Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

If then, the power thus vested in Congress to regulate commerce between the several States, implies the power to improve the navigation of rivers bordering on or passing through three States, with what propriety can it be restricted in its action in the case of a river bordering upon or passing through one or two States? The capacity or incapacity of the States to improve for themselves, can neither take from, nor give to Congress any constitutional power; and according to Mr. Calhoun's argument, on incapacity alone, rests the power of Congress to interfere in the case of three or more States, rather than in that of one or two. Incapacity cannot confer power,—however, such power might be supposed desirable. If the power exists, it exists in the one case as in the other; if it does not exist, it can only be conferred by a change in the constitution. If it is once proved to exist, the door is open to the whole system of internal improvement against which we have been warring; for, with what propriety could the General Government refuse, to one or two States, the assistance given to three or more.

Mr. Calhoun agrees that where a navigable water course is embraced within the limits of a State, Congress cannot interfere, because the State has as absolute a control over such rivers as far as commerce is concerned, as it has over its canals, railroads or turnpikes. He proceeds to say that "it may well be questioned whether it was not intended by the constitution, as far as it relates to commerce among the States to restrict it entirely to the letter; that is *TRANSIT BY VESSELS ON WATER*," "to the exclusion of that by land." Elsewhere he says, Congress has the power over the external, but not the internal trade of a State. "Indeed, (he remarks) it is difficult to imagine how the power to regulate commerce among the States, restricted as it is to their external trade with each other, as separate and distinct communities, can be exercised, except where there is a common

highway between them, not subject to the exclusive control of any one, as is the case of the coast of the lakes, and of the Mississippi. *Where that is not the case, and a mere line divides States, the trade between them in every period of its transit from one to the other, is under the exclusive control of one or the other, in whichever it may be for the time.*" In such cases, Mr. Calhoun thinks it would be unnecessary to claim jurisdiction for Congress over such a trade, for he says, "the clause of the constitution already referred to, which provides that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States, would seem to supercede the necessity of extending the power to the inland trade among the States, as it secures to the citizens of all the States all the immunities and privileges of the citizens of whatever State he may be in."

Now let us consider, what is the character of all navigable rivers. They are public highways, common to every citizen of the State, and by the constitution of the United States, common to every citizen of every other State. The rule is the same whether the river is confined to the limits of one State, or passes through many. And where a river divides two States, unless it is otherwise settled by treaty or agreement, or at the original formation of the State, each State owns to the middle of the stream—*ad filum medium aquæ*—and a mere line divides them. Each State having as ample jurisdiction over its portion of the river as over any other part of its territory. In the case of the Mississippi, we know of nothing to exempt it from the rule. Every act done on either side of such line, whether on land or on water is within the jurisdiction of some one of the States.

There can, in such cases, be no intermediate territory. The river does not constitute a portion of the territory of the Union,—it belongs to the States. The improvements proposed must be made on one side or the other, or on both sides of the dividing line, and would fall into the common predicament of any other act of internal improvement, executed by the General Government in a State. To claim the right to improve a stream so situated, cannot differ from the right assumed to make canals, roads, &c., in any other parts of the States. Roads and canals made along the lines between three or more States, would be exactly a similar case. So far as the works fall on each side of the line it

would not be *inter alios* ; and if it were so, the two opposite States could agree to the extent of their common line.

"Even the shores of the sea, (says Vattel,) incontestibly belong to the nation that possesses the country of which they are a part, and they belong to the class of public things. If civilians have set them down as common to all mankind, (*res communes*) it is only in regard to their use ; and we are not thence to conclude that they are to be considered as independent of the empire [State] ; the very contrary appears from a great number of laws. Ports and harbors are manifestly an appendage to and even part of the country, and consequently, are the property of the State. Whatever is said of the land itself, will equally apply to them, so far as respects the consequence of the domain and of the empire." "All we have said of the parts of the sea near the coast may be said more particularly and with much greater reason of roads, bays and straits, as still more capable of being possessed, and of greater importance to the safety of the country ; but I speak of bays and straits of small extent, and not of those great tracts of sea to which these names are sometimes given, as Hudson and Magellan." (B. 1. ch. 23.)

Again ; concerning such roads, bays, &c., he says that the sovereign power commands there, it may make laws and punish those who violate them ; in a word, the State has the same rights there, as on land.

Must not every navigable river, dividing States, come under the same category ? If it belongs only to one of the States, it is entirely within the jurisdiction of that State and subject as Mr. Calhoun says, to its exclusive control, and to the privileges granted by the constitution to all citizens of the Union. If it is equally divided between two States, and merely a line separates them, Mr. Calhoun admits that "the trade between them in every period of its transit from one to the other, is under the exclusive control of one or the other, in whichever it may be for the time." While a boat ascends or descends the river it may either be on one side of the line or the other,—and while on either side is entirely within the jurisdiction of one State. If it passes from one side to the other, Mr. Calhoun agrees that in every period of its transit from one to the other, it is under the exclusive control of one or the other in which it may be for the time. The difficulty of ascertaining the precise position of the line cannot affect the argument, for even now if a murder is committed on the river, it must be ascertained in which State, to give jurisdiction of the crime, unless it has been agreed that either may take jurisdiction. If the river was not divided by such line, and all its parts within the juris-

diction of some State or other, such offences could not be punished by the courts of either State. Congress could not assume jurisdiction as in a territory, nor could it pass laws to punish persons for destroying any works it might erect on the river.

Let us take a map and see if any part of the Mississippi or of its important branches, except such parts as are in the territory of the General Government, is ever without the jurisdiction or control of one or two States?

From the Balize to the Mississippi line on the East side, it is entirely within the limits of Louisiana, and any improvements needed on that portion of the river, it is as much her interest to make as it is that of South-Carolina to improve the Santee. Louisiana and Mississippi may, by agreement, improve above Vicksburg until the Arkansas line is reached; then Arkansas and Mississippi may contract to improve it as high as Memphis where the Tennessee line comes in. Tennessee and Arkansas may agree to improve up to the Missouri line near New Madrid, and Illinois and Missouri could improve to their upper lines which reach the territories.

So Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Virginia, might each, one with another, contract to remove the impediments between them on the Ohio. All this could be done, as Mr. Calhoun says, at no great expense;—at least it would not cost these States, more than it costs other States to improve their rivers. South-Carolina has already spent upwards of one million on hers. The States have, from 1820 to 1837, inclusive, already collectively, spent on roads, rivers and canals, \$105,340,727 41, and lent to companies for the same purposes, \$9,767,700. (See the word “fund,” in supplement to 2 vol. McCulloch’s Com. Dic., for the amount each has expended.) These things are generally done, more wisely and economically, when undertaken by States and private companies; and States and individuals being always equal to all such undertakings, if they are worth making, they will always repay their cost.

The great road from New-Orleans to New-York, passes through many States. There has never been felt any necessity for an agreement between these States or any number of them,—and notwithstanding, a line nearly continuous of rail-roads and steamboats, connects these cities in extreme quarters of the Union. Should Congress assume

jurisdiction, because three or more States might not agree ? These roads have cost the States through which they pass, (or their citizens,) more than would be sufficient to remove the obstructions of the Mississippi, from its mouth to St. Louis,—and they are not more clearly within the exclusive control and jurisdiction of those States, than is every foot of the Mississippi subject to the several States bordering upon it between those two points.

As the power in Congress to regulate commerce among the several States extends, not to their internal commerce, but only to that which is external ; and if the same power extends equally to the navigation, it must also be the external and not internal navigation ;—and, as the intention was to confine the jurisdiction of Congress to “transit by vessels on water,” it could only have meant such waters as do not come within the jurisdiction and control of any State—as in the coasting trade, where vessels from one State going to sea, or on the lakes, or such large bays as are beyond the jurisdiction of any State, may continue their voyage and enter into waters under the jurisdiction of some other State.

We can imagine no other case in which Congress can interfere. It follows that as soon as the transit is made, and the vessels come within harbors and mouths of rivers, they enter the jurisdiction of the State to which these belong, and are within the waters exclusively under the control of that State. The power of Congress is confined to their exit, *transit and entry*, and to whatever is necessary to render safe such exit, transit and entry ; as for instance, the erection of light-houses, buoys, beacons, and other sea-marks, and perhaps public piers ; but for which we have seen no other authority than an early act of Congress. The history of its legislation for many years after the commencement of the government, proves that Congress thought its powers thus confined.

To conclude, we think, we have shown, that the Mississippi, standing, on this question, in the same position as all navigable rivers within the jurisdiction of one or two States, is subject to the same rule ; and that, if the power to regulate commerce among the several States, only confers upon Congress authority over the external trade between the States, not applying to the case where the transit is merely across a line from one State to another, Congress can only erect such light-houses, buoys and beacons, and perhaps piers, as

are necessary to that external commerce, which is conducted by transit on water, as in the coasting trade, whether by sea, lake or bay. Congress therefore, has no jurisdiction to improve the rivers in the territory of any State, whether such rivers be entirely within the limits of that State, or whether they pass through, or constitute a boundary line of two or more. The proposition to give to Congress the power of making roads and improving the navigation of rivers, was expressly rejected in convention, and we can see no reason for changing the old State Rights doctrine of South-Carolina.

Mr. Calhoun not only proposes that Congress shall remove all obstacles of any nature, found in the channel of the Mississippi, but would include also *trees* or other obstructions *found on islands or on the banks of the river*, and which threaten to obstruct it. Surely, there are no parts of these islands and banks that are not within the body of the county of some one of the States. Where would an action for trespass lie, should an individual, without authority from the owner, cut these trees, or remove these threatening obstructions, on the islands or on the banks? Could an act of Congress be pleaded in justification of such a trespass, committed within the precincts of a county? Would not the States have jurisdiction of any "*deadly conflicts*" in those waters? Has it not lately been decided in the courts, in the case of negro stealing, that the States of Virginia and Kentucky, own the whole of the Ohio, and that they have the same jurisdiction over its waters, as over every foot of land, in any county within their limits? Does not the Virginia cession of 1784, and the acts of Congress admitting Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois into the Union, prove the fact?

Mr. Rhett in his speech against the river and harbor bill of the last session says :

"This point was distinctly made in the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Handley, lessee, vs. Anthony*, (5 Wheaton,) and the Court determined, 'that all the States arising out of the Virginia cession had the Ohio river, at its *low water mark*, as their boundary.'"

By the treaty of 1763, terminating the disputes between England and France, Mr. Rhett says, it is

"Declared, that 'the confines between the two countries was irrevocably fixed,' by a line drawn along *the middle of the river Missis-*

issippi, from its source, as far as the river Iberville; and from thence, by a line drawn *along the middle of the river*, and the lakes Maurepas and Pont Chartuin."

If these limits had never been fixed, but the river constituted the boundary between two or more States, and the right to it not fixed by any formal act, the common law rule, which is the same as that of the civil law and in fact taken from it, would give to each side, *ad filum medium aquæ*. It is a settled opinion, says Chancellor Kent,

"That grants of land, bounded on rivers, or upon the margins of the same, or along the same, above tide water, carry the exclusive right and title of the grantee to the centre of the stream; and the public in cases where the river is navigable for boats and rafts, have an easement therein, or a *right of passage as a public highway*. The proprietors of the adjoining banks have a right to use the land and water of the river, as regards the public, in any way not inconsistent with the easement; and neither the State, nor any other individual, has the right to divert the stream and render it less useful to the owners of the soil."*

The eminent domain, or the right to grant a right of way over a private owner's soil, is alone vested in the individual States; and not in Congress.

The ordinance of Congress of July, 1787, for the government of the territory of the U. States, *north-west of the river Ohio*, declared it to be a fundamental provision to remain forever unalterable, that the navigable waters, leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, should be common highways, and forever free as such; but in the case of *Gavitt vs. Chambers*, (3. Ohio R. 496) it was decided,

"That this *provision did not abolish or impair* the common law principle, that he who owns the land on both banks, owns the entire river, subject only to the easement of navigation; and he who owns the land upon one bank only, owns to the middle of the river, subject to the same easement."

It is evident that Congress could not pass any laws to punish injuries done to any works on this river, or its branches nor demand tolls for passage. Congress can only exercise exclusive jurisdiction, within the States, over the district of Columbia, and "over such places as may be purchased by consent of the Legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arse-

* Kent's Com. 426.

nals, dockyards, and other needful buildings." We have examined many early acts and cannot find one where Congress has ever erected a light-house without first obtaining the cession from the State. For instance, the light-house on Middle Bay, and North Islands, and the beacon on Hadrell's Point.

Mr. Calhoun thinks that our northern lakes stand on the same footing as the Mississippi, and that the framers of the constitution, no more contemplated commerce on those lakes, than on the Mississippi. It would indeed be strange if this were so. The lakes then stood in the same relation to the Union as now. They were on the borders of New-York and of our Western territory, and it must have been apparent, without the exercise of any foresight concerning the effects of steam, that so soon as those parts should be settled, there must grow up a considerable coasting and foreign trade upon those lakes. We must here make another extract from Mr. Rhett's speech.

"I come now, Mr. Chairman, to the second reason assigned, making the Mississippi and its tributaries subjects for peculiar congressional appropriations. It is said, and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. SCHENCK) has anticipated me in discussing it, that it is a great inland sea, like the bays on our seacoast, and stands in the same relation towards this government. I cannot suppose, that those who take this position, can put it upon the more or less of water in the Mississippi, to distinguish it from the other rivers of the Union. To put a great constitutional power, on such a criterion, is putting it on no criterion at all. And if it could constitute a criterion, the answer is, the constitution could not have contemplated it, *because the river Mississippi was not ours, at the time the constitution was made.* It has been acquired since; and, therefore, either from its magnitude or uses, could not have been contemplated by the constitution, or be the subject of any distinction under it. I must suppose, that in likening the Mississippi and its tributaries, from their size, to our bays on the seacoast, it is supposed that they are alike, in the jurisdiction of the United States over them. But this is a great mistake.

"The constitution, extends the jurisdiction of the United States Courts, 'to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.' Admiralty and maritime jurisdiction extends to the sea, and its bays, and to rivers as far as tide water flows. Does this jurisdiction include the lakes, or the Mississippi, or the Ohio or any other river inland? It does not. The question was expressly tried in the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of a steamboat which ran from Wheeling to New-Orleans. Being found in tide water, in New-Orleans, it was libelled for wages due. (Mr. Vinton said it was the case of *Phebus vs. a Steamboat Company.*) I thank the gentleman for his information. He was the lawyer whose great learning and abili-

ties, enlightened the Court in their decision, that the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States did not apply to any of the western rivers; and therefore they refused to take cognizance of the case. But how is it with the Chesapeake, or any other bay on our sea-coast? The Courts of the United States, do take daily cognizance of cases arising on them.

There is, therefore, no analogy, if analogy would help the pretension, for claiming appropriations for the Mississippi river and its tributaries, between the waters on our bays and the western rivers.

"But let us admit, that the western rivers, stand precisely in the same relation towards the United States as our Atlantic bays. I am at a loss to conceive, how that will justify expenditures for their improvement. Those who deny the power of this government to carry on internal improvements within the States, do not put it on the ground, that where the jurisdiction of the United States Courts extend, these improvements may be carried on. They no more admit of the constitutionality of appropriations for eastern than for western harbors—for Atlantic than for western rivers—for canals or roads on this, or the other side of the Blue Ridge. They deny all; and against any, or all, they hold up the barriers of the constitution, however frail, to resist the inroads of power and rapacity."

The act, declaring the Mississippi a common highway, only puts it upon the same footing with all other navigable rivers in the States. They are all highways, common to all the citizens of the Union. Hence, and not from any prohibition arising from the power conceded to Congress to regulate commerce, no State can grant to her own citizens exclusive privileges on her own navigable waters. To say that the right of regulating commerce, or in other words prescribing rules for it, gives a right to improve the navigation of a river seems to us not more preposterous, than to claim the right of ship building, from a power to regulate navigation, or in other words, the act of conducting a vessel.

"It seems scarcely possible" (says the late Mr. Stephen Elliot, in one of his *Reviews*,*) to suppose that the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, or with the Indian tribes, can comprehend any other rights or duties than those necessary to settle the principles on which commercial intercourse shall be established. The power to meet the friendly or unfriendly conduct of other nations, to form commercial treaties, and to establish the conditions on which each nation, or all nations, shall have access to our shores, is a political rather than an economical instrument,—the clause under which embargo and non-intercourse laws have been enacted, a belligerent weapon, by which our rights may be enforced against foreign nations, or our

* Southern Review, May, 1828

intercourse made amicable and reciprocal. It was necessary that this general power should exist in the federal government, in order that its exercise should be uniform, that foreign nations might have confidence in the permanence of our regulations.

"It was also necessary that the General Government should have power to regulate commerce among the several States, a precaution wisely calculated to prevent those collisions which had already appeared in progress, in the early history of our confederacy, to obliterate forever the repetition of those unkind advantages, which some States, seemed disposed, from local circumstances, to take over their less fortunate neighbors. These are all causes and objects sufficient to induce statesmen to yield this power to the General Government; and the phraseology of the clause will strongly demonstrate *that no other views entered into their consideration when this power was inserted in the constitution.*

"Yet, under this clause, two very important powers have been asserted and partially exercised; one, the right of appropriating money for internal improvements; that right, which, as we have remarked, has been claimed under many provisions of the constitution; the other, the power of imposing duties to an indefinite extent, even to prohibition, on foreign productions, for the purpose of promoting domestic manufactures. These two claims, as far as they depend on this provision of the constitution we shall briefly examine.

"On the first topic there appears, to us, to be nothing more necessary than to point out *the strong distinction between the power necessary to regulate commerce, and that necessary to facilitate its operations.* These, we think, have sometimes been confounded. To determine the ports in our country to which foreign vessels shall have access; the conditions on which commodities shall be introduced; the privileges and immunities which shall be granted to the vessels and productions of particular nations in return for similar advantages conferred on us; the principles and forms on which the *maritime intercourse* between the States shall be conducted, are the legitimate objects of this provision of the constitution. *But we cannot see, that under it the power to construct roads and canals, which are only conveniences to facilitate the transportation and interchange of the articles of foreign commerce, or of domestic consumption, can any more be included, than the wagons or boats which equally render this service, or the vessels which are absolutely necessary for transmarine communication.* These are the peculiar care of the individuals who engage in the adventurous pursuits of commerce; men, who constantly occupied in exchanging the productions of all climates and of all countries, never, in their enlightened and liberal views, neglect those great improvements which forward their own arrangements, and, at the same time, do frequently promote the prosperity of their country. To their care and enterprise *or to that of the individual States, this task may safely be committed.* England, now so beautifully intersected with roads and canals, although its government possesses the most unlimited jurisdiction, has left these, with many other magnificent works, for the most part, to the exertion of those who were particularly interested in their construction."

That the facilities to commerce intended by the Constitution, did not embrace "*the facilitating of the transportation of commodities*," by the improvements of the navigation of rivers, roads, &c., but only facilities for entering the ports of the different States, is proved by the reluctant admission of Alexander Hamilton himself, in his celebrated report on manufactures of 1790. He heads the 11th division of his report with these words: "*The facilitating of the transportation of commodities*." "Improvements favoring this object, (he admits) concern all the *domestic interests* of a community," and acknowledges that he only mentioned them as "having an important relation to manufactures." He then proceeds to admit unequivocally, that they belong to the States, though he thinks that they could have been better managed had they been placed under the general jurisdiction. "The symptoms of attention to the *improvement of inland navigation*, which had lately appeared in some quarters"—"he hoped, would stimulate the exertion of the *government and citizens of every State*."

If all the logic used in favor of internal improvements of one kind or the other by the General Government, could be collected in one body, it would furnish such a volume of curiosities in the way of a medley, as is only to be seen in "The Revolution of Reason." Though the whole whig party of the United States, and unfortunately many of the democrats, (notwithstanding the "Baltimore Platform of Democracy,") are in favor of the government's exercising such a power, yet but few of them can be found to agree as to the exact clause of the Constitution from which the authority is derived. One takes it from the words "general welfare," another from "common defence;" some from the right to establish post-roads; others, from the consent of the States, or from the right to erect needful buildings; some from a direct power, others from an incidental. Some find it in the general power to collect revenue, and while one thinks it all important towards the preparation for war, the other deems it yet more necessary in times of peace. Some think it necessary to the strength of the Union, supporting it, in the way of hoops, by roads and canals; some deem it constitutional only when a system is adopted, while others maintain that the system renders it unconstitutional. Some find it in the power to regulate commerce generally; others in the same power over the commerce between the

States, while others again, derive it from the general inability of the States. And finally we have the argument, that because it cannot be done in one or two States, it may be done in as many more as you please.

"In these latter days," (says Mr. Holmes, of Maine, in his speech of 1824,) "a new sect of expounders of the Constitution has sprung up. They admit that this power being derivative, cannot be inferred from *any* one of those enumerated, but it may from *all*. With all the improvements in the science of *chemistry*, no one it is presumed, ever suspected that it would be used to expound the Constitution of the United States. And such seems to be the fact. These wise men commence an *analysis* of a particular power, and find several ingredients there; they then decompose another, and find a few more particles; and so on through some fifteen or twenty. They then put their results together, perform the process of *amalgamation*, a very fashionable process at this time, and thus form one simple substance, which they denominate the power of 'roads and canals' or 'internal improvements.'"

If Mr. Holmes had lived till now, he would have seen the power of steam upon the Constitution. And after this steam-doctoring, God knows what the magnetic telegraph may not do next with our unfortunate Constitution.

We know of but one case on record, where equal ingenuity has been exhibited in the art of interpretation :

"Once upon a time, there was a man,* who had three sons by one wife, and all at a birth;† neither could the midwife tell certainly which was the eldest. Their father died while they were young; and upon his death-bed, calling the lads to him spoke thus: 'sons, because I have purchased no estate, nor was born to any, I have long considered of some good legacies to bequeath you, and at last, with much care as well as expense, have provided each of you (here they are) a new coat.' Here, the story says the good father died, and the three sons went all together to seek their fortunes. Their father's will‡ was very precise, and it was the main precept in it, with the greatest penalties annexed, not to add to, or diminish from their coats one thread, without a positive command in the will. Now the coats their father had left them, were, it is true, of very good cloth, and besides, so neatly sewn, you would swear they were all of a piece; but at the same time very plain and with little or no ornament. And it happened, that before they were a month in town, great shoulder-knots§ came up. Straight all the world wore shoulder-knots; no approaching the ladies *ruelles* without the *quota* of shoulder-knots. 'That fellow,' cries one, 'has no soul; where is his shoulder-knot?' Our three brethren soon discovered their want by sad experience, meeting in their walks with forty mortifications and indigni-

* Uncle Sam.

† The States.

‡ Constitution.

§ Bank.

ties. If they went to the play house, the door-keeper showed them into the twelve-penny gallery. If they went to visit a lady, a footman met them at the door with 'pray send up your message.' In this unhappy case they went immediately to consult their father's will, read it over and over, but not a word of the shoulder-knot; what should they do? What temper should they find? Obedience was absolutely necessary, and yet shoulder-knots* appeared extremely requisite. After much thought, one of the brothers† who happened to be more book-learned than the other two, said he had found an expedient. 'It is true,' said he, 'there is nothing here in this will, *totidem verbis*, making mention of shoulder-knots; but I dare conjecture, we may find them inclusive, or *totidem syllabis*.'‡ This distinction was immediately approved by all; and so they fell again to examine; but their evil star had so directed the matter, that the first syllable was not to be found in the whole writings.§ Upon which disappointment, he who found the former evasion, took heart, and said, 'brothers there are yet hopes; for though we cannot find them, *totidem verbis*, nor *totidem syllabis*, I dare engage we shall make them on *tertio modo*, or *totidem literis*.'|| This discovery was also highly commended; upon which they fell once more to the scrutiny, and soon picked out S, H, O, U, L, D, E, R; when the same planet enemy to their repose, had wonderfully contrived that a K|| was not to be found. Here was a weighty difficulty! But the distinguishing brother, for whom we shall hereafter find a name, now his hand was in, proved by a very good argument, that K, was a modern illegitimate letter, unknown to the learned ages, and no where to be found in ancient manuscripts. 'It is true,' said he, 'the word *calende*, hath in Q. V. C. been sometimes written with a K, but erroneously; for in the best copies, it has been ever spelt with a C. And by consequence it was a gross mistake in our language to spell knot with a K; but that from henceforward he would take care it should be written with a C.' Upon this, all farther difficulty vanished; shoulder-knots were made clearly out, to be *jure paterno*,** and our three gentlemen swagged with as flaunting ones as the best. But as human happiness is of a very short duration, so in those days were human fashions, upon which it entirely depends. Shoulder-knots had their time, and we must now imagine them in their decline; for a certain lord came just from Paris with fifty yards of gold lace upon his coat, exactly trimmed after the coat fashion of that month. In two days all mankind appeared closed up in bars of gold lace.†† Whoever durst peep abroad without his compliment of gold lace, was as scandalous as a —, and as ill-received among the women. What should our three knights do, in this momentous affair? They had sufficiently strained a point already, in the affair of shoulder-knots; upon recourse to the will, nothing appeared there but *altum silentium*. That of the shoulder-knots was a loose, flying circumstantial point; but this of

* The Bank.

† Hamilton and the Federalists.

‡ General Welfare.

§ Enumerated powers.

|| By amalgamation or conglomeration of all the powers.

¶ The power to create corporations.

** Bank constitutional.

†† Protection to manufactures.

gold lace seemed too considerable an alteration without better warrant; it did *aliquo modo essentie adherere*, and therefore, required a positive precept. But about this time it fell out, that the learned brother aforesaid, had read *Aristotelis Dialectica*, and especially that wonderful piece *de interpretatione*, which has the faculty of teaching its readers to find out a meaning in every thing but itself; like commentators on the revelations, who proceed prophets without understanding a syllable of the text. 'Brothers,' said he 'you are to be informed, that of wills† *duo sunt genera, nuncupatory, and scriptory*; that in the scriptory will, here before us, there is no precept or mention about gold lace, *conceditur*; but, *si idem affirmatur de nuncupatorio, negatur*. For brothers, if you remember, we heard a fellow say when we were boys, that he heard my father's man say, that he would advise his sons to get gold lace on their coats, as soon as ever they could procure money to buy it.' 'By G—, that is very true,' cries the other. 'I remember it perfectly well,' said the third. And so without much ado, they got the largest gold lace in the parish, and walked about as fine as lords.

"So when *flame colored satin** came up all in fashion, a clause of the will directing the sons to *take care of fire* and *put out their candles before they went to sleep*, was held to cover *flame colored satin*; and they adopted *flame colored satin*, as within the will. The next winter *silver fringe*† became the rage, but another of the brothers‡ who was skilled in criticism, and the learning of wills, had found in a certain author that the same word, which, in the will, is called *fringe*, does also signify a broom-stick; and doubtless ought to have the same interpretation."

In politics as well as in private life, one false step invariably begets another. By the acts of cession of the western territory, by the different States, it was expressly agreed that those lands "shall be considered a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become or shall become members of the confederation or federal alliance of said States, according to their usual and general charge and expenditure." By the act of 1802, admitting Ohio into the Union, it was agreed, in violation of the terms of the cession, that two per cent. of the proceeds of the sales of the lands in that State should be applied to the opening of the roads leading to it; with the consent of the States through which the roads might pass. Here was a new error, in supposing that the consent of a State, could give new powers to the Congress of the United States. By the act of 1806, Congress commenced, under this agreement, to appropriate funds for the construction of the Cumberland road. These appropriations soon far exceeded the

* Constitutions. † Internal improvements. ‡ The key to this is lost.

two per cent. fund ; but Congress nevertheless continued to appropriate, and the West to solicit. Then, for the first time, projects were proposed for the making of roads and canals and improving water-courses. Mr. Madison we believe, in his very last message, put his veto on these projects. Mr. Monroe succeeded Mr. Madison. During the administration of Mr. Monroe, Mr. Calhoun acted as his Secretary of War, and there was no one, it is well known, who had more influence with that administration. Our late distinguished and honest fellow-citizen, Robert Turnbull, in speaking of the usurpations of the government under Mr. Adams, thus expresses himself :

"It was reserved for Mr. Monroe, to commence that system of policy, which the present administration is now pressing upon the Southern States, and which, if persevered in, will convulse this Union to its very centre. It was during Mr. Monroe's administration that a bold, a decided, and a systematic plan of constructive and usurped powers, was determined on by Congress. It was then that we went back to the *ultra* principles of Alexander Hamilton, which had slept in their graves, for a third of a century, and proclaimed such a devastating and such an overwhelming doctrine, as that of '*the general welfare.*' Did the Southern advocates of this system reflect, that their doctrines would serve as a foundation, on which Congress would build, in after periods, scheme upon scheme, for enlarging its legislation, increasing its occupation, and for converting sovereign States into petty municipalities?" "After a lapse of some thirty years, the dangerous elements of power, buried by the convention in 1787, are all carefully disinterred ; and, to provide for their removal, in due and solemn state, they are placed in that splendid sarcophagus, the memorable report of Mr. Calhoun, the then Secretary of War, 'on roads and canals.'" (See Crisis, pp. 25, 50.)

It was just one month, to a day, before the commencement of Mr. Monroe's administration, that Mr. Calhoun delivered his famous speech in favor of "a bill proposing to set apart and pledge as a permanent fund for internal improvement, the bonus of the *national bank*, and the United States' share of its dividends."

It was on the 2d Jan. 1815, that an act to incorporate the Bank of the United States was defeated by the casting vote of the speaker, Mr. Cheves. It was afterwards passed ; and vetoed by Mr. Madison. In the session of 1815-16, Mr. Calhoun introduced another bill, which was passed, and the bank chartered.

The inevitable effect of these measures was to unite the friends of the bank, and those who were favorable to inter-

nal improvements by the General Government, and no project, advocating extravagant expenditure, could possibly fail to attract to itself, the tariff interest. In proof of this, see the audacious proposal of Mr. Andrew Stewart made at a subsequent period, as chairman of the committee on roads and canals.* In short, this proposition to unite bank and internal improvements, marked the era of class legislation in the United States, and of all that truckling, huckstering, bargaining, trading, log-rolling, office-seeking and office-giving, which has shown neither regard to duty, constitution, oath or any other obligation, usually held sacred by honest and civilized people. Hence arose committees, reports, brigades of engineer corps, surveys, recognizances, &c., &c., covering every section of the country, from Maine to the Sabine; and, as Mr. Turnbull says, taking "the summit-levels all along the great Alleghany ridge of Mountains, with a view to defend us against the British!" "and all the while drawing the life-blood of the South, for the enriching of the North." From this combination has resulted a system, miscalled *American*, which has already well nigh destroyed the Union, and loosened the affections of many of its most patriotic citizens; which must, if not arrested in its career, pervert, in the end, every power, and convert our government into one of an unrestrained and unprincipled majority. It was in favor of this union of the bank with internal improvements, that Mr. Calhoun said:†

"At peace with all the world; abounding in pecuniary means; and, what is of the most importance, and at what I rejoice as most favorable to the country, party and sectional feelings immersed in a liberal and enlightened regard to the general concerns of the nation—such, are the favorable circumstances under which we are now deliberating. Thus situated, to what can we direct our resources and attention, more important than internal improvements?" "*Let it not be said that internal improvement may be wholly left to the enterprise of the States and of individuals.*" "But many of the improvements contemplated, are on too great a scale for the resources of the States or of individuals; and many, of such a nature, that the rival jealousy of the States, if left alone, might prevent. They require the resources and the general superintendence of this government, to effect and complete them."

Speaking of our weakness arising from the extent of our territory, he says :

* House Doc. 1826. (Report) No. 228.

† Mr. Calhoun's Speech, 3d Vol. Eloquence of the U. S., p. 255

"Good roads and canals, judiciously laid out, are the proper remedy." "Our power of raising revenue, in war particularly, depends mainly on them." "Let us then bind the republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals. Let us conquer space. It is thus, the most distant part of the republic will be brought within a few days travel of the centre; it is thus that a citizen of the West will read the news of Boston still moist from the press." Such then, being the obvious advantages of internal improvements, why should the House hesitate to commence the system? *I understand there are, with some members, constitutional objections.*" "It is mainly urged that Congress can only apply the public money in execution of the enumerated powers. I am no advocate for refined arguments on the constitution. The instrument was not intended as a thesis for the logician to exercise his ingenuity on. It ought to be construed with plain, good sense; and what can be more express than the constitution on this very point? The first power delegated to Congress, is comprised in these words: 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States.' First the power is given to lay taxes; next, the objects are enumerated to which the money accruing from the exercise of this power may be applied—to pay debts, provide for the defence, and promote the general welfare; and last, the rule for laying the taxes is prescribed—that all duties, imports and excises shall be uniform. *If the framers had intended to limit the use of the money to the powers afterwards enumerated and defined, nothing could be more easy than to have expressed it plainly.*"

"The constitution gives to Congress the power to establish post-offices and post roads. I know the interpretation, which is usually given to the words, confines our power to that of designating only the post-roads; but it seems to me that the word 'establish' comprehends something more. *But suppose the constitution to be silent, why should we be confined in the application of money to the enumerated powers?**" "To look no farther back, at the last session a considerable sum was granted to complete the Cumberland road." "I expect it will be said, that our constitution was founded on positive and written principles, and not on precedents. I do not deny the position," "but surely they (precedents) furnish better evidence of the true interpretation of the constitution than the most refined and subtle arguments.!!" "Let it not be urged, that the construction for which I contend gives a dangerous extent to the powers of Congress.!!" "I believe that the passage of the bill, will not be much endangered by a doubt of the power." "A system it is contended ought to be presented before the money is appropriated. I think differently. To set apart the fund, appears to me to be naturally the first act; at least I take it to be the only practicable course." "The first great object is to perfect the communication from Maine to Louisiana, this may be fairly considered as the principal artery of the whole system. The next is the connection of the lakes with the

* See for this doctrine, Alexander Hamilton's report on manufactures in 1790. 1st. Vol. Federalist, edition of 1810, p. 231

Hudson river. In a political, commercial and military point of view, few objects could be more important. The next object of chief importance is, to connect all the great commercial points on the Atlantic, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Charleston and Savannah, with the Western States; and finally to perfect the intercourse *between the West and New-Orleans*. These seem to me to be the great objects. There are others, no doubt, of great importance, which would receive the aid of government. The fund proposed to be set apart in this bill, is about \$650,000, a year, which is doubtless too small to effect such great objects of itself; *but it would be a good beginning*, and I have no doubt, when it is once begun, the great work will be finished." "*I feel a deep solicitude in relation to it. I am anxious that this Congress shall have the reputation of it, and I am the more so, on account of the feelings which have been created against it.*" "The money cannot be appropriated to a more exalted use."

We have referred to the former opinions of Mr. Calhoun with no idle or unfriendly feelings. On the contrary, we believe that he has honestly changed his opinions, and that later experience has convinced him of the error of those which he formerly entertained. Our motive is to show, that no man is infallible; and that, however influential, or however wise, a statesman may be, his opinions should, on all great constitutional questions, be examined as freely and as boldly, as those of any other man. When and where, has there yet been found a judge, whose wisdom was above the scrutiny of the bar? If we should be tender of the reputation of a great man, still more so should we be, of that of our State. The reputation of no man should be weighed against that of his country. Under a government like ours, it should not be expected, by any man, that his opinions should be received, without question and without enquiry. It is *truth* and not conformity, that we should seek. To sacrifice the former to the latter, would be cowardice and subserviency.

On the occasion of a late charge made against her prime minister, by the Queen of Spain, accusing him of having compelled her, by force, to sign an order,—a question of veracity arose in their legislative council, between the queen and her minister. Even in that country, where we should have expected neither high eloquence nor boldness of speech, qualities for which free countries have ever been distinguished, a member, Mr. Lopez, in defending the minister, thus expresses himself:

"If queens are interesting, beloved, sacred, there is another, yet more sacred queen the sister of time, the companion of eternity, the only resource of innocence—TRUTH, to whom since I was born I have fixed my worship—to whom I will pay it till I die; and when I fix my eyes upon her, all other objects disappear."

While therefore, we believe Mr. Calhoun sincere in his present opinions, we cannot for that reason give them our assent. We have seen, in the recent announcement of his opinions, no reason why Carolina should change her course on this important subject. If we permit the removal of any part of our breastworks, we open the door to the enterprise of the reckless invader from every quarter, upon the barriers and defences of the constitution; and what we consider an attempt so to do, although not so intended, must be our apology for extending our remarks to an exposition of the course which has already been pursued by Congress, in regard to internal improvements. We shall therein show, that instead of favoring the southern Atlantic coast, the great amount of expenditure has been for the benefit of the North and West. In short we can see no difference between this scheme of Mr. Calhoun's, and the old condemned system of internal improvements, other than in their differing *extent of mischief*. But an attempt on our part to confine it to one favored section, can produce no other result than a doubt as to the honesty of our intentions, with an utter defeat of all our principles. Either the whole is right, or the whole is wrong. And we believe,

"That they are both, so near of kin,
And like in all, as well as sin,
That put 'em in a bag, and shake 'em,
Yourself o' th' sudden, would mistake 'em,
And not know which is which, unless
You measure by their wickedness."

Born on Carolina's soil, and proud of her character and moral influence, we are ready to make any sacrifice to maintain her reputation. In her misfortunes, we shall ever mourn and partake; and in her prosperity, rejoice. But let no true Carolinian forget,—what should be engraven on the hearts of all,—THAT HER STRENGTH LIES IN HER MORAL CHARACTER, *and that, that character is maintained by the honesty, purity and consistency of her principles.*

We will now proceed to show, the course which has been heretofore pursued; and the constant tendency towards

partial legislation, which has been exhibited in all works of internal improvement, undertaken by the government ; and that this partiality, so far from being in favor of the Southern Atlantic coast, has constantly exhibited itself in its whole strength, in favor of the petted North and West. It was under Mr. Monroe's administration, that the corps of military engineers was converted into a board for internal improvement, and placed under the war department, by which it was sent "*en chasse*," to every part of the country, to look up for projects and schemes for spending the surplus revenue, and by a union of bank interest, tariff interest, and sectional interest, to keep up *protection* and the taxes of the people. One of the reports of this board on canals, sanctioned by Mr. Calhoun, and submitted with approbation, by Mr. Monroe, to Congress in February, 1825, now lies before us, and we cannot refrain from giving a catalogue of the splendid projects therein contained.*

1. To unite the Chesapeake and Ohio, across the Alleghany.
2. To unite the Ohio with the Lakes.
3. To unite the Ohio with the Schuylkill.
4. To unite the Delaware and Raritan.
5. To cut through the isthmus of Cape Cod.
6. To unite Buzzard Bay and Boston Harbor.

All this expenditure, was intended for the North and West. Napoleon's celebrated engineer, Gen. Bernard, was employed in these works, and must have regarded them as worthy of his old master, in the days of his fullest power. We have given above but a small sample of the contemplated improvements, embracing forts, roads, canals, &c. &c.

The expenditures in 1824-25 (House Doc. 149) were thus dispensed :

North of the Potomac,	-	-	\$323,603 47
South " " "	-	-	27,398 28
Common to both,	-	-	33,713 00

Mr. Monroe's administration was followed by that of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay ; when every barrier left to the power of the General government was removed, and every restriction engulfed in that MONSTER POWER, "the general welfare." It was the course of this administration which drew from Mr. Jefferson in 1825, the following observations, in his letter to Mr. Giles :

* *Executive Doc.*, 2 sess. 18 Cong. No. 83.

"Take together the decisions of the federal court, the doctrines of the President, and the misconstruction of the constitutional compact, acted on by the legislature of the federal branches, and it is but too evident, that the three ruling branches of that department *are in combination* to strip their colleagues, the State authorities, of the powers reserved to them; and to exercise themselves, *all functions, foreign and domestic*. Under the power to regulate commerce, they assume indefinitely, that also over agriculture and manufactures, and *call it regulation* to take the earnings of one of these branches of industry, *and that too the most depressed*, and put them into the pockets of the other, the most flourishing of all. Under the authority to establish post-roads, they claim that, of cutting down mountains for the construction of roads, and digging canals; and, aided by a little sophistry on the words 'general welfare,' a right to do, not only the acts to effect those which are specifically enumerated and permitted, but whatsoever, they shall think or pretend, will be for the general welfare."

By the report of the Board of Engineers, of Dec., 1827, during this administration, of the military works or fortifications projected, which were within the legitimate powers of the government, there were of the first class,

North of the Potomac,	-	-	\$4,464,062	31
South " " "	-	-	77,810	79

In the second class,

North of the Potomac,	-	-	\$4,721,702	96
On the Potomac,	-	-	205,602	23
South of the Potomac,	-	-	429,872	34

Fourteen hundred miles of coast between Norfolk and Pensacola, were left entirely defenceless!

In 1827, (House Doc. No. 106,) of the surveys of roads and canals to be made, there were

North of the Potomac,	-	-	-	13
South of " " "	-	-	-	6

In 1828, (House Doc. No. 261,) the number of surveys made of roads, rivers, canals, creeks and harbors, were 69; of these, there were,

North of the Potomac,	-	-	-	54
South " " "	-	-	-	12
Common to both,	-	-	-	3

The report gives us the estimated cost of the works contemplated for the *four* years only, from 1824 to 1828, which amounts to \$32,699,997 65, of which, for the Ohio and

Chesapeake canal alone, \$22,375,427 69, were required. Besides this immense sum, there was north of the Potomac, \$10,291,069 96, and south of that river, only \$33,500.

The River and Harbor bill vetoed by Mr. Tyler in 1845, appropriated \$1,695,852. Of this amount, \$1,330,852, was intended for the North and North-west; \$125,000, for the South Atlantic coast, and \$240,000, for the Mississippi, Missouri and Arkansas rivers.*

The bill lately vetoed by Mr. Polk, contained appropriations for as large an amount, and was equally if not more partial in its distribution. Mr. Stephen Elliott in his admirable review† on this subject, asks :

"How can these measures, we repeat, be restrained or limited? To national objects? What are they? Who shall define them? Every man believes the projects that will benefit his quarter of the Union, his State, his county, his town, his village, his farm, his occupation, his manufacture, a national object; each one believes, because he wishes himself to be the centre of important interests. And why not? Every individual is an integral portion of the whole community, his welfare and prosperity is a portion of the general welfare and prosperity; the nation is composed of individuals, and the well-being of every individual is, and must be, a national object. The door is wide enough to admit all applicants—the construction liberal enough to cover all claims. National objects!—Is that *which interests ten States a national object*? If so will it cease to be national if it concerns only nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, one? Where shall we draw the line of separation? Must we go to one-half, one-third, one-fourth, one-tenth part of a State, until again we reach the individual! This is the irresistible course of the argument. Many objects of a single individual may be truly national. Many public works, in a single State, may be of more real importance to the nation than others that traverse a dozen. Must the soil of more than one State be broken or trodden, in order to render a public work national? If the Chesapeake and Delaware canal is a national object, is it more so because it touches a skirt of Maryland, than it would be if Delaware extended across the isthmus? If the Ohio and Chesapeake canal is to be a national object, would it be less so if the engineers, on making their survey, had found it expedient, from local causes to locate it altogether within the State of Virginia? No limitation, in fact and in practice, can be affixed to this phrase; it will be wise therefore, before we enter on this interminable career, before we approach this absorbing whirlpool, to establish some landmarks to regulate our progress, some system to guide our conduct."

* The whole amount of expenses for maintaining light-houses in the United States, amount, in 1835, to \$235,056 70; in 1836, to \$283,759 35; in 1837, to \$271,355 36; and in 1838, to 301,521 08.

† Southern Rev., Nov. 1828.

Before we close with Mr. Calhoun's report, we must express our regret, that he should have recommended that a corps of engineers should again be established on the part of the Federal government, with a view to internal improvements of any sort. He proposes that they should examine and report on the improvement necessary to facilitate the navigation of the Mississippi, or in the words of Gen. Hamilton, "for the facilitating of the transportation of commodities," on that river. Neither can we agree with Mr. Calhoun, that the Government has the right to give away, without consideration the public lands, whether to States, corporations or individuals. Mr. Calhoun, while he admits that the construction of rail-roads, belongs to the States and does not come within the power of Congress, proposes, as the fairest and best "mode of contributing" and least subject to abuse, that Congress should cede alternate sections on the projected line of such works. Now, it does seem to us, that to admit that Congress can "contribute" in one mode, is to admit that it can contribute in another. There remains only the choice of modes; what depends upon mode or fashion must soon change, and *flame colored satin* soon gave way to *silver fringe*. However anxious we may be for the success of the road, we cannot consent that such success should be obtained at the expense of the Constitution. The cessions made by the States, of Western territory, were made on conditions, that it should "be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become or shall become members of the confederation of the said States." Mr. C. in this very report, admits that the Government holds none of its powers "absolutely, *but as a trust*, and as such, is *limited in its exercise strictly to the nature and object of the trust*." The clause of the Constitution which gives to Congress "*the power to dispose of*" the territory and other property of the United States, is, in every sense of the word, *but a trust to sell*; and it is expressly declared, by way of caution, that this power shall not "be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State." It constituted then, a trust to sell for the common benefit, and the proceeds could only be applied as any other revenue of the Government. The source from whence the revenue is derivable, cannot change or alter the power of the Government over the proceeds. Congress could not cede a part of the customs, under pre-

tence, that the vigilance or interest of the party to whom it was ceded, might increase the amount to be collected. Would any respectable chancery lawyer give it as his opinion, that under such a trust to sell, that the trustee could give away a part of the *cestui que trust's* lands, and that when called on to render an account of his trust to a court of chancery, he would be held excused from rendering an account for a part of the trust property, on the ground that he had given away a part of it, to increase the value of the rest? We think the court would answer "*non constat*. Let the defendant pay costs."

We cannot conclude this article without making some few remarks in relation to the veto of Mr. Polk, on the river and harbor bill. We cannot too much applaud it for its correct principles on this subject. Indeed there never has been a President, who, in the course of his political life, has been more constant than Mr. Polk, to the republican principles he professes. He has truly and most faithfully redeemed his pledges to that party of the nation, which placed him in power. If in going for the 54° 40' on the Oregon question, he went farther than we, and many others of the republican party believed to be just and sound policy, we still sincerely believe that he did so, because he considered himself so pledged to do. May such a strict adherence to pledges, ever be the greatest fault committed by a democratic President. How different his, from the supple course of some who preceded him! Ever consistent with his principles, we know of no vote ever given by Mr. Polk, which has been inconsistent with his free trade, State rights, democratic principles. Let any one read his admirable report of 1831, on the "*distribution of the surplus funds*;" there will be found no better code of State rights principles. Equal praise is due to his veto on the "river and harbor bill." It is easy enough to oppose one's enemies, or as one of our old whig magistrates once said, "to decide between tory and whig, but when it comes to deciding between whig and whig, it is a —— hard business." We will not stop here to discuss the question whether or not, democrats could vote for such a bill; but we believe it to be the fact that some voted for it, who also pledged themselves by the Baltimore democratic platform, which declared such appropriations unconstitutional. There is no doubt we believe, that if Mr. Calhoun's Memphis bill had passed both

Houses, that Mr. Polk would have vetoed it, as readily as the other. As much has been said in the "Union," the official paper, in commenting on some remarks of the "New-York *Batavia Spirit of the Times*." "The Union" in lieu of any remarks of its own, begs leave to adopt those of the "Times;" and among these remarks is the following: "we think that if both bills had been presented for the President's signature at the same time, he would have withheld it and returned both bills."

We fully agree with the Charleston Mercury, which said of the veto, "It is words fitly spoken, and may, as Mr. Rhett suggested, prolong the life of the democratic party." We cannot too highly recommend to our readers, the following extract from the document in question, which cannot be too much considered, nor over-valued.

"Some of the objects of appropriations contained in this bill are local in their character, and lie within the limits of a single State; and though in the language of the bill, they are called *harbors*, they are not connected with foreign commerce, nor are they places of refuge or shelter for our navy, or commercial marine on the ocean or lake shores. To call the mouth of a creek, or a shallow inlet on our coast, a harbor, cannot confer the authority to expend the public money in its improvement. Congress have exercised the power co-eval with the constitution, of establishing light-houses, beacons, buoys, and piers on our ocean and lake shores, for the purpose of rendering navigation safe and easy, and for affording protection and shelter for our navy and other shipping. *These are safeguards placed in existing channels of navigation.* After the long acquiescence of the government through all preceding administrations, I am not disposed to question or disturb the authority to make appropriations for such purposes.

"When we advance a step beyond this point, and, in addition to the establishment and support, by appropriations from the treasury, of light-houses, beacons, buoys, piers, and other improvements within the bays, inlets and harbours on our ocean and lake coasts immediately connected with our foreign commerce, attempt to make improvements in the interior, at points unconnected with foreign commerce, and where they are not needed, for the protection and security of our navy and commercial marine, the difficulty arises in drawing a line beyond which, appropriations may not be made by the federal government.

"One of my predecessors, who saw the evil consequences of the system proposed to be revived by this bill, attempted to define this line by declaring that 'expenditures of this character' should be 'confined *below* the ports of entry or delivery established by law.' Acting on this restriction, he withheld his sanction from a bill which had passed Congress 'to improve the navigation of the Wabash river.' He was at the same time 'sensible that this restriction was not

as satisfactory as could be desired, and that much embarrassment may be caused to the executive department in its execution, by appropriations for remote and not well understood objects.' This restriction, it was soon found, was subject to be evaded, and rendered comparatively useless in checking the system of improvements which it was designed to arrest, in consequence of the facility with which ports of entry and delivery may be established by law, upon the upper waters, and in some instances, almost at the head springs of some of the most unimportant of our rivers, and at points on our coast possessing no commercial importance, and not used as places of refuge and safety by our navy, and other shipping. *Many of the ports of entry and delivery now authorized by law, so far as foreign commerce is concerned, exist only in the statute books. No entry of foreign goods is ever made, and no duties are ever collected at them. No exports of American products bound for foreign countries ever clear from them.* To assume that their existence in the statute book as ports of entry or delivery, warrants expenditure on the waters leading to them, which would be otherwise unauthorized, would be to assert the proposition, that the law-making power may engraft new provisions on the constitution. If the restriction be a sound one, it can only apply to the bays, inlets and rivers connected with or leading to such ports as actually have foreign commerce; ports at which foreign importations arrive in bulk, paying the duties charged by law, and from which exports are made to foreign countries. It will be found by applying the restriction thus understood to the bill under consideration, that it contains appropriations for more than twenty objects of internal improvement, called in the bill, *harbors*, at places which have never been declared by law either ports of entry or delivery, and at which, as appears from the records of the treasury, there has never been an arrival of foreign merchandize, and from which there has never been a vessel cleared for a foreign country. It will be found that many of these works are new, and at places for the improvement of which appropriations are now for the first time proposed. It will be found, also, that the bill contains appropriations for rivers, upon which, there not only exists no foreign commerce, but upon which there has not been established even a paper port of entry, and for the mouths of creeks, denominated harbors, which if improved, can benefit only the particular neighborhood in which they are situated. It will be found too, to contain appropriations, the expenditure of which, will only have the effect of improving one place at the expense of the local, natural advantages of another in its vicinity. Should this bill become a law, the same *principle* which authorizes the appropriations which it proposes to make, would also authorize similar appropriations for the improvement of the other bays, inlets and creeks, which may with equal propriety be called harbors, and all the rivers, important or unimportant, in every part of the Union. To sanction the bill with such provisions, would be to concede the *principle* that the federal government possesses the power to expend the public money in a general system of internal improvements limited in its extent only by the ever varying discretion of successive Congresses and successive executives. It would be to efface and remove the limitations and restrictions of power, which the constitution has wisely provided to limit the au-

thority and action of the federal government to well-defined and specified objects. Besides these objections, the practical evils which must flow from the exercise, on the part of the federal government, of the powers asserted in this bill, impress my mind with a grave sense of my duty to avert them from the country, as far as my constitutional action may enable me to do so.

"It not only leads to a consolidation of power in the federal government at the expense of the rightful authority of the States, but its inevitable tendency is, to embrace objects for the expenditure of the public money, which are local in their character, benefitting but few at the expense of the common treasury of the whole. It will engender sectional feelings and prejudices, calculated to disturb the harmony of the Union. It will destroy the harmony which should prevail in our legislative counsels.

"It will produce combinations of local and sectional interests, strong enough, when united, to carry propositions for appropriations of public money which could not, of themselves and standing alone, succeed, and cannot fail to lead to wasteful and extravagant expenditures.

"It must produce a disreputable scramble for the public money, by the conflict which is inseparable from such a system, between local and individual interests and the general interests of the whole. It is unjust to those States which have, with their own means; constructed their own internal improvements, to make from the common treasury appropriations for similar improvements in other States.

"In its operation it will be oppressive and unjust towards those States whose representatives and people, either deny or doubt the existence of the power, or think its exercise inexpedient, and who, while they equally contribute to the treasury, cannot consistently with their opinions, engage in the general competition for a share of the public money. Thus a large portion of the Union, in number, and in geographical extent, contributing its equal proportion of taxes to the support of the Government, would, under the operation of such a system, be compelled to see the national treasury—the common stock of all—unequally disbursed, and often improvidently wasted for the advantage of small sections, instead of being applied to the great national purposes, in which all have a common interest, and for which alone, the power to collect the revenue was given. Should the system of internal improvements proposed prevail, all these evils will multiply and increase with the increase of the number of the States, and the extension of the geographical limits of the settled portions of our country. With the increase of our numbers and the extension of our settlements, the local objects demanding the appropriations of the public money for their improvement will be proportionately increased. In each case the expenditure of the public money would confer benefits, direct or indirect, only on a section, while these sections would become daily, less in comparison with the whole.

"The wisdom of the framers of the constitution in withholding power over such objects from the federal government, and leaving them to the local governments of the States, becomes more and more manifest with every year's experience of the operations of our system."

ART. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Heidelberg: A Romance.* By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq. New-York : Harper & Brothers. 1846.

OF James as a novelist, his contemporaries have expressed a judgment, which we scarcely believe that posterity will reverse. Following, in order of time, immediately after *the novelist*, par excellence, of the age, he has not been thought unworthy to stand next to him in order of merit; and in fertility of production, it is not improbable, should his life be protracted to an ordinary length, that he will surpass him. We have here his last essay in the field of fiction, superior to many—inferior to few of its predecessors. How long it will be his last, the author alone knows; yet judging of the future by the past, we think we are safe in advising those who make it a matter of some importance to read “the last novel,” to take up “Heidelberg” at once, lest it be soon superseded. He who does so, will scarcely be disappointed; for to “a good plot—an admirable plot,” abounding in interest, sometimes of intense character, it adds all the subordinate but necessary qualities of fine description and animated dialogue, which give a novel its greatest zest, and which James, of all living novelists, knows best, how to furnish.

- 2.—*The Works of Henry Ware, Jr., D. D.* Boston : James Munro & Co. 1846. 2 vols. 12mo.

OF Henry Ware, none who knew him ever speak, but in terms of the fondest affection, and those who knew him not, may well learn in this record of his writings, to love and venerate his character. Warmth of feeling tempered by simplicity of heart, and a fervor of imagination restrained by strength of judgment, make him not less pleasing as a writer than he is said to have been admirable as a companion.

The volumes before us, constitute the second of a series of Mr. Ware's works, containing, as it is expressed in the brief preface of the Editor, “Selections from his published and unpublished Miscellaneous Writings.” We may find a variety, both of subject and style, to please the most fastidious taste. Essays, sermons, biographical sketces, fictitious narratives, song and sentiment, prose and poetry of every kind, “from grave to gay, from lively to severe,” are interspersed through the pages of these delightful books, in acceptable profusion. Some are new faces,

but not the less welcome ; others are old acquaintances, of which however we do not tire. "The Duties of Young Men in respect to the Dangers of the Country," is an invaluable tract, which we would gladly see adopted as a *vade mecum*, by the youth of America. The frequent perusal might teach them to be familiar with their obligations to themselves and their native land, and furnish them with some useful hints as to the best method of fulfilling those obligations. The lecture on "The Poetry of Mathematics," is another paper of exquisite beauty, whose merits, long known to the literary world, would alone be sufficient to establish the reputation of the writer for power of genius, and elegance of style.

There are among these compositions some hundred or two pages of poetical recreations. Ware was not a professed poet, but he had the temperament out of which poets may be made ; and many of these pieces—"The Dream of my Life" among the rest, abound in a spirit of beauty of which no poet need be ashamed.

There are some few polemical papers, but even they have taken so much of their character from the mild equanimity of their writer's temper, that lessons of tolerance, at least, may be learned from them. And this is indeed more than can be said of all the theological discussions that encumber the shelves of our libraries.

3.—*Altowan, or Incidents of Life and Adventures in the Rocky Mountains, by an Amateur Traveller.* Edited by J. WATSON WEBB.

THIS work, lately published by the Harpers, is, notwithstanding its very wild character, a truly beautiful composition, if the author, in his love for savage life, has not made this more terrible than it really is. What happiness or satisfaction can be derived from a residence in such barbarous regions, we cannot imagine. Continually at war, no man can venture a hundred yards from his friend, or the tribe to which he belongs, and be safe from the ball of the rifle, or arrow from the bow, of some one of his numerous enemies. The descriptions of scenery are excellent ; this region of our country, doubtless exhibits some of the most sublime and magnificent pictures in the world. Had the pencil of the artist sketched some of those which the author has described, they would vie with any taken from the bold northern region of Scotland, or the highlands of Switzerland. The book, we have said, is well written, yet would not have been sufficient, in itself, as a mere description of life and scenery, had the author not been careful to mingle with them a beautiful and spirited tale. The search of Altowan, the

hero, for the lovely Idale, and his rescue of her from the camp of enemies, is a touching chapter, and the incident, one of the most daring; the discovery, in a moment when he was about to urge his claims upon her heart to be his alone, that she was his sister; the attack of the camp, in which our hero strikes so boldly; and again, his action in the presence of the neighboring tribe, who were mingled with the Hudson Bay Company; all exhibit noble traits in his character. Altowan eventually leaves the rocky region, with Idale, when Roland, her lover, whom she had left in the far west, discovers her at New-York, and seeks her out, follows her and her companion to Baltimore, and thence to England. At length they meet in the castle of Lord Roland, at a masquerade; at this point the whole powers of the mind are drawn to what passes. Roland, desiring the beautiful Idale for his wife, and Altowan, supposing that he only wished to possess her affections for a while, and then cast her upon a friendless world, a scheme of Roland to convey her from the castle, is discovered by Altowan, and in his attempt to rescue her, he receives a death wound. Altowan is here discovered to be a son, by the first wife, of Lord Roland; he is interred in the vaults of the castle, and Roland openly marries her whose footsteps he had traced for so long a time, under the very eye of his father and friends, and in the castle of his ancestors. D.

Mr. Calhoun and the Memphis Convention.

We have published, in this number of the Review, two articles, from different sources, on the constitutionality of works of Internal Improvement by the Federal Government, having regard more especially to the unobstructed navigation of the Mississippi river and its tributaries, and containing comments on the views entertained by Mr. Calhoun, as embodied in his report of the proceedings of the Memphis Convention. The writers of these articles, though concurring substantially in some important points, differ widely in others, and as the subject in all its aspects, has excited no small degree of attention at the South and West, we have felt a solicitude to see it ably treated, and broad and statesmanlike views taken of it, by writers on both sides of the disputed questions involved in the controversy. We have been requested to publish, *in extenso*, Mr. Calhoun's Report on the Memphis Proceedings, but as it is not usual to publish any public documents, at length, in a work which is professedly a Review, we have thought the ends of truth would be substantially promoted by the course pursued by our correspondents, in introducing liberal quotations of the most important portions of that very able and interesting State paper.

We are not alarmists, but confess that we have been startled by the declaration of the writer of the article on "The Memphis Convention," that the growing power of the West will ultimately be exerted to enforce unconstitutional measures. We shall not reiterate this charge. We shall presume that it rests on no sufficient foundation. Supposing it, however, to be true, and that the West, having power, will forget right, we are not therefore prepared, with our correspondent, to surrender the constitution or any portion of it. We hope we never shall be prepared to take such a step. "The question," he says, "is not how we shall rightly think, or what says the constitution? But it is, what shall we do?" Is *this* the question? If so, it is our misfortune never to have understood it. We have always understood the question, propounded to every American patriot and every American statesman, to be, most distinctly, what says the constitution? To "think rightly" and to act rightly, as American politicians, is to think and act according to the constitution. That is one standard—not the assumptions of any set of men who would fly in the face of the law, and tyrannize over us. Such, at least, is the question at the South, and such is the mode in which the whole South will answer it, now and always. We, at the South, go for a constitutional administration of the government, or we go for a revolution of the government. We will struggle for our rights and liberties and maintain our independence. It is said, "the question is, what shall we do?" The answer is, defend the constitution,—defend it to the very last, and if you are overpowered in the attempt, you will still have the gratifying consciousness of having discharged a sacred duty. That is worth something—nay, it is worth much more than a violated constitution. The latter may be restored to its integrity, but, to the man who abandons right and justice, no solace remains for wounded honor.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

It will be perceived by reference to the cover of this Number, that Messrs. Burges & James will hereafter be not only publishers, but general agents of the Southern Quarterly Review, charged with the direction of its financial concerns. All remittances or payments, not made to us personally, will therefore be made to those gentlemen, or to agents duly appointed.

LIST OF PAYMENTS FOR 1846.

☞ If the name of any subscriber, who has paid his subscription the present year, does not appear either in this list or in the one which shall appear in our next number, (October,) he will please to communicate the fact to Mr. **SILAS HOWE**, General Agent, Charleston, S. C., and the omission will be supplied in the following number.

<i>Charleston S. C.</i>		
		Col. Thos. Lehre, 5
		Dr. M. T. Mendenhall, 5
Maj. R. W. Colcock,	\$5	Thomas Waring, 5
Hon. John Wilson,	5	Hon. M. King, 5
John McKee,	5	Col. James Gadsden, 5
Johnson & Canfield,	5	W. C. Gatewood, 5
C. A. Aveilhe, Jr.	5	Legare & O'Hear, 5
A. Cameron,	5	James Shoolbred, 5
G. A. Hopley,	5	Charles Clapp, 5
James Robertson,	5	Joshua W. Motte, 5
James Marsh,	5	John Crawford, 5
Hon. L. Cheves,	2 50	Dr. Richard Allan, 5
J. D. Alexander,	5	Dr. Jos. E. Stevens, 5
Wm. Dearing & Son,	5	Thos. Middleton, 5
C. M. Furman,	5	James M. Walker, 5
Gourdin, Matthiessen & Co.,	5	S. S. Mills, 5
B. D. Heriot & Son,	5	D. Leckie, 5
Joseph Lawton,	5	G. A. Trenholm, 5
Edward Morris,	5	James Chapman, 5
Wm. M. Martin,	5	James Lamb, 5
John McNellage,	5	James Bancroft, 5
John H. Tucker,	5	E. Barnwell, Jr., 5
R. Fairchild,	5	Dr. C. C. Pritchard, 5
J. J. Gidiere,	5	J. E. Bouneau, 5
W. H. Sullivan,	5	Jonathan Lucas, 5
Henry Grimke,	5	Henry E. Lucas, 5
Rev. G. Pognanski,	5	Edward Sebring, 5
Hon. Wm. Aiken,	5	Charles Williams, 5
Dr. W. L. Cleveland,	5	William Matthiessen, 5
Henry A. Desaussure,	5	Daniel Huger, 5
James Rose,	5	Col. F. H. Elmore, 5
Henry Ravenel,	5	Thos. D. Matthews, 5
Capt. Charles Blake,	2 50	P. J. Barbot, 5
W. L. Timmons,	5	J. P. Stewart, 5
Col. Wm. Yeadon,	5	Jas. F. Green, 5

Thos. Farr Capers,	5	<i>Eutaw, Ala.</i>	
Wm. Johnson,	5		
Dr. Benj. Huger,	5	Philip Rurt,	5
Wm. Howland,	5		
C. B. Brewster,	5	<i>Onwego, N. Y.</i>	
R. S. Miller,	5		
W. H. Inglesby,	5	Lieut. J. H. Trapier,	5
Rev. Thos. Smyth, D.D.,	5		
Dr. John S. Mitchell,	5	<i>Old Point Comfort, Va.</i>	
John Seigling,	5		
Geo. S. Cameron,	5	Lieut. D. H. Hill,	5
Geo. N. Reynolds,	5		
E. P. Milliken,	5	<i>Madison, Geo.</i>	
Wm. E. Whitman,	5		
F. G. Ravenel,	5	Dr. John Wingfield,	5
Thos. Dotterer,	5		
Dr. J. Lawrence Smith,	5	<i>Bluffton, S. C.</i>	
C. B. Northrop,	10		
Fred'k Richards,	5	Dr. James Stoney,	5
N. Heyward,	5	Dr. Ja's L. Pope,	5
C. Coates,	5	Geo. Adams,	5
Alex. Mazyck,	5		
Robert Elfe,	5	<i>Tennille, Geo.</i>	
H. W. Conner,	5		
Hon. J. L. Wilson,	5	J. J. Neely,	5
J. B. Grimball,	5		
Wm. Porcher Miles.	5	<i>Newberry C. H., S. C.</i>	
A. Moise, Jr.	5		
Jos. F. Bee,	5	Hon. J. B. O'Neill,	5
J. Harleston Reed,	5		
John A. Blum,	5	<i>Havana.</i>	
Robert Hume,	5		
Dr. J. P. Chazal,	5	F. D. Coninck,	5
H. H. Manigault,	5		
Capt. Wm. Murray,	5	<i>Society Hill, S. C.</i>	
Chas. Alston,	5		
W. H. Heyward,	5	Dr. Thos. Smith,	5
Hon. Edw'd Frost,	5	Col. J. D. Wilson,	5
Thos. N. Gadsden,	5		
Dr. John G. Shoolbred,	5	<i>Georgetown, S. C.</i>	
E. G. Holmes,	10		
Dr. Thos. G. Prioleau,	5	B. H. Wilson,	5
Hon. Dan'l E. Huger,	5	Col. P. M. Frazer,	5
Keating S. Ball,	5	J. R. Sparkman,	5
Wm. Bird,	5	Rev. M. H. Lance,	5
Sam'l Fogartie,	10	Col. R. F. W. Allston,	5
Morton A. Waring,	5	W. J. Buford,	10
Cha's Warley,	5	Reese Ford,	5
Patterson & Murphy,	5	J. W. Couchman,	5
Jas. H. Magwood,	10	Dr. S. McKay,	5
Apprentices Library Society,	5	B. H. Wilson,	5
		Dr. A. M. Foster,	5
<i>Marion, Ala.</i>			
A. P. Johnson,	10	<i>Columbia, S. C.</i>	
		Rev. Elias Hort,	5
		Col. A. H. Pemberton,	5
		Col. Tho's Taylor,	5

<i>Darien, Geo.</i>		<i>Greensburg, La.</i>	
Rev John Jones,	5	J O Fagua,	5
<i>Raleigh, N. C.</i>		<i>Walterboro', S. C.</i>	
Perrin Buisbee,	5	J G Godfrey,	5
Gen S F Patterson,	10	Col M E Carn,	10
<i>Kingstree, S. C.</i>		D S Henderson,	5
J M Staggers,	5	Dr C Pinckney,	5
<i>Black Oak, S. C.</i>		Col J D Edwards,	10
F A Porcher,	5	<i>Waterloo, S. C.</i>	
William Cain,	5	Capt Robert Cunningham,	10
Dr M Waring,	10	<i>Edisto Island.</i>	
Isaac Porcher,	5	Hon W B Seabrook,	5
<i>Pineville.</i>		Jos B Seabrook,	5
Col Samuel J. Palmer,	5	W G Baynard,	5
Dr John S Palmer,	5	<i>Adams Run, S. C.</i>	
Col William DuBose,	5	Col H S King,	5
Col R McKelvey,	15	<i>Summerville, S. C.</i>	
<i>Tuscaloosa, Ala.</i>		Dr S H Hamilton,	20
University of Alabama,	5	<i>Columbus, Miss.</i>	
W A Battle,	10	Rev W C Crane,	5
Washington Moodye,	10	<i>Edgefield C. H., S. C.</i>	
Rev T F Curtis,	5	Rev W B Johnson, D.D.,	10
<i>Mount Miggs, Ala.</i>		<i>Portland, Ala.</i>	
Thomas B Taylor,	5	W W Boykin,	5
A McDonald, MD	10	<i>Gillisonville, S. C.</i>	
<i>Sandton, S. C.</i>		F B Baker, Jr.	5
J A McLauver,	5	Col W E Martin,	5
<i>Longmire's Store, S. C.</i>		R J Davant,	5
Capt Wiley Harrisson,	5	<i>Grahamville, S. C.</i>	
<i>Penfield, Geo.</i>		F J McCarthy,	5
Stevens & Willet,	5	<i>Macon, Geo.</i>	
<i>Baltimore, Md.</i>		Rev R Hooker,	5
Robert Gilmer,	5	N C Munro,	5
N C Brooks,	5		
D S Carr,	15		
John P Kennedy,	5		
N Hickman,	12		

W B Parker,
J P Stubbs,
J S Gresham,
Hon E D Tracy,
O G Sparks,
S J Ray,
S K Blake,
J H Washington,
Prof W H Ellison,
J Cowles,
J C Lanier,
Dr M A Franklin,

Richmond, Va.

James Thomas, Jr
A D Munford,
John S Caskie,
Col Samuel Taylor,
Robert W Henry,
John A Meredith,
P Robertson,
J A Seddon,
R T Daniel,
H B Gwathmey,
W W Crump,
James Lyons,
Joseph Mayo,
Dr W A Paterson,
J R Tucker,

Petersburg, Va.

John Burns,
E D Sanders,
Dr J F Peebles,

Laurens C. H., S. C.

Dr H Saxon,

Jacksonboro', Geo.

W J Lawton,

Waynesboro', Geo.

Hon A J Lawson,

Barnwell C. H., S. C.

E Bellinger,
C C Hay,

Savannah, Geo.

5		
5		
5	W J McIntosh,	5
5	William Duncan,	5
5	George Schley,	5
5	H A Crane,	5
10	Dr Thomas Ryerson,	5
5	Dr C P Richardson,	5
5	C F Hamilton,	5
5	H W Mercer,	5
5	Robert H Allen,	5
5	John Hunter,	5
	W B Hodgson,	5
	A Porter,	5
	A Wells,	5
5	John Williamson,	5
5	C Hartridge,	5
5	Hon C S Henry,	5
5	J Washburn,	5
5	G Barnsley,	5
5	H D Weed,	5
5	Dr Parsons,	5
10	Francis Sorrell,	5
5	Dr R D Arnold,	5
5	Dr T G Barnard,	5
5	J Stoddard,	5
10	George White,	5
10	Jackson & Hardin,	10
10	W H Dunning,	5
4	Dr R Wayne,	5
	A McIntire,	5
	Judge Charlton,	5
	Hon James M Wayne,	10
5	Dr A H Bailey,	5
5	Robert A Lewis,	5
10	J K Tefft,	5
	S A Hooker,	5
	Rev A Williams,	5
10		
	<i>Beaufort, S. C.</i>	
	Joseph Hazell,	5
	E B Means,	5
15	N Heyward,	5
	W H Cuthbert,	5
	<i>Wilmington, N. C.</i>	
15	Dr John Hill,	5
	J J Bryan,	5
	E J Lutterloh,	10
5	J Mulock,	10
5	J G Wright,	5
	D Cashwell,	5
	E D Hall,	5
	E D Dudley,	5
	John S Jones,	5

<i>Hick's Ford, Va.</i>		<i>Augusta, Geo.</i>	
A T B Merritt,	5	John M. Newton,	5
<i>Laurenceville, Va.</i>		R F Poe,	5
A C Butts,	5	J W Davis,	5
<i>Baton Rouge, La.</i>		W H Cumming,	5
Hon Alex Barrow,	10	Robert Clark,	10
<i>Washington, D. C.</i>		J C Snead,	10
John W Maury,	5	Bustin & Walker,	5
Hon B B French,	5	Rev W T Brantly,	5
Secretary of War,	5	James Y Gray,	5
Hon R B Rhett,	10	T S Metcalf,	10
<i>Abbeville C. H., S. C.</i>		<i>Hamburg, S. C.</i>	
Hon A Burt,	5	J W Stokes,	5
<i>Pine Bluff, Ark.</i>		<i>Athens, Geo.</i>	
Hon A H Sevier,	5	Prof C McCay,	5
<i>Covington, Ky.</i>		George Pringle,	5
Hon J T Morehead,	5	Phi Kappa Society,	6
<i>Gloucester C. H., Va.</i>		W L Mitchell,	5
J R Bryan,	5	Col John Billups,	5
<i>Columbus, Geo.</i>		Hon Charles Dougherty,	5
Hon W T Colquitt,	10	Col T N Hamilton,	5
F A Nesbit,	10	<i>Livingston, Ala.</i>	
M J Wellborn,	5	Stephen U Smith,	5
Hon G E Thomas,	5	<i>Warrenton, Geo.</i>	
J H Munford,	5	Dr James S Jones,	5
J F Winter,	5	Prof Hugh E Morrow,	5
J H Shorter,	5	<i>Milledgeville, Geo.</i>	
Gen S A Bailey,	5	J L Harris,	5
John Schley,	5	Col Bothwell,	5
Dr Samuel Boykin,	5	W H Mitchell,	5
Dr John Boswell,	5	Executive of Georgia,	5
Jones, Benning & Jones,	5	Dr T Fort,	5
Dr W K Schley,	5	William Steel,	10
W Cromwell,	5	Col A H Kenan,	5
W J Shields,	10	Col W S Rockwell,	5
Dr A H Flenellen,	5	F H Sanford,	5
Dr W A Mott,	5	<i>Clinton, Geo.</i>	
		Col R V Hardeman,	5
		<i>Marietta, Geo.</i>	
		Hon Charles J McDonald,	5

<i>Tuskegee, Ala.</i>		<i>Ridgewood, S. C.</i>	
William Alexander,	5	M E Ross,	5
Simpson Lanier,	5		
Dr W F Hodnett,	5	<i>Sparta, Ala.</i>	
David Clopton,	5		
W W McLester,	10	J Q A Warren,	5
Dougherty & Cocke,	5		
Hon T W Brevard,	5	<i>Oxford, Geo.</i>	
<i>Montgomery, Ala.</i>		Phi Gamma Society,	5
Thomas C. Evans,	5	<i>Newbern, N. C.</i>	
G W Matthews,	10		
S B Matthews,	20	Periodical Club,	5
J M Roberts,	5		
Cyrus Phillips,	5	<i>Mars Bluff, S. C.</i>	
J S Belser,	5		
George C Ball,	10	Robert Rogers,	5
R M Cherry,	5		
Joseph W Wilson,	5	<i>Charlotte, N. C.</i>	
Dr G A Ulrick,	5		
George Montague,	5	Maj J H Caldwell,	5
J D F Williams,	10		
J W Pryor,	5	<i>Lincolnton, N. C.</i>	
Dr J M Sims,	5		
E L Childs,	5	W H Mitchell,	5
Rev H Talbird,	5		
W H Watson,	5	<i>Wadesboro', N. C.</i>	
Col J J Seibles,	10	E Nelms,	10
<i>Talladega, Ala.</i>		<i>Hilliardstown, N. C.</i>	
Hon J W Stone,	5		
		James Mann,	5
<i>Wetumpka, Ala.</i>		<i>Jeffersonlon, Geo.</i>	
Hon Seth P Stors,	10		
N Smith Graham,	5	Hon D L Clinch,	5
Dr N S Jones,	5		
R McKenzie,	5	<i>New-Orleans, La.</i>	
J & B Trimble,	5		
Rev J Harris,	10	Pilican Club,	5
Rev P H Lundy,	5	W H Litchfield,	5
Hon W W Mason,	5	L Hermann,	5
J Mastin,	5	Ralph King,	2 50
D F Strother,	5	Lenon Ledoux,	5
Rev Willliam Johnson,	5	J B Byrne,	5
		C A Jacobs,	5
<i>Windsor, N. Y.</i>		Alfred Munroe,	5
Gideon Hotchkiss,	5	L A Edmonston,	5
		John McCall,	10
<i>Lime Stone Springs, S. C.</i>		J W Arthur,	5
D D Rosa,	10	J Calhoun,	5
		Peter Conrey,	5
		D S Cutler,	5
		J J Folger,	5

Collections.

7

Hon A B Romain,	5	C P Gaze,	5
S Locke,	5	W A Hall,	5
G Wheeler,	5	W E Stark,	5
Hon A Labranch,	5	C Boykin,	5
C Rosilias,	10	F B Shepperd,	5
A Hennen,	5	A Mordecai, MD	5
Frank Perret,	5	Col P Walker,	5
R M Davis,	5	A Gracie,	5
E A Canon,	10	J E Uhlhorn,	5
Henry Blood,	5	James Magee,	5
T Limerick,	5	J Bell,	5
R Pitkin,	5	John Gibson,	5
G Crickard,	10	J B Toulmin,	5
E Smith,	5	F Shaw, MD	5
Adolphe Layet,	5	C Auze,	5
Rev T Clapp,	5	J C Nott, MD	5
Hon J Baldwin,	5	Col J S Deas,	10
O B Hill,	10	Arch Brown,	5
J Jennin,	5	James Higgin,	5
Hon E Strawbridge,	5	John Reid, Jr.,	5
Dr J F McFarlane,	5	F F Hemphill,	5
Dr Snowden,	5	G F Boone,	5
Dr Luzenburg,	5	Rev T W Dorman,	5
Henry Keane,	5	A E Ledyard,	5
J P Benjamin,	6	A Campbell,	5
Col William Christy,	5	J Bloodgood,	5
Dr W Stone,	5	Thomas Lessesne,	5
W Maybin,	5	A W Gordon,	5
Hon C Gayerre,	5	W C Easton,	5
P N Wood,	5	H S Levent, MD	10
Dr T O Meux,	5	A McInstry,	5
D T Lillie,	5	A Holt,	5
Hon Wm Freret,	5	Hon J F Lindsay,	5
E A Daleveigne,	5	B S Woolsey,	10
John Nicholson,	5	J E Jones,	10
H Cenas,	5	W P Brown,	10
Theodore M Kouse,	5	Sidney Smith,	5
Clifford & Whitridge,	10	E T Wood,	5
M M Cohen,	5	H O Brewer,	5
P Whitney & Co.,	5	B B Fountain,	5
Capt Robert Spedden,	5	J Backman Lee,	5
J Beard,	5	S J Fisher,	5
Charles Singleton,	5	William Jones,	5
J W Wray,	5	Robert Collins,	5
H F Cartzon,	5	W B Crawford, MD,	5
		S M Ogden,	10
		O S Beers,	5
		W L Trumit,	5
		W D Dunn,	5
		Hon John Gayle,	5
		Franklin Society,	5
		John McNally, MD	10
		R Green,	5
		B F Marshall,	5
		Dr Joseph Bensadon,	5
		Thomas Howard,	5
		Lewis Troost,	5

Mobile, Ala.

George Rapelje,
Rev W T Hamilton, DD
Dr R L Fearn,
W Martin,
W H Redwood,
B F Boardman,
C B Sanford,
Thomas P Miller,
William Andrews,

Collections.

Julius Hesse,
 S Penny,
 John Parham,
 Thomas Brady,
 C Robinson,
 C K Ketchum,
 Hon E S Dargan,
 Henry Myers,
 Hon C A Hoppin,
 J C Campbell,

Covington, Geo.

Gen J N Williamson,

5	<i>Yazoo City, Miss.</i>	
5		
10	R Abbey,	5
5		
5	<i>Richmond, Texas.</i>	
5		
5	P D Herbert.	5
5		
5	<i>Paris, (France.)</i>	
10		
	L Gibbons,	5
	<i>Manchester, (Eng.)</i>	
5		
	Rev John R Beard, DD	5

COLLECTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1846,

Not acknowledged in the last Number.

Not having heard recently from our Western Agents, Mr. J. R. Mann and J. C. Turner, we may omit the names of persons who have paid. In this case they shall appear in the January Number, 1847.

-
- Charleston, S. C.*—Charleston Library, \$5; John G Willis, 10; P C Guerry, 5; W M Porcher, 5; Thos O Elliott, 5; Thos D Condry, 5; J C Cochrane, 5; Henry Bailey, 5; Saml Burnes, 5; And Turnbull, 25; P C Grimbail, 5; Thos Corbet, 5; John Harleston, 5; John Horibeck, 5; Dr Henry R Frost, 5; Wm Gregg, 5; Jas B Campbell, 5; A Ligett, 5; Calleo-
pean Society, 5; S Y Tupper, 10; Col J S. Ashe, 5; Mrs Maria Dupont, 5.
Greenville C. H., S. C.—V McBee, 5.
Union Springs, Ala.—R H Powell, 5.
Hicks Ford., Va.—J Watkins Cook, 10.
Philadelphia, Pa.—The Athenium, 5; Thos Biddell, 5; J P Wendall, 5.
Davidson's College, N. C.—Philanthropic Society, 5.
Lexington, N. C.—Col Saml Hargrave, ('45) 5; J M Leach, 5.
Hendersonville, N. C.—John Baxter, 10.
Cokesbury, S. C.—Rev Paul A M Williams, 5.
Black Oak, S. C.—Dr Henry Ravenel, 15.
Carrollton, Ala.—A H Jones, 5.
Raleigh, N. C.—Hon J M Morehead, ('45) 5; Hon W A Graham, 10;
 P Buisbee, 5; W R Scott, 5; C E Johnson, 5; R Hines, 5; Wm Clark, 5.
Waynesville, N. C.—Hon M Francis, 10.
Griffin, Geo.—J W Espy, 5; Dr J N Parsons, 5.
Milledgeville, Geo.—Col B S Jordan, 5.
Bluffton, S. C.—Dr L Buldolph, 5; Dr John M Kirk, 10; Dr James L
 Pope, 5.
Pocatago, S. C.—Hon W F Colcock, 5.
Columbus, Geo.—Johnson & Williams, 5; W H Mitchell, 5.
Longmere's Store, S. C.—E Settle, 5.
Blackville, S. C.—W S Reynolds, 5.
Wetumpka, Ala.—Hon W L Yancey, 5; W J Mastin, 5.
Eutaw, Ala.—A R Gates, 10.
Henderson's Depot, N. C.—John S Eaton, 5.
New-Orleans, La.—W E Delavigne, 5; Merchant's Reading-Room, 10;
 D Bravo, 5; Dr Thomas Logan, 5.
Adam's Run, S. C.—P H Waring, 10.
Locust Hill, N. C.—Calorin Graves, 5.
Yanceyville, N. C.—John Kerr, 5.
Spartanburg C. H., S. C.—Hon H D Dean, 5; J W Tucker, 5.
Zebulon, Geo.—E W Wells, 5.

Unionville, S. C.—Dr Joseph H Dogan, 5; Col Z P Herndon, 10; Dr C Young, 5; Col J Sims, 10; J J Pratt, 5; Maj M Sims, 5; W J Kenan, 10; B H Rice, 5.

Greensboro, N. C.—Hon J M Morehead, 5; J H Lindsey, 5; J A Gilmer, 5.

Charlottesville, Va.—University of Virginia, 5.

Clinton, Geo.—James Fort, 5.

Monticello, Geo.—Maj J Pearson, 5.

Jackson, Geo.—J H Stark, 5.

Madison, Geo.—J Robson, 5.

Warrenton, N. C.—Hon Edward Hall, 10.

Glen Springs, S. C.—R A Cate, 5.

Summerville, S. C.—Dr Samuel Hamilton, 5; Col C R Boyle, 5; W W Ancrum, 10; G Henry Smith, 5; R S Beadon, 10.

Gadsdens', S. C.—John Bates, 5.

Winnboro, S. C.—Samuel Johnson, 5; Prof J S Mims, 5; Rev J Obier, 5; Rev S Frasier, 5; D McDorrell, 5; Rev J C Furman, 5; John Buchanan, 5.

Columbia, S. C.—Col John G Bowman, 10; A Herbermont, 5; A L Kline, 5; F Snowden, 5; Prof Laborde, 5; W W Walker, 5; A R Phillip, 5; Gen W Hopkins, 5; Gen J J Caldwell, 5; Dr T Parker, 5; J Goodman, 5; S A Crane, 5; W Maybin, 5; Dr Fitch, 5; C Beach, 5.

Camden, S. C.—W H R Workman, 10; T J Withers, 5; Thomas Salmon, 5; M M Levy, 5; S J Young, 5; John McCaskill, 5; Col W E Johnson, 5; Thomas Whitaker, 5; May John Smart, 5; J M. DeSausure, 5.

McMeekin's P. O., S. C.—J B Roberson, 10.

Chesterville, S. C.—Hon J McAlley, 5; W A Walker, 5; T Charles, 5.

Lancaster C. H.—John Williams, 10; May M Clinton, 10; J D McElwain, 5; J Crockett, 5; J Adams, 10; L B Massey, 5; Dr M B Secrest, 5; Witherspoon & Moore, 5; G W Gill, 10.

Yorkville, S. C.—Dr W Moore, 5; Dr J M Lorry, 5; W J Clawson, 5; J W Anderson, 10; B Smith, 5; W Hackett, 5; W A Latta, 5; R J McCarr, 5; H S Adicks, 5.

Pinckneyville, S. C.—Dr D F McMahon, 5.

Newberry C. H.—Dr B Waldo, 10; A G McMorris, 10; Dr John McKeller, 10; Dr J N Herndon, 5; Maj J F Williams, 5.

Abbeville C. H., S. C.—J H Wilson, 10; Col B F Martin, 10; Col J T Marshall, 10; S M Gowen, 5; T B Movagne, 5; John McIlwain, 5; Dr F Branch, 5; P C McOwen, 10; Rev D McNeil Turner, 10; H J Jones, 5.

Anderson C. H., S. C.—Maj J Whitefield, 5; Dr A Evans, 5; Samuel G Earle, 5; Gen J Whitner, 5; R S Vandver, 5.

Pendleton, S. C.—D S Taylor, 5; J V Shanklin, 5; Dr H C Miller, 10; J L North, 5; J F Gould, 5.

Laurens C. H., S. C.—Col J H Irby, 5; John Garlington, 5; May J D Wright, 5.

Waterloo, S. C.—Capt Robert Cunningham, 10.

Hamburg, S. C.—E J Buckmaster, 5; J Hubbard, 5; G Parrot, 5; H Hutchison, 5; Dr J H Nagel, 5; Rev R C Ketchum, 10.

Edgefield C. H., S. C.—B F Laborde, 10; S Goode, 5; Hon F H Wardlaw, 5; Col P W Brooks, 5; Col J L Carroll, 5; Capt John Hill, 5; Hon F W Pickens, 5; D H Burt, 5.

Pomaria, S. C.—Rev J C Hope, 10.

Ridge, S. C.—Col J Watson, 10; B J Boatwright, 5.

Chesterfield C. H., S. C.—Gen J Hana, 5; L H Alsobrook, 5; Dr. A. Williams, 5.

Cheraw, S. C.—Dr Thomas E Powe, 10; A McQueen, 5.

Bennettsville, S. C.—A A Murdock, 5; Dr B J Williams, 10; Dr A McLeod, 5; Capt J Davis, 10; S Sparks, 10; Gen John McQueen, 10; M L Irby, 5.

- Society Hill, S. C.*—Rev J Furman, 5; Col J N Williams, 10.
Augusta, Geo.—Robert Walton, 5.
Darlington C. H., S. C.—Hon G W Dargan, 5; Dr W A Irvine, 10; Dr W S Murphy, 5; E A Law, 5; J A Dargan, 5; P A Bacot, 10.
Silver Glade, S. C.—Dr W Anderson, 5.
Marion C. H., S. C.—W Evans, 5.
Indian Town, S. C.—W Burrows, 5.
Courtland, Ala.—Dr F Sykes, 5; Dr Jack Shackelford, 5.
Oxford, Geo.—P B Barringer, Jr, 5.
Chesterville, S. C.—J S Wilson, 5.
Statesburg, S. C.—Thos Bracy, 10; F Sumter, 10.
Nashville, Tenn.—W H Humphreys, 5; N Cross, 5; J J Southall, 5; James Hamilton, 5; Dr Jas Overton, 10; W F Cooper, 10; L P Cheatham, 5; Erosophic Society, 5; Thos Washington, 5; R J Meigs, 5; Rev R B C Howell, 10; V R Stevenson, 5; John Reed, 5.
Huntsville, Ala.—W Pope, 5; R Fearn, 5; Dr S Breck, 5; Col J W McClung, 5; Hon C C Clay, 5; Hon W Thompson, 5; Hon E R Wallace, 5; J M Davidson, 10; P L Lake, 5.
Decatur, Ala.—Dr C Murphy, 5; Dr T L Minor, 9 86; D C Humphreys, 10.
Tusculum, Ala.—W Cooper, 5; F G Norman, 5.
Sommerville, Tenn.—J R Wilson, 10; W A Williamson, 5; B Douglas, 10; Dr J B Washington, 5; H J Cannon, 5.
Memphis, Tenn. A S Ayres, 5; D G R Grant, 5; R W Turnage, 5; T J Turby, 5; C Loplaid, 5; Dr W B Frierson, 5; Drs W & R Christian, 5; Rev P Wallston, 10; J P Caruthers, 5; H C Walker, 5; Gen L H Coe, 5; Col G D Searcy, 5; Messrs. Jas Rice & Co, 5.
Holly Springs, Miss.—W F Starnes, 5; Col J L Totton, 5; Rev James Weatherbie, 5; R S Greer, 5; T C Timbrell, 5; W B Hamblin, 5.
Columbus, Miss.—Gen R Evans, 5; B Matthews, 5; Dr D Lipscomb, 5; A Y Smith, 5.
Jackson, Miss.—Gen S J Hays, 5; S W McClanahan, 5; Dr G Snider, 5; Addison Pyles, 5; T W Gamewell, 5.
Oxford, Miss.—P B Barringer, 10; Dr Z C Conkey, 5; Hon J M Howery, 5.
Pontotoc, Miss.—H R Miller, 5; Col Wm McQuiston, 5; R W Edmonston, 5.
Florence, Ala.—J Simpson, 5; J Ervin, 5; Dr. H J Posey, 5; H D Smith, 5; E A Oneil, 5.
Washington, Ala.—Dr E J Felder, 10.
Eugaula, Ala.—Calhoun & Lomax, 5.
Pulaski, Tenn.—R Martin, 5; A Wright, 5.
Denmark, Tenn.—Dr Thomas Ingraham, 5.
Coffeeville, Miss.—F A Cheves, 5.
Greneda, Miss.—R H Simons, 5; Dr J B Sykes, 5.
Carrollton, Miss.—W P Boll, 5.
Lexington, Miss.—W Brook, 5; D J Red, 5.
Benton, Miss.—R S Holt, 5; Hon J R Burness, 5.
Yazoo City, Miss.—Dr J W Bennett, 5; D W Randolph, 5; J V Caldwell, 5.
Selma, Ala.—G C Phillips, 5.
McMinnville, Tenn.—Dr A Pain, 5.
Pittsboro, N. C.—Geo R Griffith, 5.
Beaufort, S. C.—E Rhett, 5; W Elliott, 15; Dr J F Johnson, 5; Beaufort Library, 5; Dr S P Reed, 15; Edgar Fripp, 5; Dr B B Sams, 5.
Savannah, Geo.—Alex R Lawton, 5.
Buckingham C. H., Va.—S Bocock, 15.
Privateer, S. C.—F S Belser, 5



